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Pragmatic Comprehension of Different Types of Questions in Tamil

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Abstract

This study discusses the comprehension of questions in Tamil speaking children. The participants were 315 typically developing children in the age range of 5;1 to 9;0 years of age. Each child was assessed individually using material that consisted of pictorial short scenarios and stories that had specific probe questions. The language samples were analyzed and percentage of correct responses was calculated for various types of questions. The ranking order of various types of questions was obtained. The results indicated that as children grew older, they were able to answer complex contextual questions. The “yes or no” question exhibited highest rank and “why” question had the lowest rank order in children between 5;1-9;0 years. Relevance theory has been utilized in this study to explore the pragmatic comprehension abilities of children in relation to varied contextual complexity of different question types. The results obtained can be employed in clinical setting to evaluate the pragmatic status of children with language disorders.

Keywords: Pragmatics, Comprehension of questions, Relevance theory, Tamil children

Introduction

Children use different types of questions in everyday situations when they communicate with peers as well with others. They also use their linguistic knowledge to comprehend the pragmatic intentions in question of others. ‘Questions’ are special speech acts where speaker uses them to obtain specific information from listeners, and the listener provides the requested information to the speaker. Analysis of questions produced by

children provides information about semantic/conceptual, syntactic, and pragmatic development. Semantically, questions are used to indicate literal meaning (Bach, 1999), and to know about the conceptual knowledge. Syntactically, questions are viewed as individual units with varied distinctive features and word order where each question has both subject and object form (Dekker, Aloni, & Butler, 2007). Wh-questions tap both grammatical and pragmatic aspects of language.

Studies in the past have focused on production of semantic and syntactic components of questions in children (Tyack & Ingram, 1977). There is, however, little information on pragmatic functions of child's use of questions. The pragmatic intent of an utterance is independent of its syntactic form. For instance, in the sentences "Can you pick up the toy now?" and "It's time to pick up the toys" are syntactically classified as question and declarative sentence respectively. However, the pragmatic function of both these sentences is to direct the child to pick up the toys.

All listeners do not equally interpret the speaker's information accurately. Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1995) explains that comprehension of utterances is not complete only with the linguistic aspects, as it does not give the intended meaning. Thus, pragmatic aspect of language is necessary for the comprehension of utterances. The framework of Relevance Theory (RT) has been widely used in studies on comprehension of pragmatic language (Happé, 1993; Leinonen & Kerbel, 1999). Reference assignment, enrichment and implicature are three subtasks of RT, which helps in perceiving the contextual meaning of the spoken utterances. In *reference assignment*, the hearer finds the person/objecting spoken or referred from a given context. Thus, there is no need to process beyond the given information. On the other hand, in *enrichment*; persons do not communicate with complete sentences most of the time. So, it is understood that the listeners can use the information from their thought process and comprehend the information in the particular context. Also, in everyday communication, many of us use indirect utterances. The implied meaning of these indirect utterances is extracted by utilizing the contextual information, such as prior verbal information, physical context and world knowledge.

Children become competent with pragmatics, when they develop skills and knowledge beyond normal language acquisition. Comprehension of pragmatic aspect is relatively less explored in the past. Loukusa, Leinonen, & Ryder (2007) studied on Finnish speaking children's comprehension of complex contextual information. Their results revealed an increase in comprehension of questions from three to nine years of age, and for some children it still continued. Information on developmental sequence of questions in a context is important for assessment and planning intervention. Individuals with pragmatic language issues have the tendency to interpret utterances literally (Lee & Ashmore, 1983). A few studies in the past have explored on pragmatic impairment in children with specific language impairment (Leinonen, Letts, & Smith, 2000), and autism (Happé, 1993). Understanding of typical pragmatic comprehension is essential to compare delays and deviances in comprehension of questions.

There is scarce literature in Tamil on comprehension of pragmatics of questions. Vaidyanathan (1988) studied the development of interrogatives in two children longitudinally and observed a definite developmental sequence in both children. They acquired first /enga/ (where) followed by /enna/ (what) and /ja:ri/ (who). All these were mainly used for information seeking to begin with and only at a later stage children used interrogatives for non-information seeking pragmatic functions. Other studies in Indian languages such as Kannada (Manjula, 1997), and Tulu (Aithal, Vaidyanathan, & Rajashekhar 2011) have largely focused on the development of syntactic aspects of interrogatives and not on pragmatics.

Question tags in Tamil vary significantly from that of English. For instance, in Tamil one question tag has more than one noun form. So, it is relevant to develop a language specific probe/tool to assess the development of comprehension of questions. Also, most studies in the past have focused on semantic and syntactic aspects of questions, whereas only a few studies have focused on the pragmatic function of questions (Adams, 2002). Thus, development of comprehension of questions in a context is important for assessment and planning intervention.

Aim

This study examined the pragmatic comprehension of various types of questions using three pragmatic functions (reference assignment, enrichment and implicature) in typically developing Tamil speaking children.

Method

Current study was approved by Institutional Ethics Committee (Ref: PhD IEC-NI/11/FEB/21/07) Sri Ramachandra University, Chennai.

Participants

Three hundred and fifteen typically developing Tamil speaking children participated in this study. The children were in the age range of 5;1 to 9;0 years, who were divided into 4 groups (5;1 to 6;0, 6;1 to 7;0, 7;1 to 8;0 and 8;1 to 9;0) as given in Table 1. All children were selected from 8 mainstream schools in and around Chennai. Children with normal speech and language development with Tamil as their native language only were considered for the study. Assessment of Language Development (ALD) by Lakkanna, Venkatesh & Bhat (2008) which is a standardized test for assessing language skills was administered to rule out if any child had language delay. An informal hearing screening was done to rule out hearing difficulty. Those children who had difficulty in hearing, any articulation or fluency issues, poor attention and concentration, reading and writing difficulty and any other neurological conditions were excluded.

Table 1

Details of typically developing children who participated in the study

Age	5;1-6;0	6;1-7;0	7;1-8;0	8;1-9;0
Number (n=315)	76	76	88	75
Boys/girls (n=145/170)	34/42	38/38	40/48	33/42
Mean age (years)	5;6	6;5	7;6	8;6
Language age (years)	6;0	7;0	8;0	9;0

Material Development

The content of the material was considered based on routine scenarios from commonly occurring day-to-day activities. Three sequence scenarios were developed in Tamil based on three pragmatic functions, viz., reference assignment, enrichment and implicature. Later, specific probe questions were framed for each scenario. The following types of questions in Tamil were used while framing the probes: /ja:ri/ (who), /enna/ (what), /jen/ (why), /eṅga/ (where), /eppdi/ (how), /eppa/ (when), /entha/ (which), and /ama:/ or /illa/ (yes or no). Fifty probe questions were framed in total and all questions were kept grammatically simple and on familiar themes for children in the age range of five to nine years. Illustration of few scenarios with probe questions and expected answers are given in Appendix I. The material developed had the following set of question as given in figure 1. The pictures were drawn by a professional artist for certain scenarios which were in the visual context. These pictures were photo printed and bound in the form of stimulus book.

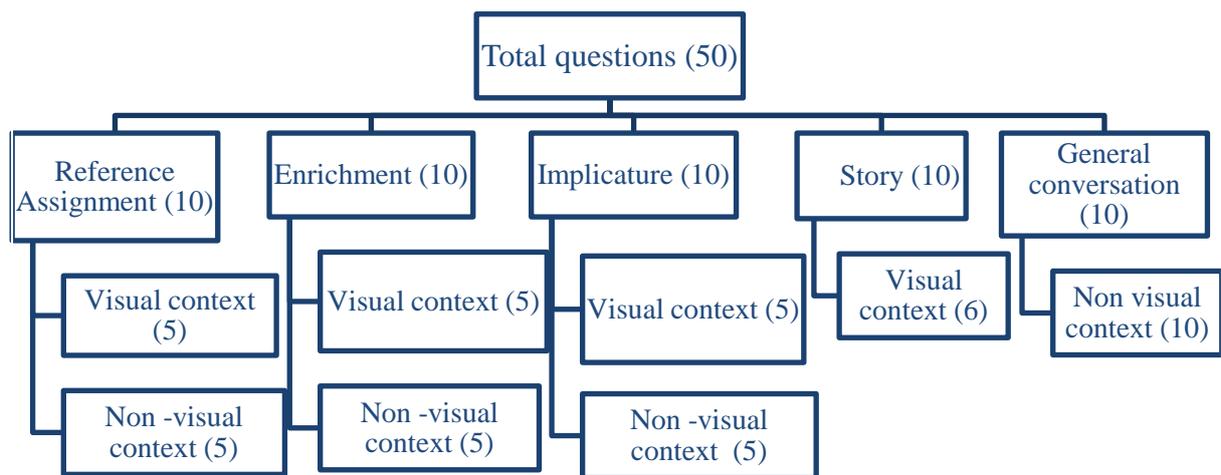


Figure 1 Illustration of the material

Validation of Material

The material developed with 50 probe questions were given to two Speech Language Pathologists (SLPs), a Professor of Linguistics and a Tamil teacher for content validation. Also, it was statistically tested on measures of agreement between the three raters (SLP,

Linguist & Tamil teacher) which revealed a kappa value of 0.730, indicating a good agreement.

Procedure

The whole assessment was carried out using three tasks:

- i. Common scenarios in daily life
- ii. A story
- iii. General conversation

The first task (common scenarios) had 30 short scenes which were divided into reference assignment (10), implicature (10) and enrichment (10). In each context, five visual and five non-visual stimuli were present. Thus, there were 15 visual and 15 non-visual stimuli in total in all three contexts. The second task has a story with six picture stimuli. Ten questions were asked based on the three pragmatic contexts. The third task was on general conversation, where the child was asked to say their experience on either a ‘visit to the beach or a temple’ along with their family members and later ten different wh - questions were asked in this context. A pilot study was carried out with 30 children in the age group of five to nine years. The material was revised based on the responses from the pilot analysis.

Execution of the Study

In the present study, 315 typically developing children were assessed for pragmatic comprehension of questions after obtaining consent from their parents. Each child was assessed separately in a quiet room in the school premises. Each session was video recorded with NIKON S8100 camera. All the three tasks (scenario, story, & general conversation) were carried out in an order. If the child was not able to answer a specific question, it was repeated once. During the recording, social reinforcement was provided to keep up the motivation of the child.

Analysis and Scoring

The responses of children were transcribed orthographically by the researcher. The answers provided by the children was rated as correct (2), correct but not appropriate (1) and

incorrect (0) using relevance theory. For example; in reference assignment, one of the probe question was /ja:riro:ɽlaoɽiɽiruka:ʔ/ (Who is running on the road?) and the expected correct answer is /ra:da/ (Radha). If the child says the expected answer, he/she would get a score of 2 (correct). If the child says /akka:/ (akka) or points to the girl in the picture, he/she would get a score of 1 (correct but not appropriate) and if there is no response or any other answer, the child would get a score of 0 (incorrect). The expected answers for all 50 questions were listed prior to analysis. A total pragmatic score was calculated for each question type by adding up the children's correct answers.

Inter-rater Reliability

Inter-rater reliability (Interclass Correlation Coefficient, ICC) was calculated between two raters. The overall ICC score of 0.986 indicated good inter-rater reliability.

Statistical Analysis

The collected data was analysed with IBM.SPSS statistical software 23.0 Version. To identify whether certain question types in Tamil are performed better among the pragmatic functions, percentage analysis was carried out and to check for significance of performance between the age groups, Mann-Whitney U test was used.

Results

I. Ability to answer different types of questions with respect to three pragmatic functions

Children's answers were analyzed and total pragmatic scores for all 50 questions were calculated. The scores for each pragmatic skills (reference assignment, enrichment, and implicature) was compared among children in the age range of 5;1 to 9;0 years. Children in 5;1-6;0 years comprehended reference assignment questions correctly at 80% level, whereas for enrichment, it was around 70% and for implicature it was only 59% of correct responses. As children grew older, (8;1-9;0 years) they were able to answer correctly at 90% level for the reference assignment and enrichment questions. However, the pragmatic scores for implicature questions reached 73% even for older age group (Table 2).

Table 2

Percentage of correct responses for questions answered by children for three pragmatic functions

Question type	5;1-6;0 years	6;1-7;0 years	7;1- 8;0 years	8;1-9;0 years
Reference Assignment				
Mean %	79	84	89	91
SD	16.32	12.07	9.39	7.88
Enrichment				
Mean	71	82	86	89
SD	12.73	14.03	10.25	9.72
Implicature				
Mean %	59	70	73	74
SD	18.41	13.37	13.77	12.74

The scores obtained for reference assignment did not differ significantly, when children between adjacent ages (5;1-6;0 & 6;1-7;0 and 7;1-8;0 & 8;1-9;0) were compared. Whereas, the scores of children were statistically significant (Mann-Whitney U test, $p < 0.000$) when alternate age ranges (5;1-6;0 years with 7;1- 8;0 & 8;1-9;0 and 6;1-7;0 years with 7;1-8;0 & 8;1 to 9;0 years) were compared.

Thus, it is inferred that difference in performance scores of children were significant, when children in one group were compared with children who were two years older than the immediate age group. For enrichment questions, scores of children were statistically significant (Mann-Whitney U test, $p < 0.000$) when 5;1-6;0 year olds were compared with 6;1-7;0, 7;1-8;0 & 8;1-9;0 and 6;1-7;0 year olds were compared with 8;1-9;0 years. Difference between other age groups did not show any significance in their scores. The implicature questions exhibited a significant difference in the scores when children in the age range of 5;1-6;0 were compared with 6;1-7;0, 7;1-8;0 & 8;1-9;0 year olds.

In story task, when children from 5;1-6;0 were compared with older age groups (6;17;0, 7;1-8;0 & 8;1-9;0), there was a significant difference in scores (Mann-Whitney U test, $p < 0.000$). Whereas, when children from 6;1-7;0 to 7;1-8;0 and 7;1-8;0 to 8;1-9;0 years were compared, there were no differences in the scores. In general conversation task, children exhibited a significant difference in scores (Mann-Whitney U test, $p < 0.003$) in almost all age groups. In summary, there was a significant developmental sequence for pragmatic skills between the ages of 5;1 and 7;0 years, after which development continued gradually up to 8;0 years of age. Children aged 8;0 and 9;0 years performed very similar to each other in all three pragmatic functions considered in this study.

II. Performance of specific question types in Tamil among the pragmatic functions

The percentage of correct responses for each question type was compiled to rank order the question types in Tamil. The following question types in Tamil were used in probe questions: /ja:ri/ (who), /enna/ (what), /jen/ (why), /enga/ (where), /eppdi/ (how), /eppa/ (when), /entha/ (which), and /ama:/ or /illa/ (yes or no). Since the number of questions was not equally distributed for each question type, frequency analysis was carried out. The overall percentage of responses was highest for /ama:/ or /illa/ (yes or no) questions, and least for /jen/ (why) questions in almost all the age groups (Figure 2).

Children in the younger group (5;1-6;0) had difficulty in comprehending /jen/ (why) questions (62%), but with an increase in age, the older children (8;1-9;0) were able to perform better (76%). Also, children from 5;1-9;0 performed /enga/ (where) and /eppa/ (when) questions comparatively better than other question types. In question types such as /ja:ri/ (who), /enna/ (what), /jen/(why), /enga/ (where), and /entha/ (which), there was a significant difference noticed when 5;1-6;0 year old children were compared with 6;1-7;0 and 7;1-8;0 year olds (Mann-Whitney U test, $p < 0.005$). Further, when 5;1-6;0 were compared with 8;1-9;0 years, there was a significant difference in all question types except /ama:/ or /illa/ (yes or no) and /enga/ (where) questions.

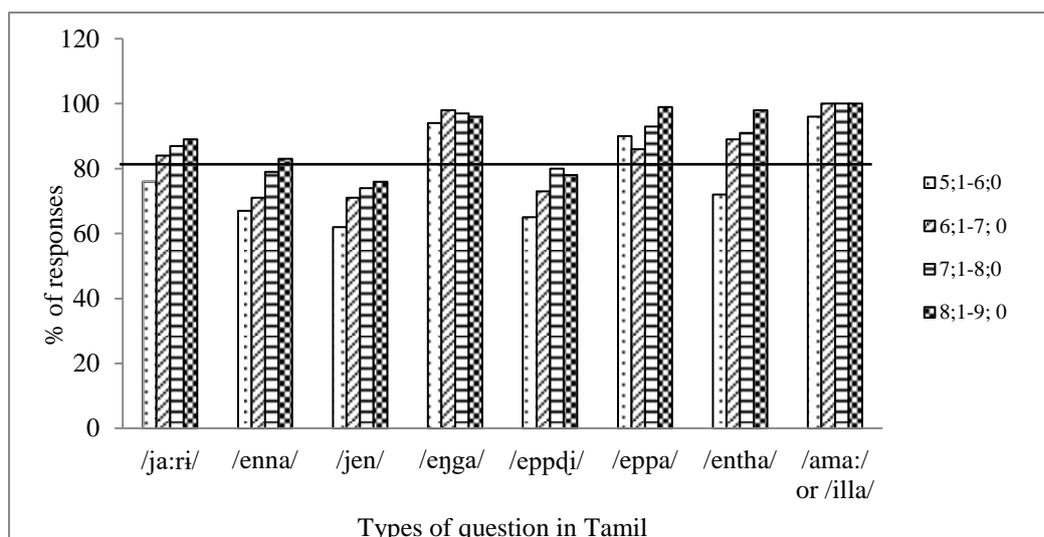


Figure 2 Percentage score for each type of questions in Tamil

While comparing 6;1-7;0 with 7;1-8;0 year old children, only /enna/ (what) question had a significant difference ($p < 0.000$). Also, there was a significant difference noticed for /ja:ri/ (who), /enna/ (what), /eppa/ (when) and /entha/ (which) questions, ($p < 0.005$) when they were compared with 8;1-9;0 years. There was no significant difference revealed for any of the question types when 7;1-8;0 year old children were compared with 8;1-9;0 years. Thus, as age increased, the overall performance of question types improved. The order of acquisition for different types of questions comprehended by children of 5;1-9;0 years is presented in figure 3. Children of 5;1-6;0 years were able to perform /ama:/ or /illa/ (yes or no), /ɛŋga/ (where), and /eppa/ (when) questions above 80%. It is evident that children in all age groups attained maximum scores (99-100%) in /ama:/ or /illa/ (yes or no) questions. Children in all age groups performed above 90% in /ɛŋga/ (where) and /eppa/ (when) questions. The ranking order of different question types are as follows: /ama:/ or /illa/ (yes or no) > /ɛŋga/ (where) > /eppa/ (when) > /entha/ (which) > /ja:ri/ (who) > /enna/ (what) > /eppɔi/ (how) > /jen/ (why).

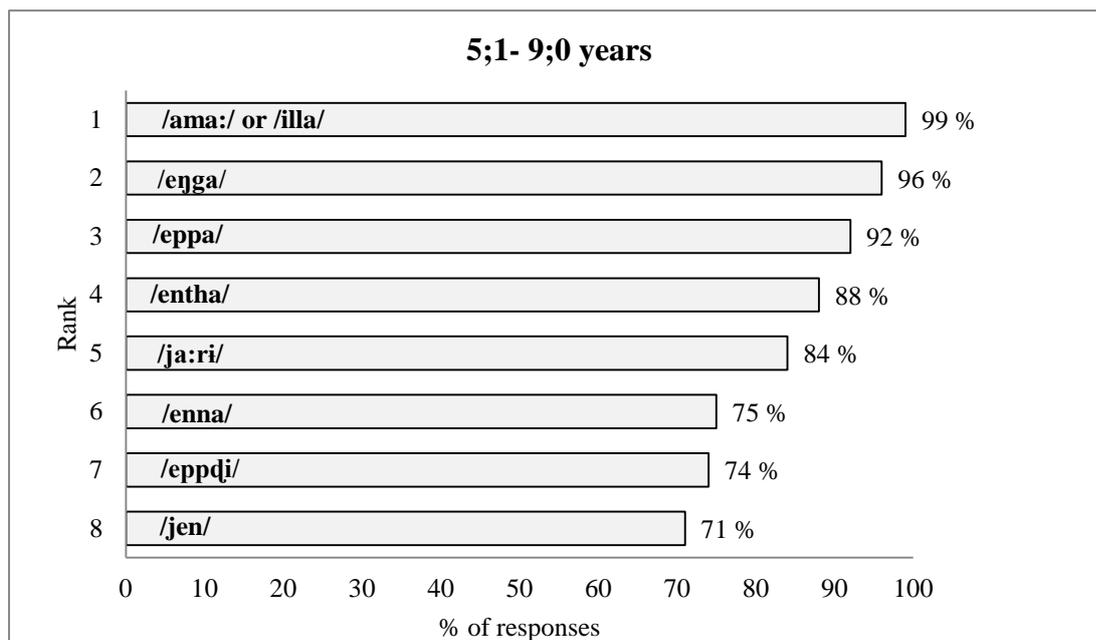


Figure 3 Ranking order of different types of Tamil questions

Discussion

The present study had two purposes, first to compare how children were able to comprehend questions in a complex contextual task. Secondly, to study the sequence of development of different types of questions in Tamil based on children's ability to answer the pragmatic questions correctly. Knowledge on what type of questions develops in typical children is needed because it provides a basis for understanding delayed or deviant development. Using relevance theory, the role of contextual information was assessed for reference assignment, enrichment and implicature questions. A developmental pattern was obtained with increased ability in comprehending different pragmatic questions.

In the present study, children reached 80% score for reference assignment and enrichment questions by the age of 7;1-8;0 years. Implicature questions scored only 73% correct responses even at 8;1-9;0 years of age. Loukusa, Leinonen, & Ryder (2007) reported on the pragmatic comprehension of questions using relevance theory in Finnish speaking children. They were able to achieve 80% correct answers for reference assignment and enrichment questions from six to seven years, and children achieved 80% score for

implicature questions from eight years onwards. A similar developmental trend was observed in Tamil speaking children. A slight difference in responses for implicature questions could be attributed to the variation in question patterns used in Tamil language. For instance, in one of the Tamil question for implicature, /puna: jenmaratkimelaje: uṭkarindṭirundidi/ (Why was the cat sitting on the tree?). Children in almost all the age group answered differently for this question such as, the cat got scared, or the dog would eat the cat etc. Whereas, the expected answer was, /naikibajandiuṭkarindṭirundidi/ (Because the cat was scared of the dog, so was sitting on the tree). Also, their world knowledge and contextual clues play an important role while answering implicature questions.

The current study revealed that, highest increase in correct answers were observed between 5;1-6;0 and 6;1-7;0 for all three pragmatic skills. This could be due to the development of other cognitive functions such as the working memory (Gathercole& Baddeley 1993), direct attention(Buckley 2003),and ability to understand the mind (thinking) of others (Wellman & Lagattuta 2000). Also, between the ages of 4;0-6;0 years there is increase in world knowledge due to new experiences, which in turn helps them to derive meanings from a given context (Wellman & Lagattuta, 2000).

Eson and Shapiro (1982) suggested that children between 2;4 and 4;0 comprehended sentences literally. Children between 4;0 and 6;1 were able to make inferences utilizing pragmatic information, while children between 4;0 and 4;6 were found to comprehend in both ways. This evidence explains plausible reason for lower scores in children in younger age group exhibited incorrect responses. A developmental pattern was evident which revealed increased ability to use contextually complex questions as age increased.

Children responded to yes/no questions appropriately in almost all the age groups as it is used often to know about their preferences in day today activities. Children between 5;1 and 9;0 performed above 90% in /enṅa/ (where) and /eppa/ (when) questions. James and Seebach (1982) stated that children produced *what* question type by 2;0 and produced *yes/no* question type by 3;0 for conversation function. With the above mentioned results and evidence,

children attained ceiling in comprehending the question types - *yes/no*, *tag*, */jar/* (who), */enna/* (what) and */enda/* (which) questions in Tamil.

Conclusion

The present study investigated how typically developing children comprehend contextually demanding questions in Tamil. This study supported the view that pragmatic comprehension abilities of children can be meaningfully examined in relation to question types derived from relevance theory. The results indicated that as children grew older, their ability to use complex contextual information in answering different types of questions increased. In Tamil, there are no language tests for exploring contextual/pragmatic comprehension in children as on date. In addition to the lack of tests, there is limited knowledge on development of normal pragmatic comprehension, which causes difficulties in clinical setting when there is a need to assess atypical children. Thus, the results of this study on typically developing children provide an important data on the development of pragmatic comprehension of questions in Tamil speaking children. In future, this material can be utilized in clinical assessment of Tamil children with delayed or deviant pragmatic language. Continued efforts are needed in training and increasing awareness on typical development and red flags indicating children with pragmatic issues such as autism, specific language impairment and attention deficit hyperactive disorder.

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Appendix 1

Illustrations of a few scenarios using different types of questions in Tamil:

i. Reference Assignment

Scenario (with picture)

Picture-1: /vi:navumkartijumpaḍamvaraijalamnipesit̄irundaŋga/

Translation: Veena and Karthi were talking to each other about drawing pictures.

Picture -2: /peperumkalarpensilumteḍit̄irundaŋga/. /avaŋakitapeperiruki,
a:nakalarpensililla/

Translation: They were searching for paper and colour pencils. They had only paper but no colour pencils.

Picture -3: /apoavaŋgaappa: vitikivanda:ri/. /na:

uŋgalikikalarpensilvaŋgitivandirkenisonnari/.

/adipativ:navumkartijumrombasandofapaṭaŋga/.

Translation: When daddy came home, he said “I have bought new colour pencils for you”. Veena and Karthi were very happy.

Probe question: /vi:najarodapesit̄irunda?/

Translation: Whom was Veena speaking with?

Expected answer:/kartioda/

Translation: with Karthi

ii. Enrichment

Scenario (verbal)

Scene 1:/rahulkikala:nd̄iparitt̄fainad̄and̄it̄irundiḍi/

Translation: Rahul’s quarterly exams were going on.

Scene 2:/aporahulsonna: appa: enasku:lli:vlaeŋgakuṭit̄ipoviŋga/

Translation: He asks his dad, “Where will you take me during vacations?”

Scene 3:/adukiappa: sonna:rimudallaeksamnallaeḍdini/

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Translation: So his dad replies “you write your exams well first”.

Question: /appa: enna: sollavarari/

Translation: What is dad trying to tell Rahul?

Expected answer: /eksamnallae.ɟinakuʈiʈipovari/

Translation: Daddy/father is trying to say that, if Rahul does his exams well, then dad will take him for an outing”.

iii. Implicature

Scenario (with picture)

Picture -1:/orina:ipunajaroʈlavegamma: turatikitivandada:/

Translation: A dog was chasing the cat on the road.

Picture-2: /apoandapuna: na:ikibajandiorimarati mela: eridʈi/

Translation: The cat climbs the tree as it got scared of the dog.

Picture-3: /na:imaratkikilaje: ninukitiirundidi/

Translation: The dog was standing under the tree.

Question: puna: jenmaratkimelaje: uʈkarindʈiirundidi/

Translation: Why was the cat sitting on the tree?

Expected answer: /naikibajandi uʈkarindʈiirundidi/

Translation: Because the cat was scared of the dog, and so was sitting on the tree.



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Myths and Beliefs of the Aka Koro Community of Arunachal Pradesh

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Abstract

In this paper the authors describe the linguistic and cultural specialities of a minority tribal community named **Aka Koro** or **Koro** in the East and West Kameng districts of the western end of Arunachal Pradesh, India. The Koro belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of languages and this article explores Aka Koro's mythological concept about the Creation of the Universe. Here the researchers describe some of the most powerful beliefs and myths related to this indigenous community. The study also shows that the Koro language has some minor lexical similarities with Miji and Hrusso languages which are found in the local language history of Arunachal Pradesh.

Key Words: Aka Koro, Mythology, Concepts, Universe, nyecu in Aka, kannagon nyechu (Genesis beginning of evolution), kannagong nyecho (Creation of universe both living and nonliving)

Introduction

The Aka Koro is an indigenous minority tribe living in Pichang, Kajung, Chichang, Kichang, Kandeya, Sapung, Pochung, and New Sapung in the East Kameng District and Palizi in the West Kameng District in the North Eastern part of Arunachal Pradesh. Most of these villages are situated in the distant and deep forest and mountain ridges with fresh air and snowy climate. These people live in their own huts. In earlier times most people were uneducated and were living with their own traditional way with agriculture, hunting, collecting forest products and fishing, etc. But now they have adopted modern ways of living. The Koro tribe has their own

language, culture, customs, traditions and beliefs in their way of life. Unfortunately Koro's native's language is at the edge of extinction due to globalization and language shifts. Their population is nearly 800 to 1200. They are proud of their unique language, culture, belief, and tradition. The study explains some of the mythological concepts of Aka Koro community and their beliefs in the creation of the world. Aka Koro people believe in the origin of the universe through mythical heroes in several stages.

Review of Literature

In October 6th 2010, a linguistic group of David Harrison, Gregory Anderson, and Ganesh Murmu¹ from the Institute for Endangered Languages in America identified a language which is different from Hruso Aka named 'Aka Koro'. It is also acknowledged that this is entirely different from all other languages of Arunachal Pradesh linguistically and culturally. Consequently, the *National Geographic Daily News* published an article based on their discovery in 5th October 2010². In 2009 also Lewis M. Paul (2009) mentioned about Hruso languages, which was quoted in *Ethnologue*³. The Ako people have only spoken language.

Methodology

The study uses both primary and secondary data. Authors of this article gathered data directly from field visits and also from publications such as books, magazines and journals and different web pages. The present study goes through different steps. The primary data was collected directly from a very old grandmother who belongs to Aka Koro community in the settlement of Kichang village in the Bana circle of East Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh. Data was collected through face to face communication and was recorded using an audio device with the help of a bilingual mediator.

This article also examines some of the mythological concepts of the creation of Universe of the indigenous people of the Kichang village of Arunachal Pradesh. In a deeper analysis, one can observe that there exists some mythical concepts related to the origin of Universe in ancient Roman and Hindu Vedic cosmologies about loka or lokas (world).

General Mythological Concept of Creation of the Universe

What is Mythology?

Mythology has been discussed differently as the collected myths of a group of people or the study of such myths. Myths are the stories people tell to explain nature, history, and customs. The myth is a feature of every culture. Creation myths are the most common form of myths, usually developing first in oral traditions, and are found throughout human culture, although not necessarily in a historical or literal sense. When identifying the types of myths, it always is presented under divine, nature, afterlife, origin, prestige, etc. Myths are often stories told by a particular people such as Indians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and others. They are especially linked to religious beliefs and rituals. People believe that myths would help to achieve prosperity or to make choices and promote stability in the land.

Many sources for myths have been proposed ranging from a personification of nature or personification of natural phenomena, to truthful or hyperbolic accounts of historical events to explanations of existing rituals. The study of myth began in ancient history.

Indian Mythology of the Universe

World's religions have innumerable thoughts and convictions about the starting point of the universe, including individuals and creatures. Typically these appear as creation accounts in the holy books of the religions concerned. Indian (Hindu) mythological stories include the Samudra Manthan in Sanskrit literature, where it means churning of the ocean and Vishnu Avatar stories from Vedas and Puranas wherein Lord Brahma created the world and how Samudra Manthan formed some important universal things like the moon, wealth, the poison, plants, medicines, animals, etc., and how Lord Vishnu along with Lord Shiva helped in this process.

Mythology of the Creation of Universe

The Aka Koro possesses an entirely different but unique concept about the creation of the Universe, with no mythological comparison in other religions or communities. As per the Aka

legend or mythological history, the evolution or the creation of the universe, both living and nonliving come under the following stages:

Six Stages of Evolution

According to the Ako koro, there are six stages of evolution which they call ‘miingkhu fece faya’. All the six stages of evolution come in the first and second parts which are named kannagōṅ nyecu and muragōṅ nyecu. The word ‘nyecu’ in Ako means ‘resting stone’. The six stages are listed below for further explanation.

Stage 1: (a) kannagōṅ nyecu → Genesis /beginning of evolution

(b) kannagōṅ nyecu → Creation of universe both living and non-living.

Stage 2: muragōṅ nyecu → Introduction of human being with the universe,
(Complete creation of universe both living and non-living)

Stage 3: dudaru nyecu → Men dominates over the living bird

Stage 4: baipə nyecu → Stage where men dominate over the living herbivorous
-animals

Stage 5: kikoro nyecu → Stage where men dominate over the living carnivorous
animals

Stage 6: uwugo talego → Division of human beings as various tribes and races etc.

Stage 1: kannagōṅ nyecu

In this stage of the creation myth we see that the ‘kannagōṅ nyecu’, in its beginning was a vast empty vacuum without any shape and size. There was no light and singleness was the only object hovering over darkness. From here it animated an invisible spirit called ‘mūṅ.sas.lōṅ’ which was vested with omnipotent invisible power which embodied itself over the dark universe. The ‘mūṅ.sas.lōṅ’ is a possessor of all the superpower over the Universe. He first began to create the ‘mūṅ muje’ which means ‘Dark sky’ without a shape. Second, he created ‘ku-kuje’ which means the unshaped Earth. Third, he created “ku -kulap[am]” meaning Earth as – mass body; and fourth, ‘mūṅ - muṅlap[am]’ (the shape of the sky). Fifth, ‘obu’ (a rock) was created.

Sixth, it was ‘ku- kugroŋ’ (uneven laud over the mass laud). Seventh, it was mūŋ - muŋroŋ (unsighted part of the sky). Eighth, ‘mūŋ muŋnoni’ (the greenish part of the sky). Ninth, ‘ku – kunoni’(the soil over the rocks).Tenth, ‘mūŋ muse’ (the sky as a clean sight). Eleventh ‘ku. Kuse’ (the fertile soil over the earth surface) and Twelfth, ‘mene āla’ (sun and moon).

After creating this ‘mene aala’ the light begun to shine over the Universe. The ‘mūŋ.sas.lōŋ’ gave the name day part as ‘uwugōŋ’ or “menebu” and the dark part as ‘talegōŋ’ or ‘mepa’ which means ‘night’. But still ‘mūŋ.sas.lōŋ’ felt unsatisfactory over what he has created. So in the thirteenth step he created four practitioners or deities for judgment over his created Universe – they are:

- muŋ kicāŋ
 - muŋ kucāŋ
- } For heaven as male
- ku kicāŋ
 - ku kucāŋ
- } For earth for female

Now with the combination of the above four spirits, ‘mūŋ.sas.lōŋ’ created one creature, a huge bird called ‘cuŋdōm puŋgum’ or “mete” to divide the earth and sky as a separate object. So it was separated accordingly by the above creature. In the fifteenth step of creation he made the pole star to illuminate the sky.

After this ‘sas.lōŋ’, all the above mentioned deities commanded upon the earth and sky to expand as much as they can, but they saw that the sky could not expand as much as the earth has expanded. Hence the earth has to pull back or retrench its length equivalent to the sky, resulting in the earth surface becoming unequal everywhere. From here they formed the mountain, hills, plains, valleys and gorge as part of the Earth. In the sixteenth step, ‘mūŋ.sas.lōŋ’ created the

mist, called ‘supe’ from a combination of the rock and soil and so mist was formed and water began to accumulate. Thus water was formed and river stream began to flow.

After completing all these, ‘mūη.sas.lōη’ with animation of the above-created spirits or deities assumed position as ‘seu. togōη’ the great benevolent of the Universe. After; ‘seu. togōη’, he again created another benevolent protector which is a spirit or deity called ‘jōnki’ followed by another spirit called ‘inri rād^h’ (evil spirit) and many other Gods and Goddesses.

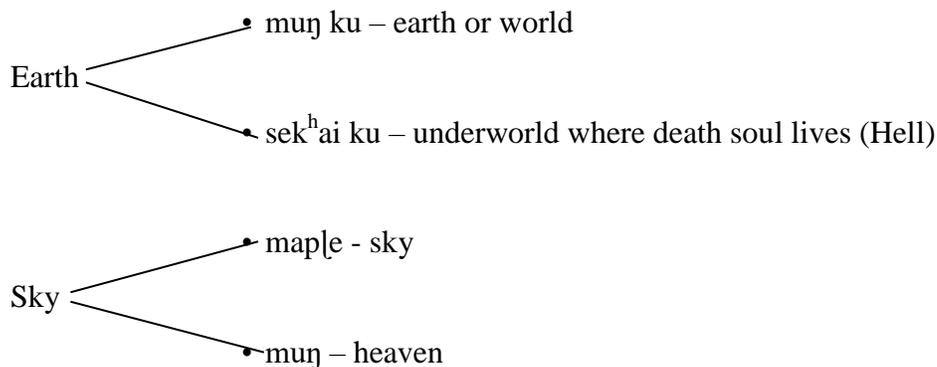
Then he created ‘habāη’ and ‘nangraη’ or (nanu funu), i.e., various living plants. At last the animals, birds, and insects, fishes, etc., were created.

Then ‘seu. togōη’ and ‘mūη.sas.lōη’ together created the seasons in the following four categories as per the changes of the sun and its temperatures.

They are:

1. sijuη yiη = uajai ju,gibi → Winter season
2. lelōη yiη = sujumuku → Spring season
3. jugugam →kale →Summer season
4. sama gam → uku alla →Autumn season

After creating these four seasons, ‘seu. togōη’ divided the Earth and sky into two parts:



Stage 2:- muragōη nyecu

In the second stage of ‘muragōᅇ nyecu’ comes the Creation of ‘ma’ or Woman. After the complete creation of the Universe, ‘seu togong’, the deities gathered at the place called ‘mung rulum’/ Khu rulum, to discuss the creation of human being which will be an extraordinary creature on the Earth. In the first instance, they evoked their power of the spirit upon a seed called “sokoya bem”, and sowed the seed on the above-accumulated water (lake) by enchanting the following Mantra:

ciᅇgum kannagōᅇ
narbāᅇ kannagōᅇ
ko seu de togōᅇ de
jōᅇkorelo sukugāᅇ bem
dem lelo ruᅇde
jira miji pipe fomo, ti sokuyāᅇ
bem nu cinoro , aganoro
bemu de ce dem gedelo
jira sas.lōᅇ , mijji basᅇa puᅇde

It was believed that if there was possibility of creating a human being the above ‘sokuga bem’ seed would sprout and would be well germinated. That would indicate the possibility of existence on Earth by chanting the Mantra. At that time ‘seu togōᅇ’ they sowed the seed on the ‘muᅇ rulum’ the place; the ‘seu togōᅇ’ and all the deities attentively watching over the seed sown. When they saw that, the very seed began to sprout and start germinating for slow growth.

Now ‘seu togōᅇ’ was quite happy on seeing the growing plant. Then with the help of the grown plant ‘seu togōᅇ’ created the first ‘sokōᅇ sas.lōᅇ’ which was soulless. The ‘sokōᅇ sas.lōᅇ’ was incomplete human being. So in the 2nd instance they again created ‘mōRu sas.lōᅇ’, but that too was not fully formed.

In the 3rd instance ‘seu togōᅇ’ created ‘jiRa sas.lōᅇ’ as a man with soul in it. In the 4th, they created ‘mijji sas.lōᅇ’ as last stage of man, with soul and mind which could act on their own.

As ‘mijji sas.lōŋ’ was alone, ‘seu’ togōŋ’ with the help of soil they created a female body called ‘basla’ and they united the both creatures as a husband and wife. When ‘sas.lōŋ’ married ‘basla’ they were the only living human beings on Earth. They gave birth to two children one female and one male. They were ‘palia mōcco’(girl) and ‘lugia seju’ (boy).

When both grew up there was no human being on the Earth to marry her or him. At last, when they grew up and got educated, both elder sister and younger brother got married. It is said that while ‘legia seju’ was catching fish in the river his elder sister ‘p ālā mōcco’ also followed. When her brother gave his fishes to ‘pālia mōcco’ (elder sister), unexpectedly his finger fell over the breast of his elder sister. The touching of his finger over the breast had given much excitement to both, resulting in the sexual relationship of the two. After this, both had to marry each other but they had to take permission from their parents. Subsequently, both ‘sasloŋ’ and ‘basla’ called all the benevolent Gods to discuss the subject and found that since there is no human being on the Earth, they can be married peacefully. Thus both were allowed to live as husband and wife. After this, it is said that ‘sasloŋ’ and ‘basla’ gave birth to two children as ‘masa’ the male child and ‘mege’ the female.

These stories concentrate more on the mythical concepts of creation of the universe, but the traditional myths of Aka Koro are significant in terms of creation of man and woman and the expansion of humanity.

Conclusion

In this article, the authors made an attempt to find out the existing mythological concepts that Aka Koro believe in. These stories explain their concept of creation and evolution of the universe including mankind and their different stages. The study also gives us an idea about their language and linguistic contents. One can observe that the endangered cultural artefacts and linguistic variations remain significant with regard to oral histories, customary melodies, verses and other fine arts. As Steiner observes, ‘when a people’s language dies their world also dies’. Therefore it is important to understand and acknowledge the oral tradition, cultural values and folktales of the indigenous people and their world.

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Bodo Poets: A New Beginning

Barnali Sikder



Dr. Anil Boro

Courtesy: <http://www.nezine.com/info/Few%20Poems%20of%20Anil%20Boro>

The Question of Ethnicity and Identity

The northeastern part of India is formed with seven states which include Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Sikkim. All these states are known for its natural beauty, its exotic food, its vibrant culture, and its tribes, but when it comes to the question of literature and literary understanding of the writers from this region no one can trace a single and specific flavor of literature of this region. It is mainly because different tribes from this region carry different sentiment for this region. Difference in culture and language never allowed them to thrive towards a common goal but it may be said that literature from north-east often carry the question of ethnicity and identity.

From writers like Laxminath Bezborua to Hemen Borgohain carry a legacy of projecting Assamese “Tholua Sanskrity” - that can be translated as “ethnic culture”. Within this ethnic cultural space of Assamese literature, many writers are writing in Tribal languages of greater Assam.

Within this well nurtured ethnic cultural space of Assamese literature, like many other tribes such as Bodos are trying to secure their space. Dr. Anil Boro is one of such writers, who writes in the language Bodo and he himself translates them into English. Before going deep into some of Dr. Anil Boro’s writings, here the need to explore a bit on various aspects of this particular tribe can be felt. Without understanding the background in which these Bodo writers are writing, it will not be possible to justify any reading on either their language or their literature.

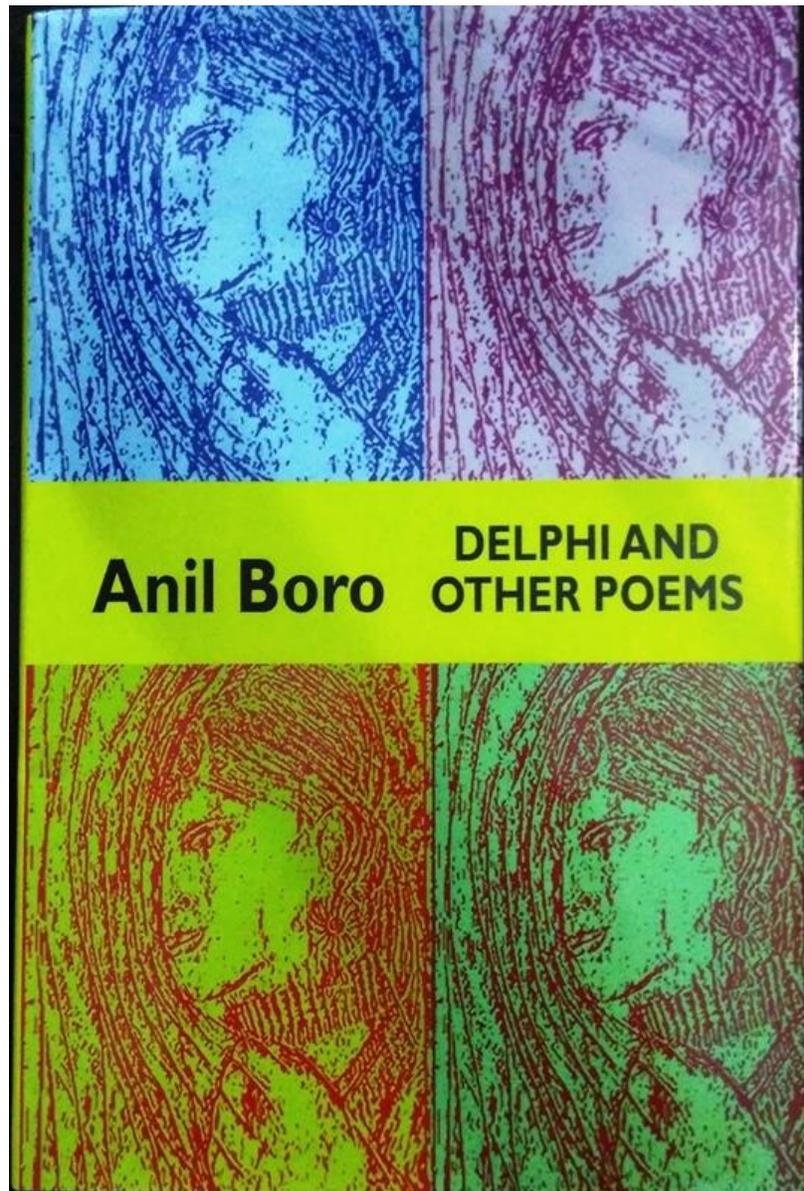
Bodo

Bodo are considered to be the largest plain Tribe of Assam. After the formation of Bodo Territorial Council (BTC), Bodos of Assam could get their ground for asserting their identity. This particular tribe of Assam like many other tribes followed an oral tradition. The written literature of early Bodo writers before independence was in the language Bangla but after independence it slowly started following Assamese language and its script. It is only after 1963 Bodos started using Devanagari script after a long battle. *Bodo Thunlai Afat* the most influential literary forum of Bodos was established in the year 1952 had taken important role in establishing Bodo literature. It is only after the inclusion of Bodo language in the 8th Schedule of Indian Constitution that Sahitya Akademy Award has been given in Bodo literature.

Role of Translation

Thus it may be said that the literature written in the language Bodo is still in its primary level compared to literature in other languages. In such circumstances, translation can play a crucial role in promoting literature to a larger reading public. It is through translation that these Bodo writings can enter into the larger sphere literature where their voice will be heard. When

readership will increase, automatically the regional literature will cross its boundary of language to enter into the new world of acceptance. In the present context the long struggle of Bodo's to claim their Social, cultural and political rights is echoed through their literature and thus when these literary works get translated , their long withdrawn identity reaches out to the common people.



Dr. Anil Boro

Dr. Anil Boro, is an associate professor in the Department of Folklore, Gauhati University, Guwahati. He is the winner of Sahitya Akademy Award for his writings, specifically

for poetry. He was awarded Sahitya Akademi Award in the year 2013 for “Delphini Onthai Mwdai Arw Gubun Gubun Khonthai”. Dr. Anil Boro is engaged in creative writing for a long time. In his writings, readers can easily locate a writer’s anxiety in establishing a distinctive identity of Bodo literature. He said “it is a voice still unheard in midst of multiple dominant voices, it is the duty of the Bodo poets and authors to make their poetic voices audible” (Boro, 2004).

Here for this write up four poems of Dr. Anil Boro has been chosen which are translated from Bodo to English by the poet himself. The selected poems are as follows:

A Sky: Poetry, The Peace Bird, What’s Your Worry, and Fire in the Forest.

Anxiety and Emotion of the Poet

These above mentioned translated poems of Dr. Anil Boro truly reflect his sentiment as a Bodo poet. In all these poems the anxiety and the emotion of the poet is captured. It is evident that the poet cannot run away from the truth, the violence, the struggle, the oppression and the agitation. For him poetry is the only possible medium to transcend his soul to that height where he will be able to search for truth.

In the poem *A Sky: Poetry*, the poet has clearly stated -

I have a sky of my own
A Sky;
Poetry
A garden of solitude

For him it is in poetry, where he can search for ‘a garden of solitude’. Poetry is considered here as his own share of sky. It appears that he had searched a lot and it is in poetry that he can get the freedom that he longed for. This longing is expressed in much vivid words in the last two lines of the poem:

Words kiss words as
One heart embraces the other

In these last two lines of the poem, the poet expresses his ability to reach out to that extent through his words and through his poetry where he will be able to find peace. He wants to reach to that place where ‘one heart embraces the other’, and the road through which he will reach to that place is “poetry”. It seems that the poet knows it very well , it is only through poetry, it is only through words that he will be able to talk about peace and ask for his own share of sky.

The Peace Bird

In the poem *The Peace Bird*, the poet extends the same kind of emotion as he had expressed in the *A Sky: Poetry*. In this poem it is evident that the violence in the society is making him upset. He is hoping that the “peace bird” will fly to him “after the dark smoke of blast”. He is hopeful that the “innocent smiles bloom on the lips of children” after the “animal brutality of merciless killing”. The poet is again hopeful in restoring a “dying generation”.

“who pretend to wear steal heart--

A heart made of machines”.

A generation of youth, having the orientation of living amidst fear, violence and oppression, pretends to be less emotional. It seems that they have developed a heart which mechanically beats and which has stopped feeling. The long struggle of Bodos for claiming their own identity and their own land has withdrawn life and peace from a generation of youth. In this poem the poet has talked about his concern for this generation of youth who are deaf with the sound of ‘Blast’ and who are mechanized to believe in violence. But what is important here is that the poet is very much positive in his approach, as he is really hopeful for a future when peace will be restored in this land. The world that he imagines is that of a pristine tribal world where man and nature co – exists and he wants to believe that world can be saved with genuine effort.

What's your worry?

In poems like *What's your worry?* The poet tries to give an answer to the question - often asked to these natives of North East, a question about their anxiety, about their struggle, which is not familiar to those who never cared for them. This is the reason why the poet has firmly stated

“Your worry
Can't be mine”

The agenda of struggle for these people is very different and thus it cannot be understood by others. The “worry” is very much specific to these people and their question of identity and existence. Within very few lines of this small poem, Dr. Anil Boro, engages his readers with a very crucial question and comes up with a very apt answer, through which it can be understood that people in general can never realize the critical socio-political agenda of these natives from Assam.

Fire in the Forest

In poems like *Fire in the Forest*, the poet again comes up with the idea of identity of Bodo's and their affinity with nature. Nature is the home of the poet, it is in the forest that he can find his refuge. It is nature where he can listen to the music of *Sifung* and *Kham* but this music can no longer be heard as these people are uprooted from their original place that is nature. He writes “the virgin fields leaped up to the tune of *Sifung/ now they have built tall buildings/ and built their capital here.*” The poet deeply regrets the fact that he is writing in an age where people remain busy in mundane reality away from nature. Thus the melancholy of this poet can be heard clearly. The poem ends with these lines: “There is fire, fire everywhere/fire in the virgin forest” – where the poet has again provided a vivid picture of the condition of the indigenous people who totally depend on the forest which is now set on fire. It is again the question of home and land that haunts him. He cannot move away from the questions related to the life and existence of Bodos, thus poetry is the only weapon in his hand with which he can counter all such questions.

Representative Voice of Bodo's

All in all it can be said that in these select poems, Dr. Anil Boro appears to be the representative voice of Bodos. It is for his deliberate portrayal of the condition of this ethnic community from North Eastern part of India, Bodo literature has moved towards a much brighter position. His contribution in enriching the literature written in Bodo language is a milestone. Another most important aspect of his poetic career is that he translates his own poems in English so that his voice can reach out to a large number of readers throughout India. He affirms his position in the literary scenario of Greater Assam through his truthful projection of feelings and sentiment of Bodos, the largest plains tribe of Assam.

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Environmental Print Awareness in English and Tamil in Indian Children

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Abstract

Environmental print awareness refers to the stage of literacy development when children recognize familiar symbols and words, and display understanding and knowledge that print carries meaning. It has been well documented in literature that environmental print awareness influences the development of early literacy skills. This study was conducted to understand the development of environmental print awareness in kindergarten children. Thirty-eight typically developing Tamil speaking children enrolled in a English medium school and belonging to middle socioeconomic status, were followed from LKG to first grade. They were presented with 15 logos in English and 15 logos in Tamil as they appear in the environment. The 15 logos in each language belonged to three categories: child related, home related and community related. The children were presented with these stimuli every six months and their responses were recorded. Correct responses were given a score of 1 and wrong responses/ no responses were given a score of 0. The scores were analysed to look for a developmental trend in the awareness of environmental print. Results revealed that, across all the readings, children recognized child related logos best, followed by home related and then community related logos. In LKG, fewer logos were recognized and there were no differences in the recognition of English as compared to Tamil. In UKG and grade 1, more numbers of logos were recognized and English logos were recognized better than Tamil. The findings of this study have implications in creating literacy rich environments for children at home and school.

Children's Experiences with Print

Children's experiences with print start as early as they start actively engaging themselves with the print in their world. Children have ample exposure to environmental print such as sign

boards, road signs, logos of products, etc., even if they are not exposed to books or other literacy materials. Young children come to experience print through shared interactions with environmental print (Enz, Prior, Gerard, & Han, 2008; Neumann, Hood, Ford, & Neumann, 2012; Vera, 2011). Children are generally able to recognize environmental print before they are able to read print in books and thus enter school with an understanding that print conveys some meaning (Kuby & Aldridge, 2004). The appearance of symbolic function corresponds to the understanding of environmental print in children (Ginsburg & Opper, 1988).

Environmental print refers to the surrounding non-continuous print that fulfils real-life functions. Environmental print is typically large, bold and uses varying colors and fonts not typically seen in books (Neumann, Hood, & Ford, 2013). Environmental print appears in a variety of fonts, shapes, sizes and generally in capital letters (Horner, 2005; Vukelich, Christie, & Enz, 2008). It includes the forms of print available in the child's environment, like the writing present on toys, commercialized print on grocery products, popular restaurant signs, or large billboards along a highway and street signs (Pelatti, et al., 2014; Stewart & Lovelace, 2006; Adams, 1990). Thus, there are various categories of environmental print including child related, household related and community related (Horner, 2005). Researchers have shown that children tend to enjoy reading environmental print before they engage in reading print in books (Goodman, 1980; Hiebert, 1983, 1986; Hall, 1985; Wepner, 1985; Kontos, 1986; McGee, 1986; Aldrige & Rust, 1987; Clay, 1991). Environmental print awareness refers to the stage of literacy development when children recognize familiar symbols and words, and display understanding and knowledge that print carries meaning (American Speech-Language Hearing Association, 2001). According to Whitehurst and Lonigan (1998), environmental print is a sample measure of pretending to read, and pretending to read is a component of emergent reading.

Developmental models of reading assume that beginning readers process information differently from mature readers. Models proposed by Chall (1983), Ehri (1985) and Frith (1985) explain the progression of stages in the development of reading. According to Frith (1985), there are logographic, alphabetic and orthographic stages in the development of reading in alphabetic languages. Environmental print awareness corresponds to the logographic stage in

children.

Typically, children begin to recognize environmental print in context around 3 years of age. By the ages of 4 or 5 years, typically developing children can recognize some forms of environmental print with contextual cues, but accuracy decreases when contextual cues are removed (Goodman, 1986). According to Pelatii, et al. (2014), environmental print awareness develops as a continuum with children first exhibiting an interest for print and its meaning and eventually learning that print units are related to each other.

Research has also demonstrated that print from the environment gives young children confidence to experiment and use print resources to improve their writing (Tunks & Giles, 2007). Children sometimes use environmental print simply as a source to copy without regard to its meaning. Also, environmental print helps in the learning of correct spellings of particular words or phrases, which children see often in their immediate environment. It is also interesting to note that, regardless of socioeconomic status (Heath, 1983; Purcell-Gates, 1996) or home language (Teale, 1986; Xu, 1999) environmental print positively affects later reading skills in all children. Therefore, it was noticed that, many early childhood educators have used environmental print as part of their early literacy programmes (Cloer, Aldridge, & Dean, 1981, 1982; Aldridge & Rust, 1987; Kirkland, Aldridge & Kuby, 1991).

In order to recognize logos, children make use of graphic cues like font, as well as visual, non-graphic cues, such as the yellow arches of McDonald's logo. Young children seem to use the visual instead of the graphic cues, while recognizing logos (Masonheimer, Drum, & Ehri, 1984). Typically environmental print awareness of young children is assessed by using everyday advertisement logos, brands, street signs, shop names and billboards (Masonheimer, Drum, & Ehri, 1984; Sulzby & Teale, 1991). A study by Jagadish (1991) on Indian children showed that children demonstrate some amount of logographic reading (one of the initial stages of reading development) right from two years of age, with a significant increase around four and a half years of age. This is the stage when children are able to recognise environmental print, because they are able to combine logographic strategies with alphabetic strategies.

Environmental print awareness can be enhanced in children by parents and teachers. Parents can actively point out to words and letters in the environment during playtime (Gerard, 2004; Lass, 1982). The interactions of parents and children with environmental print can be understood in terms of Vygotsky's (1978) socio-cultural perspective. From this perspective, it can be understood that parents can scaffold literacy interactions with their children (Clarke-Stewart & Beck, 1999; Dodici, Draper, & Peterson, 2003; Trawick-Smith & Dziurgot, 2011; Vandermaas-Peeler, Nelson, Bumpass, & Sassine, 2009). Justice and Pullen (2003) used the term "print referencing" which involves the parents' use of both verbal (comments and questions e.g., that's the letter A; where is the word dog?) and non-verbal references (pointing to and tracking print with a finger). Print referencing during storybook reading also enhances print and word awareness in children (Justice & Ezell, 2000; Justice & Pullen, 2003). In many instances, when parents point out print in the environment, children respond positively (Sinclair & Golan, 2002; Neumann, Hood, & Neumann, 2009; Neumann & Neumann, 2010). When children begin to read environmental print logographically, by using visual cues rather than letter-sound analysis skills (Frith, 1985), they gain meaning from the print which is an important component of emergent literacy (Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). Apart from informal interactions during play, explicit guidance from a parent during shared literacy activities supports the development of emergent literacy skills (Bus, van IJzendoorn, & Pelligrini, 1995; Sénéchal & Le Fevre, 2002, Neumann et al., 2009).

By intentionally including environmental print activities in their classrooms, teachers can provide opportunities for children to connect their prior knowledge to literacy experiences in school. Experiences with familiar print assist children with word recognition and provide a sense of ownership when they recognise logos and product labels that they see every day (Prior, 2009). However, a study by Kassow (2006) concluded that the knowledge of environmental print was a poor predictor of later literacy, regardless of the socio-economic status, ethnicity and geographical region. Zhao, et al. (2013) concluded that environmental print was not effective in teaching literacy in the early years, but could be effective as the child matures, if it was accompanied by adult scaffolding, interaction and support.

Need for the Study

It has been well documented in literature that environmental print awareness, scaffolded by adults contributes positively to aspects of emergent literacy development in children. There are no studies on environmental print awareness in Tamil speaking children. This study is the first to explore the categories of environmental print and awareness of the same in English as well as in Tamil in Indian children.

Method

Thirty-eight typically developing kindergarten children from an English medium school with “Central Board of Secondary Education” curriculum in the state of Tamil Nadu in India participated in the study. These children were followed from kindergarten to first grade at 4 intervals of six months each to observe the development of print skills.

Detailed demographic data including home language and languages exposed to were collected. The ‘WHO Ten-Question Screen (cited in Durkin et al., 1994) was used to collect details of the children’s development. The Assessment Checklist for Speech and Language Skills (Geetha, 2006) was administered to rule out any speech-language delay/disorders. Hearing related issues like hearing loss, repeated middle ear problems and indications of auditory processing problems was ruled out in these children using checklist developed based on the ‘Colorado Early Childhood Hearing Screening Guidelines (Johnson, Thomson & Specht, 2001). Children with visual problems were excluded from the study, while those with corrected vision were included. Children with a history of seizures, delayed motor development, gross and fine motor deficits and those children with physical impairments were also excluded from the study.

Thirty-eight children, 24 male and 14 female were selected for the study. The ages of these children ranged between 3;7 years and 4;6 years. All the children had the home language as Tamil. All the children belonged to middle socio economic status as determined on the basis of the revised NIMH Socioeconomic Status (SES) Scale (Venkatesan, 2009). Informed consent was taken from the parents of the children prior to their inclusion in the study.

Environmental print awareness was assessed by presenting a series of logos representing various brands/products, to the children using a PowerPoint presentation. The children were presented with 15 logos in English and 15 logos in Tamil as they appear in the environment (Refer to APPENDIX). The 15 logos in each language belonged to three categories: child related, home related and community related. The children were instructed to look at the logo and name the brand/product. For every correct response, a score of '1' was given. If the child was unable to identify the brand/product a score of '0' was given. If the child recognized the product type but could not name the exact product or said a similar product, a score of '0.5' was given.

The children were tested at 4 intervals of six months each. A total of 5 readings, first at the beginning of Lower Kindergarten (LKG), second at the end of LKG, third at the beginning of Upper Kindergarten (UKG), fourth at the end of UKG and fifth at the beginning of Grade 1 have been presented in this study.

Results & Discussion

The purpose of this study was to understand the development of environmental print awareness in Tamil-speaking kindergarten children in both English and Tamil. Table 1 shows the mean and standard deviation of the total scores in English and Tamil across the grades.

Table 1
Mean and SD of scores on Environmental Print in English and Tamil across the grades

Language	LKG 1		LKG 2		UKG 1		UKG 2		STD 1	
	Mean	SD								
English	7.4	2.2	8.3	2.2	9.3	2.0	9.8	2.0	11.3	2.1
Tamil	2.1	1.8	3.5	1.9	4.8	1.7	5.8	1.8	7.4	1.9

As can be seen from Table 12, the mean score on Environmental Print Awareness in English in LKG 1 is 7.4, in LKG 2 is 8.3, in UKG 1 is 9.3, in UKG 2 is 9.8 and in Std 1 is 11.3. The mean score on Environmental Print Awareness in Tamil in LKG 1 is 2.1, in LKG 2 is 3.5, in UKG 1 is 4.8, in UKG 2 is 5.8 and in Std 1 is 7.4.

Figure 1 shows the mean scores on Environmental Print Awareness in English and Tamil across the grades.

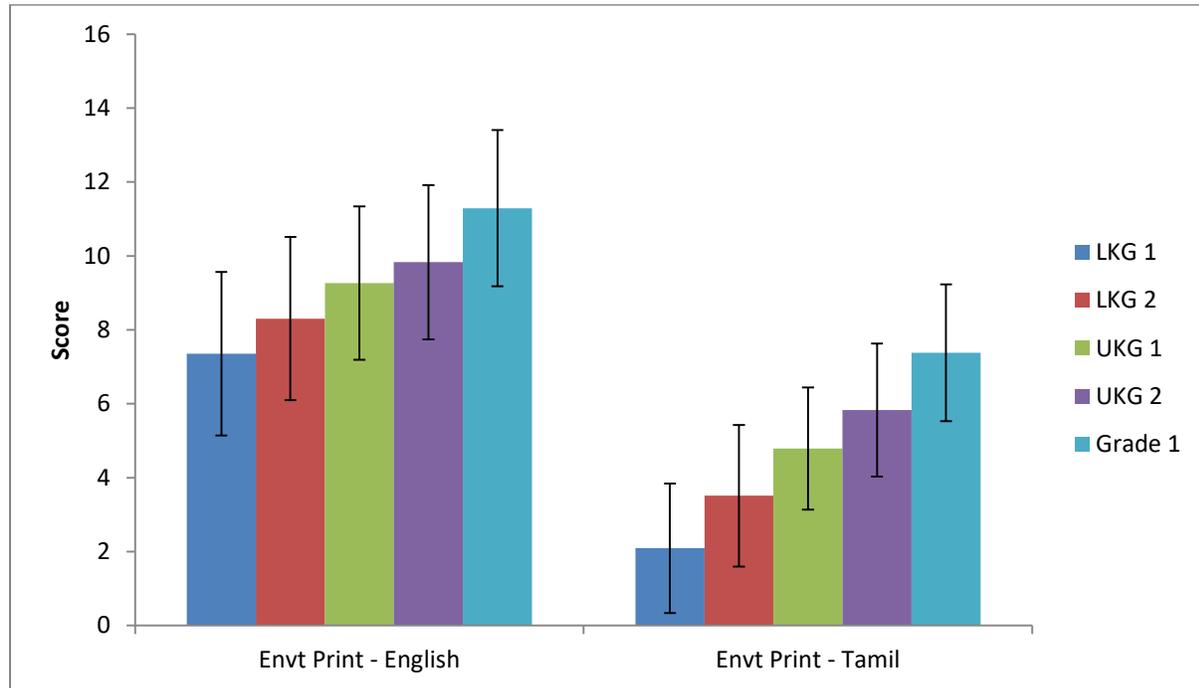


Fig 1: Mean score on Environmental Print Awareness in English and Tamil across the five stages. Error bars denote one standard deviation around the mean.

Table 2 shows the mean and standard deviation of scores on each category of environmental print in English across the grades.

Table 2

Mean and SD of scores in Environmental Print Awareness in the three categories of logos across the five stages.

Category	Language	LKG 1		LKG 2		UKG 1		UKG 2		STD 1	
		Mean	SD								
Child Related	English	3.4	0.6	3.8	0.6	4.0	0.7	4.3	0.7	4.7	0.5
	Tamil	1.2	0.9	1.8	0.9	2.3	0.7	2.8	0.8	3.2	0.8
Household Related	English	2.6	1.0	2.9	1.0	3.3	0.9	3.5	0.9	4.1	0.9
	Tamil	0.8	0.6	1.1	0.7	1.7	0.6	2.0	0.8	2.7	0.8
Community Related	English	1.3	0.9	1.5	0.9	1.8	0.8	1.9	0.9	2.3	1.1
	Tamil	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.5	1.4	0.5

The mean score for ‘child related’ environmental print in English in LKG (1) is 3.4, in LKG (2) is 3.8, in UKG (1) is 4.0, in UKG (2) is 4.3 and in Std 1 is 4.7. The mean score for ‘household related’ environmental print in English in LKG (1) is 2.6, in LKG (2) is 2.9, in UKG (1) is 3.3, in UKG (2) is 3.5 and in Std 1 is 4.1. The mean score for ‘community related’ environmental print in English in LKG (1) is 1.3, in LKG (2) is 1.5, in UKG (1) is 1.8, in UKG (2) is 1.9 and in Std 1 is 2.3.

The mean score for ‘child related’ environmental print in Tamil in LKG (1) is 1.1, in LKG (2) is 1.7, in UKG (1) is 2.2, in UKG (2) is 2.7 and in Std 1 is 3.2. The mean score for ‘household related’ environmental print in Tamil in LKG (1) is 0.7, in LKG (2) is 1.1, in UKG (1) is 1.7, in UKG (2) is 2.0 and in Std 1 is 2.6. The mean score for ‘community related’ environmental print in Tamil in LKG (1) is 0.1, in LKG (2) is 0.5, in UKG (1) is 0.8, in UKG (2) is 1.0 and in Std 1 is 1.4.

Figure 2 shows the mean scores on the three categories of logos in English and Tamil across the five stages.

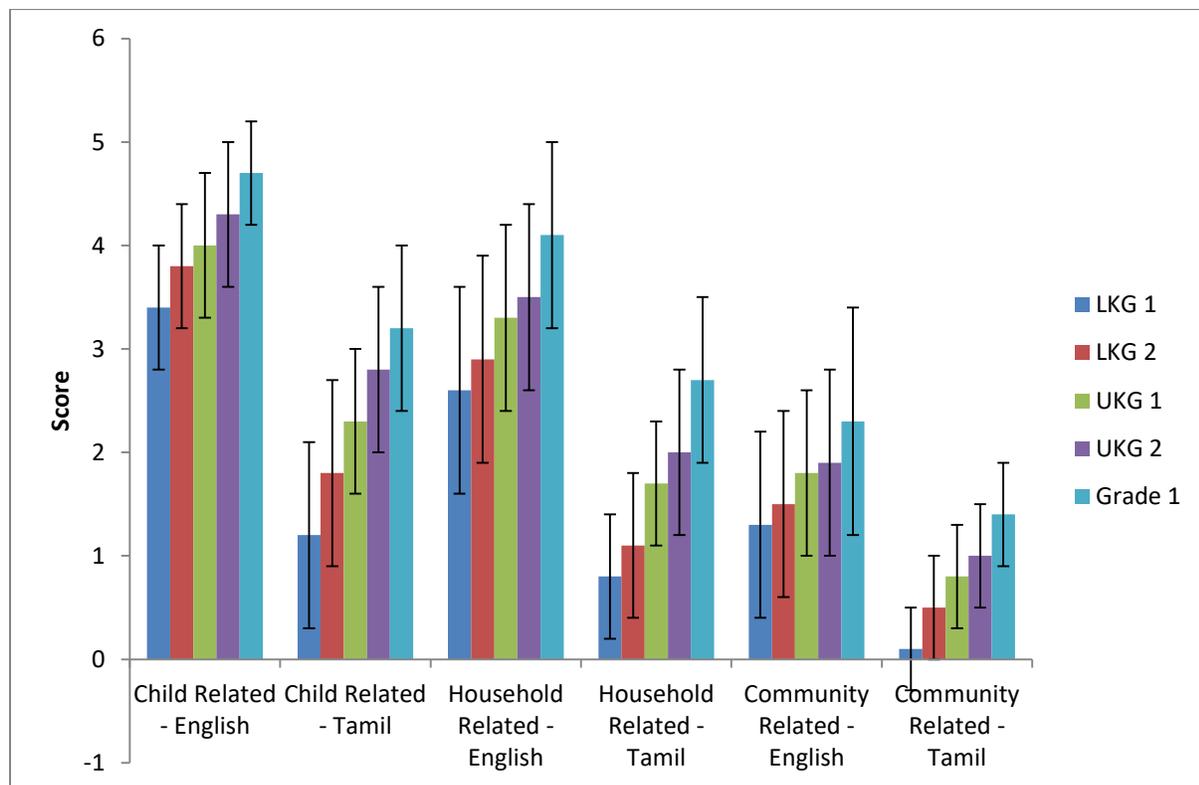


Fig 2: Mean scores on the three categories of logos across the five stages. Error bars denote one standard deviation around the mean.

As observed in table 1, and further in table 2, children performed better in identifying environmental print in English as compared to Tamil. Environmental print awareness was better in English for all the 3 categories (namely-child related, household related and community related logos) as compared to English. Further from the tables, the scores also reveal a developmental trend, with the least number of logos recognized in LKG (1) and progressively more logos being recognized by the time the children reached Std 1. This developmental trend was seen in both the languages, English and Tamil.

Non-parametric Friedman's Test results revealed that there was a significant difference across grades for English, $\chi^2(4) = 150.312$, $p = 0.000$, as well as for Tamil, $\chi^2(4) = 144.211$, $p = 0.000$. Non-parametric Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test revealed a significant difference for the children in LKG, UKG in English at points 1 and 2, $p < 0.01$. A significant difference was also observed between LKG, UKG and Grade 1. Based on the statistical analysis, a significant developmental trend was also observed in the recognition of logos through LKG to Grade 1. Typically, children begin to recognize environmental print in context around 3 years of age. By the ages of 4 or 5 years, typically developing children can recognize some forms of environmental print with contextual cues, but accuracy decreases when contextual cues are removed (Goodman, 1986). Again as Jagadish (1991) states that children's logographic reading skills increase as age increases, the findings of this study indicates that the developmental trend continues beyond 4 years of age and is evident till 6 years. The study indicates the development of symbolism in children. This is considered as one of the most important cognitive achievements of early childhood where a child learns the ability to understand and use symbols (Bialystok & Martin, 2003; De Loache, 2000) as a prelude to learning literacy. This kind of symbolic development is also true when a symbol is presented in context, for example written word along with the logo. Children seem to identify better in the context than out of context (Hiebert, 1978) and this seems to be a transition to identifying written symbols.

Figure 3 shows the linear growth in scores on Environmental Print Awareness in English and Tamil.

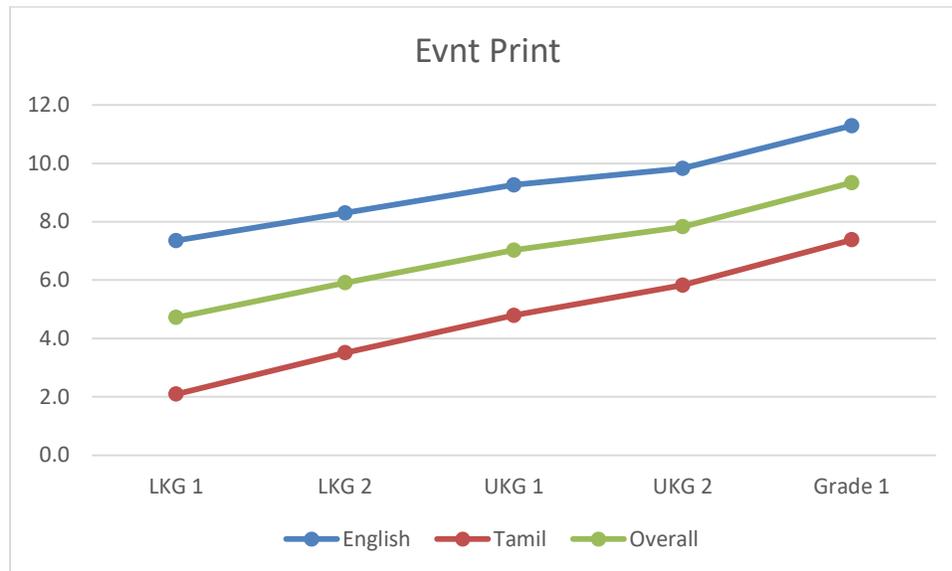


Fig 3: Linear growth of scores on Environmental Print Awareness in English and Tamil across the grades.

From the scores, it is clear that the children were able to recognize English logos better than Tamil as indicated in Table 1. Non-parametric Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test revealed a significant difference for children between English and Tamil across all the grades, $p < 0.01$. This could be attributed to the fact that most of the brands and products display English logos and the same are shown on advertisements in TV and magazines. The exposure to these logos seems to be more frequent, better represented and hence, recognized better due to familiarity when compared to other logos in Tamil. The scores show a pattern in the recognition of the categories of environmental print. Child related logos were recognized the most, followed by household related logos and then by community related logos. This could be attributed to the familiarity of child related logos compared to the other categories of logos. This observation is in consonance with the study by Horner (2005) who found that child related logos were recognized better by children.

Summary and Conclusions

The present study was conducted on thirty-eight typically developing Tamil speaking children from middle socioeconomic setting. The children were presented with everyday logos as they

appear in the environment, both in English and Tamil, under three categories, child related, household related and environment related. The results show that the children were able to recognize English logos better than Tamil as familiar brands and products are displayed in English on TV and other media. It was observed that the children recognized child related logos better than household related logos, whereas community related logos were recognized the least. This is the first study to compare the environmental print awareness in Tamil and English. Since children revealed a better ability to recognize environmental print based on the exposure, it provides directions for future learning. It has implications for teachers and parents to include environmental print in their daily interactions with the children, thereby enriching the literacy environments at home and school.

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APPENDIX

ENGLISH

Child related

1)		Dairy Milk – Chocolate
2)		Chhota Bheem – Cartoon
3)		Oreo – Biscuit
4)		Maggi – Instant noodles
5)		Apsara – Pencil

Household related

1)		Dettol – Soap
2)		Aavin – Milk packet
3)		Good Knight – Repellant
4)		Vim – Dishwash liquid
5)		Samsung – TV brand

Community Related

1)		Domino's Pizza – Restaurant
2)		Stop – Traffic sign
3)		Ambulance
4)		Use Me – Dustbin
5)		McDonald's – Restaurant

TAMIL

Child related

1)		Chutti – TV channel
2)		Dora – Cartoon
3)		Gokulam – Magazine
4)		Champak – Magazine
5)		Chutti Vikatan – Magazine

Household Related

1)		Sakthi Masala – Spice powder
2)		Kalaingar – TV channel
3)		Idhayam – Oil
4)		Aavin – Milk packet
5)		Dina Malar – Newspaper

Community Related

1)		Pothys – Clothes shop
2)		The Chennai Silks – Clothes shop
3)		Stop – Traffic sign
4)		Singam 2 – Movie
5)		Agarwal Bhavan –Sweets shop

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**Location of Identity in Language Contact and Replacement:
A Case of Hindi-ized Magahi and Magahi¹**

Chandan Kumar, Ph.D. Research Scholar

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Abstract

The paper tries to trace the location of linguistic identity in the course of language change or replacement. Language is one of the components which take part in the formation of identity. Linguistic identity is rather a short-term and easily dissoluble object. Therefore, in this paper, we shall talk about the ‘identity’, and language as an important component of it. However, language is not the only deciding factor in the formation of identity. This paper presents linguistic evidence through which we shall be able to see how Magahi speakers are gradually changing their linguistic identity. The changing form of Magahi is termed as Hindi-ized Magahi. In the course of Hindi-ized Magahi, various features of Hindi are adopted and linguistic features of Magahi are dropped, e.g., the adoption of grammatical gender particularly in progressive aspect, auxiliary, pronoun, honorific features, etc., and loss of discourse/ pragmatic marker ‘-wa’, dropping of ‘re/ ge’ addressing features, etc. Such processes show the degree of changes. The paper is of the view that Magahi speakers² at the first place cannot claim that their linguistic identity is entirely associated with the language or dialect of the region. So, there is already an ambiguity which is always vulnerable to the out-group cultural situation and other factors such as ‘Globalization’. The paper has attempted to see how (linguistic) identity gets dislocated through the convergence of linguistic behaviour. The paper has also tried to understand the importance or centrality of language in the formation of self- individual as well as collective. It presents how language represents one’s belonging and, in turn, gives some sense of ‘self’, and at the same time it is also vulnerable to these factors.

¹The paper is the improved version of the conference-paper presented in the National conference on ‘Language, Identity and Society: Centrality of Language in Formation of Identity in Contemporary Society’ held at GBU, Greater Noida, UP-201312, India in 2015.

²The changes are largely seen in the age group of 15-25.

Keywords: Linguistic-identity, Hindi-ized Magahi, speech community, dialect levelling, ‘self’, ‘other’, globalization.

1. Introduction

Language, when seen as the only medium of social segregation, doesn't serve the purpose alone. Nevertheless, language consciously or unconsciously plays a very decisive role in the segregation of the society. Other than socially constructed categories which play a fundamental role in the categorization of society, language, however, being the social phenomenon too can be understood as one of the offstage factors which are less studied in the Indian context. The use of sounds, lexeme, tones, registers, etc., as symbols of communication, stratify the society in a certain pattern, if not very strictly. In a society, the function of a language is limitless; it would be no exaggeration to say that the study of language indeed reveals the structured pattern of a speech community, i.e., the social class can be understood based on the use of the above-mentioned linguistic features. It is true that language and society interact with each other all the time in almost all domains, and it would be interesting to see how the two (language & society) contribute to the formation of social being. Cultural or social identity must follow the question of linguistic identity, as the relation between language, culture and identity is shown by many theorists, e.g., K. Bhabha 1994, Clarke 2008, Buchlotz & Hall 2004a, 2005. However, the real question is about the centrality of the role of language in identity formation, if at all, identity is seen as the representation of one ‘self’. There are certain components which participate in the formation of identity, even if when we talk about kinds of identities like gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, linguistic, etc. We cannot perceive identity as the cultural product only if at all we are concerned with the individual ‘self’. The question of defining the ‘self’ in relation to society always brings the point of consideration of the elements of self. It (identity) is a complex amalgam of cultural entities and psychodynamic factors (Clarke 2008). The question of ‘self’, however, is always dependent on and draws its existence from the very existence of ‘others’; this is one of the central remarks in understanding the formation of identity.

In this paper, we are restricting ourselves to the cultural and linguistic identity. There are some fundamental questions which this paper is going to address regarding the formation of identity and its dislocation. The questions like, does language play a crucial role in one's identity formation? What are the mediums of asserting ones' new identity? What are the

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factors responsible for the linguistic shifts and, in turn, linguistic identity? The goal of the paper is, of course, to deal with the above-stated questions, but to see how it exactly happens. We have taken the examples of language shift from Magahi to Hindi, and have shown how the shiftiness of linguistic features is the assertion of a speech community's new identity and denial and unhappiness with the present.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 briefs about the direction in which we will take our argument on identity. Identity has been worked out taking care of various other factors that mould the definition and characteristics of identity. Section 2 gives a general overview on the formedness of identity. The multiple components of identity and their participation in the formation of identity have been discussed. It is discussed that how the identity is formed on the basis of others. Taking the reference from Saussure's understanding of objects from comparative point of view, I drew the parallelism. Next section, Section 3 talks about the cultural identity and how linguistic identity can be separated from the cultural one. In this section, I drew the reference from Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and also from the education system of pre-colonial India. In section 4, I have presented the information on Magahi speech community and have talked about the linguistic situation. In section 5, I have analyzed how the identity of a Magahi speaker is intertwined and confused. Why is Magahi speech community the most vulnerable linguistic group in Bihar? In section 6, I have shown how with the shift of linguistic features there is a shift in the identity. With the dropping of linguistic features, Magahi speakers are dropping their association with the language, and how with the adoption of Hindi linguistic features they are associating themselves with Hindi. I summed it up in the next section, i.e., section 7. Section 8 lists the references.

2. Identity Formedness and Threat

Identity is a vague entity that has no complete and durable meaning. There are various kinds of identity a person possess in a social construct, e.g., being a student, researcher, professor, doctor, engineer, father, mother, national, regional, male/female, etc. But most of these identities are mainly constructed³ which may or may not participate in the wholeness of identity, i.e., the being of 'self. However, the question of nationality and regionalism actively

³Constructed identity: - It is understood that identity is a socially and historically constructed phenomenon. Ascribed identities can also be thought of as constructed. Even the identities as natural as 'sex' can be understood as constructed identity. Particularly, the performative behaviour is constructed or instilled by the society. Identity in this paper strictly means the performance of the individual.

contribute to the notion of 'self'. There are many important factors as well, e.g., 'self' is also composed by ideas, ideologies and the way we perceive ourselves in relation to others. These ideas or ideologies, however, in turn, come from our very origin, family, role model, politics, education, media, etc. The 'self' which imbibes different ideologies and identifies itself, is also socially constructed and is not free from the weight of deep-rooted socio-cultural practices. The formedness of identity (cultural-linguistic) is mooted in the very origin of the person, the society or the region or the nation one is born in, and the language one acquires.

There are many kinds of ascribed identities like, gender, caste, religion, culture, and also language to some extent; and these identities in a way try to give us a stable or real identity that is not limited to a particular role, and these contribute in the making of 'self'. The question of 'self', however, as it is stated, is always defined in relation to others because of the factors responsible for the formation of 'self' (Goffman 1968). In the structuralist theory of linguistics, Saussure (1857-1913) says that everything is defined in comparison to others, i.e., a table is a table because it is not a chair, or a bed, or any other wooden thing. It is a table because of its different shape, structure, its function in relation to others. In the same way, the foundation of identity is found on others, whatever the kind of identity is; whether linguistic, cultural, biological, race, etc. The concept of identity can be understood in the fact that one has to be different from the other. These (caste, religion, culture, etc.) relatively stable factors in themselves are based on the existence of others, e.g. gender- someone is female in comparison to the male in two ways; biologically and through performative account. Someone belongs to a particular country or region or religion is all in relation to other. So, the existence of self is certainly found and based on others.

Though the identity of self is constructed on the very existence of other, it is essential to see the components of identity that get influenced by the behaviour of out-group. For doing so, we need to discuss the elements that participate in the construction of the identity. The existence of 'self', is the amalgam of the cultural landscape and the psychodynamic factors (Clarke 2008), i.e. it is the complex fusion of race, ethnicity, culture, language, emotion, motivation, desire, etc. Though the existence of cultural landscape is there, the psychodynamic factors largely move the self, and this becomes the reason for the fluidity in identity; it is not a solid entity against the time and space. However, the notion of other (in identifying the self) is also constructed by the 'self', and the constructed other is not 'other'

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but another self, let's say the imagined self, which sees itself either in the higher position or marginalized. Taylor (2002) has proposed a general theory of 'self-concept'; it talks about the two fundamental contrasts in the notion of 'self', and that are 'identity' (cold cognition) in contrast with 'esteem' (hot cognition). It says 'identity' component is descriptive, a knowledge component that describes who I am. In contrast, the 'esteem' or alternative, the evaluative or emotional component, focuses on my evaluation of myself. Thus, identity answers the question who am I, whereas, esteem raises the question, am I worthy? The point of departure in this paper is the 'esteem'; what Taylor (2002) has called 'esteem', Clarke (2008) termed it as psychodynamic self. This esteem or psychodynamic self which is evaluative and rational gets moved by the factors like social or political or economic marginalization, globalization, etc. It houses the aspiration of an individual; it is this part of identity where ideas and ideologies work. This component (esteem/ psychodynamic self) of identity formation is the cause of identity displacement. The esteem always tries to aspire to become the imagined self. However, one has to understand the deep motivation behind considering 'oneself' as less developed or marginalized. The 'identity', on the other hand, talks about the ascribed identities; it recognizes itself based on the region, religion, gender, caste, language, country, ethnicity, etc. It establishes the fact that one is different from another based on the factors mentioned above.

Identity can positively be thought of as an evolving entity with time rather pre-existing socially constructed phenomenon. It is continuously being affected, motivated, modified due to the various reasons as mentioned above; and one of the channels through which the constructed identity is challenged is 'globalization'. Hall (2003) recognized the role of globalization in the displacement of identity. Globalization is a process which denies or challenges the classical idea of 'society' as a well-bound system. The idea of a society or country and the associated identity with it, is vulnerable to the movement of globalization; the very process of conceptualizing the world as 'Global village' is a threat to any kind of identity which is supposedly claimed to be permanent like regional, linguistic, etc. It is producing the concept of cultural homogenization and the identity of being the citizen of the world and not only limited to a particular country or society or language. The concept of global or for that matter national identity is the concerning threat to the regional identity. The process of asserting/ obtruding national identity is such that it becomes unavoidable for the regional identity to sustain. Globalization is an umbrella term under which various factors

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participate to give a push to the 'esteem' or the psychodynamic components of identity. Some of the factors are like Media, global education, information technology, science, etc. We wouldn't explore this dimension here, because of the scope and limitation of the paper. One can consult Hall (1990, 2003), Herman et al. (2007), Mumberson (2001), etc.

3. Cultural Identity and the Language

Cultural identity is an ascribed status primarily performed through language, but also through extra-linguistic signs, e.g. behaviour, tradition, culture, clothes, etc. Social culture is an idea where different individual shares similar features, e.g. common language, common tradition, food, songs, clothes, etc. The term identity itself is primarily being referred to the cultural identity. The strong association of self to certain geography, its related customs, values, etc. mainly forms one's identity/cultural identity. However, at this point we have to fundamentally make the distinction between the individual self and collective self, though, the existence of both the kind of identities are based on the notion of others. Collective identity is the description of the group where the individual belongs; it gives the basis of asserting the individual self. These two i.e. individual and collective 'self' including identity and esteem are four main components of identity as described by Taylor (2002). Hofstede (1991), however, classified elements of culture into four categories: symbols, rituals, values, and heroes; however, we are more interested to see how symbols reflect the cultural identity.

Language is nothing but the systematic arrangements of symbols; a meaningful arrangement. Symbols for Hofstede is words, gestures, pictures or objects that carry some meaning which are only organized and shared by the same culture. The relationship between language and culture is indeed deep, and the research on the subject goes back to Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (1921-1956); it has two related approaches- linguistic determinism, and linguistic relativity. The former holds the idea that our thought is determined by the structures and categories of our languages because we perceive the world in terms of our languages' categorization of the world. It says that since our language has certain terms, therefore, we are able to conceptualize that objects or phenomenon. And if our language doesn't have a certain term we don't have the conceptualization of that object, i.e. we can't conceptualize

the non-symbolic⁴ concepts. The later view, i.e. linguistic relativity which was originally developed by Sapir means that the categories and distinctiveness are eroded in ones' linguistic system is unique to that system, and is different than the other cultures. This is supported and argued by Sapir (1921); it is formally called weaker hypothesis of linguistic relativity. It is in the view that languages do affect our worldview, but not necessarily imposes a worldview. A lot of examples were given from various cultural settings for linguistic determinism hypothesis (Whorf; strong hypothesis), e.g. how Hopi Indians perceive the form of water. They have more than a dozen lexical items for the different kinds of snow they see around them; however, the English, since, do not perceive that environment, lacks as many vocabularies for the same. The problem gets more and more philosophical, as Winston Churchill once said, 'we shaped our buildings, and afterward buildings shaped us.' We describe our experience and culture by using the language and the categories built into the language, and then its structures & categories influence our perceptions- language, in turn, shapes our thought. Language both expresses and embodies cultural reality. Because even its basic function involves cultural practices like greeting people, conducting religious services, custom, etc. It is believed that our thoughts and ideas are fettered or chained by the social structure or values. We conduct ourselves in a certain-way and that restriction is imposed (unknowingly) by the socially-constructed value through language.

One more instance or rather a historical event can be seen as an evidence for how a society or a particular culture associates itself to the language for its assertion of identity, and how a language can be used as an instrument to instill the cultural value of one particular community. The interaction between language, culture and identity, and the central role of language can be understood through the situation of colonial and post-colonial India. The relationship between language and identity is seen in the effort of Macaulay in the early stages on British Indian History. Thomas Macaulay wrote in his famous minute on Indian education; it was instructed to make English a means of uplifting the Indian people; creating Anglophone elite which would be "Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (Macaulay 1972: 249). He desperately wanted to wash away the feeling of colonialization from the minds of Indians; through the language, he was trying to create people whose aspirations associate with English, and at the same time is

⁴Non-symbolic exclusively means non-linguistics, here. Non-linguistics attributes are like food, clothing, tradition, gesture, certain borrowed concepts, etc. They are symbolic in themselves but are non-linguistic.

symbolically identified as Indians which in a way was a suppressed identity then. The British education policies deliberately ignored the indigenous values and almost did away with the belief in the Indian classical and vernacular languages, and with their basic philosophy of life of the Indian against Indian temperament (Pani & Pattanaik 2006). This effort broadly identifies the role of language in cultural identity, and how a language can work as a cultural symbolism. A language carries cultural practices, historical information, scientific knowledge, cultural values and etiquette, moreover, a language carries a particular worldview. Therefore, language is a very important factor in the formation of identity. However, linguistic identity is always vulnerable, unlike regional/gender identity. The reasons for vulnerability are many, but the most important reason is the status of the language⁵. The association of one's identity with the language which has been considered less prestigious or has no prestige at all is a question of humiliation or self-degradation. There are other various factors which help in turning the identity in a negative way. The factors that are responsible for making a language less-prestigious are like socio-political factors which indirectly play very crucial role in making someone's established identity vulnerable. Globalization can be seen as one umbrella factor.

What have we seen thorough the theories and examples is that the language plays a significant role in the making of cultural identity and, in turn, identity. The ways language reacts to the realities of the world is astounding; and many language philosophers try to understand the realities of the world keeping language in the centre, e.g. Langacker (1987, 2002, 2008), Taylor (2002), Jespersen (1924), etc. Language is considered as the haulier of a particular culture, tradition, values, etc. And we cannot entirely deny this observation. But, is it the case with Magahi speech community also? What seems to be a little perplexed is that the values, cultures, traditions, etc. peculiar to the Magahi speech community is not seen any longer in a significantly unique way. The two speech communities, i.e. Hindi & Magahi share a lot of cultural practices; they have similar tradition, similar clothing, similar food, similar festivals, similar taste, similar love/hate, etc. These similarities in many ways put an adverse effect on the little uniqueness Magahi culture has. The association of a language with a culture in this environment now is not that horizontal. What I feel that people have different

⁵Being a linguistic minority is one of the vulnerability. But, in this case being minority is not supposedly the reason. Magahi has good number of speakers following Census of India. The language is socio-politically ignored.

cultural and linguistic association in such environment. They, for a while, associate themselves with the Magahi language but have always associated themselves with culture, and tradition of Hindi. In this shift in identity, language follows the culture. For the point, I am trying to make, one need to take an anthropological study to understand and describe the peculiarities beneath the cultural conversion.

4. Magahi Speech Community

Magahi speech community is being referred to the people who speak Magahi as their first language. Magahi is mainly spoken in Bihar, but not limited to its geography and can be found elsewhere in the country with the mixed form. Magahi is regarded as one of the dialects of Hindi language and is not officially recognized even in the state. The official languages of the state are Hindi and Urdu; Hindi and English are the most used languages for the official as well as educational purposes. The language of media either print or mass is principally Hindi, Urdu, and English. Magahi, despite having a number of speakers, around 14 million according to 2001 census, doesn't have the official status. However, this research (the shiftiness of linguistic features) is based on the variety spoken in Patna district mainly, Bihta block. The kind of shiftiness of linguistic features being shown in the paper, however, is subject to change as per the geography and idiolects. Though in this paper, I am more concerned on how the shiftiness of linguistic features show the shift in the identity, and not very particular attention is given to justify the similar changes geographically.

Hindi and Magahi are in a diglossic situation in almost every domain where Magahi is spoken as the first language. In the diglossic situation, it is mostly the case that one language is standard and another is less prestigious or has no prestige at all (Ferguson 1959). The particular sociolinguistic situation of which we are talking about presents the similar scenario. Hindi, being the standard language of the state, dictates most of the domains, particularly all the formal and most of the functional. It is the language of education, mass media, infotainment, formal communication, etc. Magahi language gets no educational and political affiliation or benefit. People see it as a hindrance to their economic mobility and generated a lousy impression, covert feeling, feeling of embarrassment, etc. towards their first or home language. The covert feeling is evident in the documentation of 2001 census of the government of India regarding the number of speakers of the language (Verma 2003). The number of speakers reported in the Census was much lesser than the people who actually

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speak the language, and the number keeps fluctuating every time. This happens due to some reasons as Verma (2003) has talked about. One of the reasons is that speakers are not aware of their mother tongues or which language they speak. Either the census people report different language, particularly the major language or the speaker is under the impression that their language is Hindi⁶. This led to the wrong numerical documentation of the language. Magahi has the fair number of speakers as we have mentioned, according to 2001 census 14 million people speak the language. Though we cannot validate or believe the data, there is definitely a huge number of speakers in Bihar and outside of Bihar as well.

5. Shift of Language and Identity in the Case of Magahi

Language shift is a linguistic phenomenon under which one language gradually gets displaced by another. The process of language shift involves the questions of the political identity of the language, the functional and formal domains of the use of the language, cultural and political dominant/submissive, prestige attached with the language, globalization or urbanization of the state/region, and the restricting domains of the language, unclear cultural and linguistic identity, etc. However, it is not the case that every reason is necessarily present for all kinds of sociolinguistic context; every sociolinguistic milieu presents its reasons and socio-political situations, and to understand the circumstances a very specific and particular study is needed.

The present situation of shift of the language from Magahi to Hindi is more a case of Dialect levelling (Trudgill 1986). if we see the rate at which the language is shifting. The subordinate one (Magahi) is almost surrendering itself to the socio-politically dominant one (Hindi). One reason which has been discussed by some linguists responsible for healthy bilingualism or diglossic situation (Ferguson 1959) is the ‘mutual intelligibility’⁷. However, I believe and argue that the same reason is responsible for this quick shift or dialect levelling, in the case of Magahi. It has been argued by many linguists that mutual intelligibility is one of the criteria of maintaining the two languages simultaneously for a long time. And this has been one of the reasons which kept languages alive in India without much threat (Pandit 1972). Though this could be one of the reasons for the healthy maintenance of bilingualism

⁶This wrong impression is mainly build by the print and electronic media, and is also through education.

⁷Mutual intelligibility is a concept in socio-linguistics which means that the speakers of two different varieties can understand each other without much difficulty.

for long, it cannot be considered in the same way in recent times. Mainly, due to the rate at which the underlying socio-political factors changed in some last few decades, it seems this very nature of mutual intelligibility proves to be dangerous for maintaining bilingualism. The characteristic such as mutual intelligibility serves with the option to the speakers that they can easily shift to the language they want to be. The situation of any variety in Bihar (a so-called Hindi belt) is currently the same⁸. There are socio-linguistic situations where it is seen that less-mutual intelligibility is a healthier way of maintaining bilingualism, for the simple reason that is talked by Ferguson (1959) in the case of diglossia. He talks about the use of the languages in different domains; languages are strictly divided as per the demand of the domains. With the situation of no mutual intelligibility, languages strictly would be limited to the domain of use, and therefore, the cases of dialect levelling or shifting from one language to another would not be that easy or even needed. The specialized use of language is more stable, e.g. performing rituals in India (in Hinduism) is strictly done in Sanskrit. And this is the only domain where the language is kept in oral use; though the language is taught as subject or literature in academics. The association of Sanskrit is considered with Brahmins of India. And in earlier India, the use of the language is limited only to the Brahmins. It can be understood in way that Brahmins perform themselves using the language as one of the most significant tools. So, the point to take home is that the degree of mutual intelligibility criterion decides the maintenance of bilingualism, especially when a variety has no historical literary background, and is completely an oral language.

As we have discussed, language is the preferred and convenient way of performing one 'self'. In the places, especially in the so-called the Hindi belt Hindustani or Hindi is considered as the language of education, civilization, and prestige. Magahi speaking people or some other such linguistic groups (collective) that come under Hindi belt possess an unclear sense of cultural and linguistic identity. The group as I have observed has unclear sense of collective behavior; many of the educated speakers perceive or perform the attributes which suit the Hindi speaking culture. This unclear sense of identity is always vulnerable to the out-group practices and beliefs; they rely on out-group members' perception. Such group is most of the time perceived negatively by powerful out-group members. This gives the birth

⁸The seriousness of the problem is mainly visible in Magahi only. Because Magahi is the closest to the Hindi in many aspects, say it structural, lexical, or political, etc. Since it lacks literary background; speakers hardly stand for its recognition.

of unhealthy collective esteem in unclear cultural collective self. The language as components of identity is not fixed or say intertwined. There is no one language which is participating in the formation of linguistic identity, and this unclear sense of linguistic identity further complicates the process. In such situation, esteem or psychodynamic factors act to choose or prefer one over other, and this preference is based on the various factors which we have discussed above. The unclear sense of collectivity comes from the psychodynamic self, which is different for different persons. As Bayer (1990) says, in multilingual society, there is a hierarchy of identities, i.e., each group associates to one identity and at the same time also attaches its association with other identities to a certain degree. This association of self to other identities to whatever degree is dangerous if that association is because of the psychodynamic factors and if that ‘identity’ is superior in terms of the socio-political dominant language or culture. Because psychodynamic factors always ask the question, am I worthy?

6. The Shift of Features and the Identity

Leaving apart the socio-politico-economic status and the out-groups’ perception; the language in question even socially (in-group) is not well accepted (especially by educated speakers). Language is seen as a bad language, vulgar, language of uneducated, language of uncivilized, etc. Even according to the speakers of the language, it is not appropriate for a ‘healthy’ communication. This can be associated with some of the features of the language that are considered very rustic or are rather offending, e.g. the use of the noun particle ‘wa’⁹, and the addressing morphemes like ‘re’ and ‘ge’ that are used for male and female respectively. Noun particle ‘wa’ is always used with nouns, functions to specify the person and is used as pejorative. It cannot be used with the kinship terminology; with the people older or elder in the hierarchy. It cannot be used to refer to a stranger.

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------|-------------|
| (1) sunil-wa | bəjar | jo-ʈo |
| sunil-N.NH | market | go.2NH-EMPH |
| Sunil, go to market. | | |
| (2) lili-a | məmmī | kəhā̃ həi |

⁹Noun particle ‘wa’ has three more phonological variants and all are in complementary distribution. The other forms are ‘-a’, ‘-iya’, and ‘-ma’ in some varieties. These features have very profound implication on the structure of the language.

Lily-N.NH mother where be.PRS.3NH
 Lily! Where is the mother?¹⁰
 (3) ?ḍiḍi-ya ələi
 elder sister-N.NH come.PRF.3NH
 Did elder sister come?

In the above two examples, i.e., (1) & (2) the person who is addressing is elder and therefore there is the use of ‘-wa’ with the noun which gives a pejorative sense. Example (3) is an unacceptable construction in general environment . The kinship term ‘ḍiḍi’ refers to the elder sister, and therefore /-ya/, by rule should not be used. But this can be acceptable for some specialized speech context. So in a circumstance where the person is either angry with addressee or with the referents; for purpose of rudeness or disrespectfulness, it can be used with everybody¹¹.

The noun particles are used with younger, friends and also with elder female members of the kinship hierarchy. The language, however, is not equal for the female, though, I refrain myself, saying it sexist. There are such more features of the language which are not considered appropriate by the modern speakers of the language; like the use of pronouns, discourse marker, absence of certain sounds, some kinship terminologies, etc. There is just one form of second person pronoun in Magahi as compared to three forms in Hindi. In Magahi the only form is ‘tu’ (you), which is used for all indifference to age, relation, sex, love, hate, etc. Though these features of the language considered bad or taken disapprovingly or are pejorative participate in the identity denotation to the language and, in turn, to the people who speak it. Along with these features, there are some more, like the use of first person pronoun ‘həm’¹² (I and We), it contributes in the linguistic identity denotation. The use of ‘həm’ is one of the linguistic prototypes of Bihar. It is identified with the regional association of the people. Certain linguistic features or tones or intonation or accents are stalwartly associated with the region such that the use of these linguistic features reveals the

¹⁰N- Noun particle, NH- Non-honorific, ADD- addressing morpheme, 2- second person, 3- third person, be-auxiliary, PRS- present aspect, EMPH- emphatic

¹¹Everybody implies every relational hierarchy as well. So, it can be used with all the kinship terminologies, e.g. ččwa (uncle), ḍəḍwa (grandfather), məstərwa (teacher), etc. However, only in the restricted sense; when there is a heated argument or fighting.

¹²It is both used for first person singular and plural, and has both the inclusive as well as exclusive meaning.

regional association of the people. Language revealing the regional identity sometimes proves to be the factor that encourages speakers of that language to depart from it, especially if the status of the region is obnoxious. Bihar is one such region.

We shall analyze one more linguistic feature in detail, and then shall see its adverse effect on linguistic identity. The morphemes ‘re’, and ‘ge’, unlike /-wa/ particle which is bound, are free. These morphemes can be understood as allomorphs which are grammatically conditioned and are always used with the human class. These can be used with noun or can occur without noun, i.e., it can stand on its own. It can occur pre/post nominal position; while occurring pre-nominally, its form gets changed. Along with having a derogatory reference it marks the sexual differences as well, i.e., ‘re’ is used for male members and ‘ge’ for female members. These addressing morphemes are considered as the most objectionable features of the language, and Magahi is condemned by the speakers of other Indian languages (Grierson 1903). Grierson further says that the same feature is used to refer to the inferior people in other parts of India. Let’s see some of the examples of the use of ‘re’ and ‘ge’ in Magahi.

(4) əre sunil-wa kəhɑ̃ he!

ADD.NH sunil-N.NH where be.PRS.2

Hey! Sunil, where are you?

(5) əge lili-ya ge pɑpɑ buləite hətʰun nə

ADD.NH lily-N.NH ADD.NH father call.IMPF be.PRS.3H TAG.H

Hey! Lily, Father is calling you, isn’t he?

(6) čəndən-wa re bəjɑr jo ʈo

chandan-N.NH ADD.NH market go.2 EMPH

Chandan, go to the market¹³.

The use of ‘re’ or ‘ge’ twice in a sentence makes the sentence furthermore disparagement. There is more rudeness in the behavior. There are many layers in the uses of these features; one can consult Kumar (2015) for further and detail sociolinguistic description of the use of /-wa/, and ‘re’, ‘ge’ linguistic features.

¹³ADD- addressing morpheme, H- honorificity, IMPF- imperfective aspect, PRS- present tense, 2- second person

The 'wa', 're', 'ge', 'həm', pronoun, and some more linguistic features reveal the regional and linguistic identity of the people, even if one is speaking a different language. I have seen people denying their linguistic identity, but recognized by his/ her use of the language; particularly by 'wa' feature, 'həm' pronoun, pronunciation, accent, etc. People who want to demonstrate themselves as Hindi speakers or want to deny their attachment with the language (Magahi) are consciously dropping these identity denotation features of the language. The use of 're' and 'ge' features is limited only in some distant rural areas, and is absent in the speech of the educated people of the region. Children are not encouraged to use these features and are taught the phonological distinctiveness which is not there in Magahi. The variety with these features are considered as the speech of 'Chamar' (supposedly the lowest caste of India, also untouchable), and whosoever use the features were scolded as 'don't speak the language of 'Chamar or Mushars'. The features like 're' and 'ge' are dropping from the language very quickly, the other features like 'wa' is also discouraged from the use. Magahi speech community is adopting Hindi phonology, morphology, syntax and its honorific constructions. It is visible in their Hindi-ized constructions because many of the languages of Bihar like Magahi, Bhojpuri and others don't have the distinction between the sounds like alveolar fricative /s/, plato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/, and the dental /ʂ/, as in the first sound of the word /sureʃ/ and last sounds of the same word /sureʃ/. Magahi speaking people who want to go away with their ascribed linguistic identity are adopting these sounds deliberately. As we can see the hypercorrection phenomenon in the use of the sounds /ʃ/ and /ʂ/ (retroflex); this actually brings the study of Labov (1963) in the picture, where he examined the pronunciation of variable /r/ in the word-final position, in New York. He found that the overt pronunciation of /r/ in the speech is due to the prestige attaches with the pronunciation, which is why speakers were more likely to use it in their more careful speech. The work revealed that the pronunciation of the sound /r/ at the word final position was spreading, as middle-aged and lower-middle-class women adopting it as a way of elevating their perceived social status. In the process, they displayed hypercorrection; same as Magahi speaking people use /ʃ/ instead of /s/ at various places. This hypercorrection may be fun for some persons, but the underlying psychological reality is that they are trying to upgrade their identity by performing in a certain way. This performance as we have seen involves the dropping of the various true features of Magahi, and adoption of Hindi features in return. One

more example I would like to present here; the changes on grammatical level. Since a Magahi speaker can shift to Hindi without much difficulty; in some situation they produce some constructions which are mixed e.g.

(7) čəndən-wa kiḍər ja rha hɛ
 chandan-N.NH where go be.IMPF.3MS be.PRS.3
 Where is Chandan going?

(8) soni-ya kene ja rəhi hɛ
 soni-N.NH where go be.IMPF.3FS be.PRS.3
 Where is Soni going?

Such construction is only seen in the case of progressive aspect. In the progressive aspect even the gender is maintained, Magahi otherwise has no grammatical gender. The speaker is in an environment where he/she is surrounded by some educated people who are having conversation in Hindi. Such constructions give us the structures which reveal how people always try to associate themselves with the one which has higher prestige.

The question of identity, in case of Magahi speech community, however, seems to be more or less attached to the language. The deliberate and constant effort of Magahi people to leave their language and adopt the one which has more prestige entails the fact that how language actively participates in the identity formation and its performance. Though its role is very central in the identity formation, it is vulnerable¹⁴, and this vulnerability leads one's disassociation of 'one-self' from one's language. It might be the case that because of the bad name, or the negativity associated with the language, or the region let them disassociate themselves from their one of the components of identity i.e., language. Though language can be one of the components, it carries a bundle of other elements which participate in the identity formation, as we have already discussed in the earlier sections.

However, it is essential to understand the kind of psychology behind a bad image of a language; certain features become bad or less sober only because there exists an option that gives an inkling of betterness, and this tincture of betterness is politically motivated. Since, the particular language is enjoying certain social and political status and is recognized as the language of education and scholarship. These languages with the passes of time developed to

¹⁴ Vulnerability comes from the insecurity; socio-political insecurity, economical insecurity, etc.

an extent to be used in all aspects and domains of life. The gap between the two languages is more the political, e.g., the use of second person pronoun in English; it doesn't have any honorific construction but has power and prestige and has no negativity attached to it. The negativity is not self-created or something natural; it is constructed or generated or made through different means by the government through the schooling, smart use of media, by showing the superiority of one over other, it is socio-politically constructed and is a process of mitigating one's identity and serving with other.

7. Closing Remarks

The components of 'self' which imbibes the socio-political factors get shifted to Hindi, now the new 'self' is imbibed by the new culture and now the new 'others' are the non-Hindi social-cultural and linguistic practices. The people who speak Magahi consciously turned to Hindustani, adopting its linguistic features, culture; showing 'otherness' in 'self' (here self is the semiotics of the community). The self-conscious act certainly reveals the state of oppressed mind and thought, which is in a way comes from the dominant culture and language through extensive schooling system, smart use of media and the way politically-economically strong hands handle higher education. Many people are not even aware what language they do speak, this separation of 'psychodynamic self' from the culturally and politically constructed 'self' imbalance the structure of 'identity'. 'Self' which imbibes emotion and motivation (Clarke 2011) is always fettered or psychologically induced by the desire to associate itself with the higher, dominant and socially-culturally-politically powerful community. Magahi speech community has totally surrendered its language and cultural identity to Hindi; it has hardly been seen that people speaking Magahi sought for its political recognition, or sought for its maintenance. People perceive it as a hindrance to their economic mobility and integration to the mainstream society. The 'self' is founded on the difference to others; one's semiotics, indexicality, and front become one's identity because it is different from others. We host this semiotics i.e., indexicality in the form of language, attitude, and behavior which are encapsulated from Hindi; this linguistic/cultural identity is idealized in opposition to the stigmatized identity (Goffman1968). Hindi-ized Magahi is an overt performance of deliberately exemplifying the feeling of being associated with a language which has power, prestige, and opportunities, and at the same time separating them with a language which has no hope, is considered rustic, is a hindrance to their development. The

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notion of linguistic identity, however, cannot be completely understood in isolation; it goes with the individual, group, regional and national identity. One has to delve deep into various social sciences, e.g., sociology, anthropology, economics, politics, theology, in order to properly handle the issue as vague as identity.

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Marathi Use and Identity in Higher Education in Urban Maharashtra

Jessica Chandras, Ph.D. Candidate

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Introduction: Marathi in Higher Education?

Professor Bagh¹, a dynamic professor in the Sociology Department at a leading university in Pune, begins to lecture her Sociology of India class on the caste system.

Prof.: The other very interesting and atrocious kind of idea here is the whole notion of purity and pollution.

Students fall silent until she begins to translate what she has already stated from English into Marathi.

Prof.: *Mhanje ha purna caste systemmadhye saglat, ummm.. saglat tras ahet. Saglat...uh... Aapan kay mhantat saglat he kay kay whatever, this whole notion of purity and pollution ki, um... um...*

(In Marathi: Meaning that in the whole caste system all, ummm... there's trouble in all of it, in all... uh...What do we say, in all of this whatever, this whole notion of purity and pollution that, um... um...)

I sit to the side of the small lecture hall and as I record her speaking I notice how some students begin to smile when she uses an accented Marathi. Professor Bagh is not a native Marathi speaker—a point which she soon reminds her students of. She begins to lose both her train of thought and the attention of the students as she struggles to find the correct words in Marathi.

“I don't get words,” she exhales in English as she gives up searching for how to translate the concepts of purity and pollution into Marathi. Her defeat signals to the Marathi speaking students for help and a couple of students speak up to provide the Marathi words for purity and

¹ All personal names and names of educational institutions have been changed to protect privacy of these individuals.

pollution- *shudhata* and *ashudata*. Though visibly flustered, Professor Bagh thanks them with a nod and switches to Hindi to continue her lecture. She does not translate from English to Hindi nor does she translate the Hindi into English, but instead provides new information mixing both Hindi and English.

Prof.: *Agar hum woh dekhenge toh ye bohut important ho jata hai ye samajhna* that there are some occupations that are considered to be pure and some occupations that are considered to be impure. Right?

(In Hindi: Now we will see that this is very important to understand that there are some occupations...)

She notices that some students are still smiling and she assumes it is from her struggle to speak Marathi and she stops her lecture to address it. She begins to address it in Marathi though she quickly switches to English and then back to Marathi again.

Prof.: *Hasto na? Pan me prayetna karte bhag*. Please don't laugh. I-I really... (*class laughs*). Yeah I really sincerely tried to make an attempt to learn Marathi but it is a difficult language yeah? So I'm trying my best, so please don't laugh. (*class laughs*) So— *me pan hasel*. Yeah? *He na?*

(In Marathi: Oh you're lauRajung? But look, I'm making an effort. Please don't laugh, I-I really... [...] So— I will also laugh. Yeah? Right?)

Though higher education in India is largely English medium, or with all instruction and textbooks in English, students and professors use other languages in addition to English in classrooms. Professor Bagh often makes great efforts to translate parts of her lectures and allows students to speak up in class in the languages most comfortable for them. However as she is a non-native Marathi speaker and sometimes has difficulty translating from English to Marathi, she relies on a few students who are native Marathi speakers, many of whom sit near the front, to help her to translate in class.

In the second part of the example of classroom interaction given here, Professor Bagh, flustered, begins to lecture again but partially in Hindi, introducing a third language to the class on this day. Then, she notices that students are laughing and she stops the lecture to address how students should respect the attempts she makes to use Marathi to help students who understand

Marathi better than English. Although her language is unclear, what is important and clear are her intentions of attempting translation. Professor Bagh's intentions are to create a more inclusive classroom for speakers of multiple language backgrounds and that she is able to convey her intentions even though the language is muddled, making these gaffs in language and then laughing at them, is aided by her position of authority as the professor. Her missteps with the language invite Marathi speakers to interact with her and disseminate information to her and to the class—solidifying their identities as Marathi students but also giving them an important role in the classroom. In this paper, through ethnographic observations and interviews with students and professors, I explore the effects of these moments of multilingual language use in classrooms, how language use inscribes identities onto students based on their language fluencies, and challenges brought about through multilingual expectations in higher education.

I first began to collect data on this phenomenon in 2015 when international students from European countries studying at X University complained to me that their classes moved slowly due to the professors constantly translating and speaking multiple languages. They felt that they only were able to cover half of what the courses should cover due to lengthy translation efforts and they had difficulties paying attention to the material when the languages used by teachers and students to communicate and lecture in the classroom was constantly changing. They were also frustrated because they felt as though they were always excluded from some of the lecture since they did not speak Marathi or Hindi and had joined their exchange program with the assumption of English instruction in higher education in India. I was also surprised because I had assumed higher education was completely in English at these prestigious institutions in Pune.

The example here is a common exchange in Professor Bagh's lectures, which shows the difficulties of navigating a linguistic landscape in classrooms where students have diverse language proficiencies. My data in this paper is from time spent at multiple universities in Pune in the 2016-2017 academic year. I show that the ways professors attempt to minimize comprehension difficulties among students from Marathi speaking backgrounds with low English fluency ascribes linguistic identities, or identities closely aligned with language, onto students. However, Professor Bagh's translation efforts and the language policies of the university also reproduce a linguistic hierarchy that privileges English and employs a politics of

inclusion and exclusion based on English proficiency, insofar as it undermines efforts to include and improve Marathi speaking students' comprehension of classroom materials in English.

Demographics of Two Higher Education Institutions in Pune

There is a policy regulating language in classrooms at X University and its affiliated universities as part of the Maharashtra Public University Act which states in the English version that professors are “(64) to promote by itself, or in co-operation with other universities, the study of Marathi and the use of Marathi as a medium of instruction, study, research and examination, in adherence to the policies of the State Government,” (Maharashtra Public Universities Act (English version), 2016). When asked to clarify what kind of promotion is intended, Professor Bagh said that each department can interpret the rule as they see fit, if at all. Many departments have in their policies that exams and assignments can be completed by students in either Marathi or English. However, sources used in classes are almost entirely in English in all departments except the Women's Studies department, which I will address later in this paper. Therefore, access to information occurs mostly in English and while the rule allowing students to write exams in Marathi is intended to make the exam process easier for students, it often adds an extra challenge for students to mediate the language of sources and the classroom to the language of the exam. Most students, from what professors and students told me, attempt their exams in English. This offers them a chance to gauge their level of English and students with low English proficiency also feel that professors will be lenient with their grades and favor their attempt at using English (Interview, Student, 1/21/17).

In her classroom, Professor Bagh makes great efforts to translate her lectures— usually by pausing in English to summarize them in Marathi. Her use of Hindi seems less intentional and fleeting as she mixes it with English or responds to Hindi speaking students in Hindi in brief asides instead of also translating her English lectures into Hindi. However, she is aware of the students' linguistic and educational backgrounds. This approach is not unique to Professor Bagh. The professors I spoke with, who spanned six departments in three different universities, could give me detailed accounts of where each of their students were from, the language medium of their educational backgrounds, and what languages they were most comfortable using in class. This level of detail into the individual backgrounds of students took me by surprise. The great

attention given to students' language backgrounds is meant to create a classroom where access to knowledge is available to all students regardless of English proficiency, but it also enables professors to attribute identities to their students or categorize groups of students based on the languages students speak best. So language becomes the predominant identity marker in the space of the classroom.

In social science departments at a leading university in Pune, and its well-known affiliates, students may write their exams, essays, and other assignments in Marathi, though instruction is largely English-only. Through my ethnographic observations and recordings, I detail in this paper how translating lectures, holding weekend sessions for Marathi translation, and allowing assignments to be completed in Marathi are intended to adhere to a more linguistically inclusive environment for students with low English proficiency from Marathi speaking backgrounds but also creates and solidifies linguistic identities of students. I argue that this process, instead of creating a more inclusive environment for all students, builds a parallel course in each class based on the preferred language of students which further divides classrooms based on languages and brings to the surface linguistic identity as the main identifying category for students. I explore this process by bringing to light ways that Marathi, and Hindi are used in English medium higher education.

This paper focuses on data collected from classrooms in state universities and colleges over the 2016-2017 academic year. The colleges have both junior and senior sections. Junior colleges are the equivalent to 11th and 12th grade in an American education system. The senior colleges award undergraduate bachelor's degrees and the state universities award post graduate Master's and PhD degrees. The state universities in Pune included in my study are considered prestigious and are funded both by the central government and the state government. As these are considered public universities which receive funding from the state government, there are reservations set by the government to admit students from educationally disadvantaged and rural backgrounds from Maharashtra, creating a broad range of student identities across diverse socioeconomic classes, languages, and ethnicities.

I chose two institutions for data collection due to their student demographics and prestige. X University was established in 1949. The main building is a colonial structure and the university itself is located on a vast amount of land in the central-western part of the city. There

are forty-six departments and around a total of 500,000 students who attend X University. X University also boasts a large foreign exchange program with students coming mostly from Europe and the Middle East to study in various departments for a semester or year. Affiliated with X University, Y College was founded in 1885 as a privately run university in Pune. Y College is both a junior college for students to complete their 11th and 12th grades specializing in a technical area and a senior college for students to receive B.A. degrees. There are about 4,500 students, all mostly from India, who attend senior college at Y College in 29 disciplines. Both X University and Y College are ranked highly nationally for the arts and science educations they offer.

At X University, I attended lectures in the anthropology, English, and sociology departments in addition to interviewing professors in all three departments. At Y College my data is from the sociology and political science departments. I observed meetings held by the student-run sociology club and spoke with professors and students from different parts of Maharashtra. At these two institutions, I spoke with professors and students; some who had fluent English and others who claimed to be stronger in Marathi than English.

Promoting Marathi Language, Prescribing Marathi Identity

Professor Bagh's Sociology of India class consists of Indian, European, and Middle Eastern students. The native Marathi speaking students from rural Maharashtra have low English proficiencies and most of the European and Middle Eastern students have proficient English though some also struggle with it. The students from urban centers in Maharashtra and those from outside the state of Maharashtra have strong English proficiencies and most have also attended English medium schools, though not all. All the Indian students have high Hindi proficiencies as well though they do not prefer to speak it for multiple reasons such as their Hindi is informally learned and therefore colloquial, or they prefer to speak English to improve fluency and make friends with people who do not speak Hindi like the foreign students. Upon arriving at the universities and colleges, students expect the classes and their materials to be in English, but the reality is that in both informal and formal classroom discourse multiple languages are used.

Identity construction is relational and based on social interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Languages and how one speaks are key aspects of identification. My observational data shows that university students are attuned to moments when the professor speaks different languages or translates parts of the lectures as a sign that the professor is speaking either to them or to another linguistic group, based on whether the professor speaks English, Hindi, or Marathi. Therefore the students and teachers have internalized which language applies to them and this shapes or solidifies their academic identities. The lectures are organized around appealing to different linguistic groups and the professor and students know exactly to whom each language includes and excludes.

Regional languages, also commonly referred to as mother tongues, in India are often indicated to be parts of identities rather than useful tools for accomplishing tasks, which Mitchell finds are the uses for Hindi and English in her investigations (2009:10). Marathi, as a mother tongue, also represents deep emotional connections to a shared history in a region. Students in classes therefore identify with and are identified by their language strengths which become their linguistic identity, standing for identification with a geographic region and its history as well. Students identify themselves this way, such as the students who speak up to assist Professor Bagh with her Marathi. They claim those moments when Marathi does not come easily to Professor Bagh by positioning themselves to show their Marathi proficiency in relation to her low proficiency. The term linguistic identity refers to a speaker's identity as produced through linguistic interactions and language choices such as these from my observations in Professor Bagh's lectures, which are particularly salient in multilingual societies such as India with such strong identity politics fixed to language (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Mitchell 2009).

Language use in classroom discourse is key in investigating identity construction, since it is through communication that relationships and identities are enacted and produced and schools become sites for the production of language ideologies and identities (Heller 2007). Students accept or resist identities through interactions that take place in educational institutions—a fertile area for socialization and relational identity formation (Willis 1977, Eckert 1989). Students who can conform to expected and accepted academic speech styles are then viewed as good and successful students (Cazden 1988). My studies show that students who speak, write, and comprehend English are seen to be better students in higher education in Pune. It is as

though students are to progress through a hierarchy of languages with English at the apex. However, students who express interest in the material and speak up in class in Marathi are also viewed as good and successful students in the sociology and women's studies departments at X University. It is assumed that these students have some level of comprehension in English though are shy or unconfident to speak in English. In this way, Indian students differentiate their identities from peers and coalesce their social identities through appropriating speech patterns (Eckert 1989, Paris 2013). However, Paris' and Eckert's studies show identification and differentiation on behalf of the students themselves. In this paper, my data show professors' attitudes and actions towards students based on how professors identify students in relation to the languages students use and their backgrounds. Professors then reinscribe linguistic hierarchies reinforced by student identities when trying to make space or allowances for students in multilingual classrooms such as through translating lectures or holding parallel sessions for students who speak Marathi.

Professor Bagh at X University spends a great deal of time considering the linguistic abilities of her students with the intention of all her students comprehending classroom material equally. She once spent a full class day organizing presentation groups based on students' language proficiencies because she wanted groups with mixed linguistic abilities. The result was to be that one student would deliver a presentation first in English and then another would present the same slides, though in a slightly shortened manner, in Marathi. This way students who were already known to the class as students more comfortable speaking in Marathi rather than in English were given a sanctioned space and purpose to use Marathi and information was disseminated to students in both languages.

However, the outcome of Professor Bagh's careful planning was that students paid attention to the language that they understood best and the presenters needed to not deliver any information outside their linguistic comfort zone. In each presentation, Marathi material was translated from English rather than new information first being given or brought to the project in Marathi to be translated into English. Before one of these presentations, a non-Maharashtrian Indian student educated in English medium schools with no Marathi proficiency leaned over and whispered to a German student while rolling her eyes and laughing saying, "Ok, get ready to understand nothing but nod your head to pretend like you do!" Showing frustration among non-

Marathi speaking students and an attitude of derision for the fact that she knew the student presenting would present in Marathi and that translation needs to be provided for some students. This student's casual aside shows that during the Marathi presentation, students with high proficiencies in English disengaged from the presenters once the English presentation was over, turning to their laptops or phones instead of keeping their attention on their classmates at the front of the class. Some Marathi speaking students also disengage from the English portion during presentations as well. So not all of the Marathi speaking students remain attentive throughout the English presentations, which is always the first version presented. This shows that only some of the students with high Marathi proficiencies attend to the English used in class, through socialization or personal interest, while the students with high English proficiencies do not approach the Marathi portions of presentations the same way. The effect is that there seems to be two classes held simultaneously based on language medium— one in English and one in Marathi. Through these classroom practices, the students are categorized into different groups based on their English and Marathi proficiencies.

Marginalized Marathi Identities in Higher Education

Ankur, a sociology student at Y College, is new to an English-medium education and therefore said he studies at least six hours a day to keep up because as he is from a rural and primarily Marathi speaking background. Luckily, he is outgoing and has made many friends in his classes. These are the same friends who encouraged him to sit down and speak with me when he entered the professor's office to ask a question during my interview with their professor. He briefly described to me his struggles with language that the professor and his classmates had already begun to describe to me. He smiled but recalled how he despaired his whole first year and almost paid for an exorbitantly expensive spoken English class offered through one of many private institutions in the area around the college intended for students just like him who struggle with their English curriculums. Instead, he received help from his classmates to improve his English. Sanjeevani, one of Ankur's native Marathi speaking peers with high English proficiency, responded to Ankur's comments by saying just a week before she had edited and made him re-write a sociology paper "about twelve times" to help improve his English writing, saying nothing of the sociological concepts he was writing about in the paper. It seemed that for

written assignments, the focus is entirely on producing an essay in English regardless of the content. While Ankur was getting help through the kindness of his classmates and professors, it was not enough for Ankur to succeed and his language abilities were an insurmountable hindrance. Ankur left this program of study before completing his degree at the end of the 2017 term.

Raju is a recent graduate of environmental science MS degree program at X University. He was a strong student and top of his classes all throughout his schooling until he reached his higher education. Like Ankur, Raju is also from a rural Maharashtrian background and dropped out of his classes. He left X University to return home to begin a career as a farmer after his father when he saw that he failed three out of four of his classes in his first semester. He found it too difficult to keep up in already challenging classes where English was primarily used. He had come from a Marathi speaking town where even Hindi was rare so he found the mix of languages, coupled with moving away from home and other social pressures, overwhelming. Raju eventually returned to his studies and was successful at his degree and English by putting in extra effort to learn English. He took private classes, made friends with English speakers who he made sure corrected his mistakes, and even sought out a specific friend to be his roommate who he wanted to help him improve his English. His efforts are unique to Raju's personality and go above and beyond those expected of students. Raju found that in classes students spoke Hindi and Marathi with each other but in his degree program, the professor and texts were too challenging to follow in English and he claimed he wished he had attended English medium schools and learned English earlier.

Raju and Ankur represent only two of the many students who are marginalized by their rural identities, which become synonyms for a Marathi identity in higher education due to the high level of reservation seats for rural students. This mix of rural and urban student backgrounds is unique to higher education in Pune as Pune is the educational hub of Maharashtra and more centrally located than Mumbai, which also boasts top universities though not as many as Pune. This mix of urban and rural students is not found in the primary or secondary schools in Pune either, where all students are from Pune and therefore an urban background. If there is access to English medium education in rural locations, it is often English medium in name only with textbooks provided in English but where teachers and parents are unable to effectively teach

or use English based on their own low English proficiencies (Gupta 2006, Richard 2013). The product is a degraded education where concepts are not fully taught or learned in either language—the vernacular or English (Mody 2015). Students sidestep using proper English in classrooms because “evaluations are so low that professors just look for keywords on exams,” Anand, a Y sociology student explained to me (Interview, 1/21/17). Therefore students coming to these universities in Pune from rural backgrounds are often assumed to have low educational levels, standards, and low English levels but can earn a degree without having to use fluent English. Cleavages between students from urban and rural backgrounds relate to language and quality of education, whereby a language gets associated with socioeconomic and educational disadvantage and geographic regions all at once.

Sanctioned Spaces for Hindi and Marathi in English Higher Education

Ankur’s insistence on doing his degree in English without English proficiency is a common story. Parallel courses in Marathi are offered in some colleges and universities as a means to disseminate the same information in Marathi to students in the same degree course. The parallel classes are supposed to mirror their English counterparts at Y College though these classes are taught by different professors. However, though these classes exist, they are still often unpopular choices for Marathi proficient students for the reasons of prestige and educational style. “Students like Ankur are vernacular medium students. But they choose the English medium stream (at Y College) because they want to learn English and this is the first opportunity for them to do so” (Interview, Bagh, 1/21/17). In addition, the English stream of classes has more prestige and often more dynamic teachers than the Marathi parallel classes. Often these courses are only offered for general education or core classes and electives are only provided in English making availability of Marathi parallel classes selective to begin with.

When I asked if the quality of the Marathi parallel classes is similar to the quality of the English classes, the students all vigorously shook their heads. Sanjeevani spoke up quickly saying, “So few people take the Marathi medium class. And a lot of material has not been translated so the resources available in different languages are very different. Also the teachers themselves may not have good teaching skills. As they are Marathi medium teachers.” When I asked her to clarify her point about the teaching skills, Professor Bagh, who I had initially come

to speak with in her office which doubled as a very small classroom housing just six wooden desks, quietly added that the pedagogy in Marathi medium government schools rests on memorization and having students copy answers from the board into notebooks. Therefore, they had the impression that these teachers bring a style of teaching that is looked down upon into their Marathi parallel classes because it is what they and their students know and are used to, based on their backgrounds and educational exposure. This shows a hierarchical divide also among the teachers along the lines of language, as Professor Bagh continued to explain, “They are often first generation college-goers themselves and they’re not English speaking people so they decided to teach in Marathi.” According to her, not only the students are categorized as Marathi speaking or English speaking based on their backgrounds but a divide also exists among professors as well.

To bridge the divide among students in the English and Marathi streams and even among students with high and low English proficiency in the English parallel classes, the sociology department has created a space for student initiatives based on linguistic inclusivity. Students take it upon themselves to organize events outside the classroom such as discussions and film viewings that focus on classroom material. Because these groups are student-led and take place outside classroom hours, students are encouraged to speak in any language they feel most comfortable using. Some students are extremely comfortable in English and since they learn the material in class in English or feel that they can help improve other students’ English, they continue the discussion outside of class on these topics in English. However, these groups are built for conversational involvement unlike a classroom lecture so most students use Hindi. Hindi becomes the inclusive language at these events used to bring together the Maharashtrian and non-Maharashtrian Indian students in a more colloquial atmosphere.

Professor Bagh and the two students who mainly run these events explained that a year ago they used to only use English at the sociology club events as they were intended to be an extension of lectures. However, some Marathi-speaking students complained saying that they felt excluded and while they could not feel fully comfortable participating in classes due to a language barrier, they did not want to remain excluded from these events as well. So Professor Bagh officially relaxed the English-only rules around these extracurricular events so that there was a conscious effort to use Marathi and Hindi as well and has since had a rise in student

participation. However, these events reinscribe linguistic identities upon students based on the conscious effort for students to use languages other than English and because these extracurricular opportunities become spaces extending from the classroom where students fall into the linguistically labeled categories they have inside the classroom. In one meeting for example, students had taken turns presenting their views on the subject and finally the student leader paused and said, in Marathi, “Now let’s hear from the Marathi students” who were all sitting to one side as a group, granting them space to speak based on their language proficiencies. They had not tried to speak up before then and had sat silently listening to the other students speak in Hindi and English. When explicitly told to contribute their perspectives based on their language backgrounds, which had become their linguistic identities in class, two of the four students provided their opinions on the topic.

Similarly, X University’s women’s studies department works to normalize bilingualism in the classroom by creating spaces where Marathi is not only the preferred language but is the necessary language. Their goal to take Marathi and English out of a hierarchy where English is seen to be better than Marathi and give equal status to both languages through teaching and introducing texts in both languages is stated clearly in their mission statement. The women’s studies department at X University is famous for their focus on linguistic equality as a means to provide an education to minorities and traditionally educationally disenfranchised populations such as rural women. Here again we see a Marathi identity conflated with a rural one. Professor Das and her colleagues introduce Marathi primary sources translated into English rather than the other way around in their classes. Parallel sessions in this department are mandatory for all students to attend and as a result, while native Hindi and English speakers learn some Marathi, the classes are heavily focused on linguistic topics which surprises and upsets some exchange students and students from outside Maharashtra who did not expect to get an education in the Marathi language along with their women studies degree. However, the model of education the women’s studies department follows seems to be the most successful at creating an institutionalized space for Marathi within their degree, challenging a linguistic hierarchy which places English before Marathi as the most useful language in education. The unique policies in place in the women’s studies department help to combat the stigma where one language is more

valued over the other and is useful to integrate both categories of linguistically identified students (Marathi speakers and English speakers) into an interactive setting in classes.

The ways that Marathi, and Hindi to some extent as well, are incorporated officially into classrooms and departments across various higher education institutions in Pune appear to be successful for Marathi-speaking students with lower fluency levels in English where all students are required to attend all classes (therefore not substituting the additional Marathi tutorials for English medium lectures) and when there are enough materials available in both languages. The efforts from the students and professors in X University's women's studies department welcome bilingualism in the classroom where Marathi is valued and useful. These linguistic practices are some ways that successfully include and promote Marathi in university classrooms while maintaining an English medium educational system at the higher education level though students are still saddled with their linguistic identities through the organization of the course.

Inscribing Linguistic Hierarchies

Professor Bagh makes great effort to include Marathi in her lectures to create a rapport with the students who are more proficient in Marathi. In a private meeting with me, she lamented that she feels her level of Marathi to be low and the attempts she makes to use it proficiently in her lectures often causes students to laugh or not take her seriously. I was surprised to hear that a very experienced professor felt diminished and often defeated by her language abilities in Marathi in her classrooms. I argue that through her status and authority of the professor and because her linguistic shortcomings is due to poor Marathi but strong English, rather than the other way around, she is allowed to make mistakes without the same repercussions that students would receive who speak inadequate English but strong Marathi. Professor Bagh is from the state of Orissa, located on the eastern coast of India. She speaks multiple other Indian languages but only began learning and using Marathi as an adult. Through her attempts of using Marathi and position as a non-native Marathi speaker, Professor Bagh defers to the Marathi speakers in the classroom for assistance with the language.

Language ideologies reveal organization in society that motivates behavior as “mediating link(s) between social forms and forms of talk” (Woolard 1998:3). In my data, Marathi is shown to be a boon in departments like the women's studies department and for moments of translation

where professors who are not proficient in Marathi are compelled through the Maharashtra Public University Act to introduce Marathi into their classes and need the assistance of their Marathi students to do so. Ideologies surrounding Marathi in higher education organize students into categories, often ordered in a hierarchy based on who the education works best for (those who can speak English, an academic and global language) and those who speak Marathi who need linguistic concessions to be made for their inclusion in higher education. In higher education in Pune, Marathi was defined in discussions with professors as associated with students from low socioeconomic statuses and disadvantaged educational backgrounds, often from rural areas who generally struggle when adjusting to the academic culture in Pune. Associating Marathi proficiency with students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds becomes a powerfully motivating ideology cast upon students who have higher Marathi proficiency than English proficiency. For example, Professor Bagh said, “here Marathi is an identity issue” and “some students feel targeted because they are Maharashtrian. They may feel that they have been given a bad grade or are asked to work with another student because of their mother tongue” (Interview, A. Bagh, 9/29/16). Indeed, Professor Bagh did not draw the connection between lamenting to me about this and her day-long attempt to form student presentation groups solely based on the language abilities of the students. Therefore the linguistic medium, as defined by the professor, motivates students’ academic attitudes and performance and also how professors feel they must teach towards groups of students based on their linguistic backgrounds.

According to the Maharashtra Public University Act of 2016, in the English medium classes students can submit papers in either Marathi or English. Hindi is largely absent and is not included in the university policy on the language of student submissions as Hindi speakers are assumed to either hail from outside Maharashtra or never have attended a Marathi medium school and should therefore be proficient enough to do their education in English. Indian students who are more proficient in other Indian languages or foreign students who also struggle with English are excluded from these language policies at the higher education level and write their papers in English sometimes with great difficulty. Professor Bagh at X University and Professor Bagh at Y College both confirmed that most students attempt their papers in English as the majority of instruction and material is in English. Though often when students with low English proficiency attempt their assignments in English, it results in a struggle for many

students and low quality or barely comprehensible English on assignments for which these professors are always at a loss for how to grade.

Language ideologies reveal organization in society, which help to explore the role of power relations in social group formation, group cohesion, and motivating decisions that drive behavior. Additionally, language ideologies reflect politically charged, purposeful, and directed ways of using language as well as representing shared beliefs about language. In the examples above, language ideologies about Marathi shape professors' views of students and the students' identities. In classrooms, students are unofficially divided into Marathi speakers or English speakers. Marathi speakers are assumed to be from rural, educationally disadvantaged backgrounds, which in turn conflates Marathi in the classroom with educational disadvantage and English with educational advancement, except for in the women's studies department at X University. In this way, analyzing language ideologies provides a key method of linking micro level observations of practices to macro level systems and doing this allows for stronger consideration of political economic structures, power, social inequality, and constraints on language behavior (Woolard 1998:27).

Conclusion: Results of Marathi, Hindi, and English in higher education

The Marathi language is the predominant aspect of a Maharashtrian identity and societies' beliefs about language are produced in schools (Wortham 2002). Language therefore emerges as a key feature of student identities in higher education because classrooms in many urban higher education institutions are often composed of students of various linguistic, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds, compared to primary and secondary educational institutions where there may not be as many students from such diverse backgrounds. Higher education therefore is not only for higher degrees and specialization but for students like Ankur and Raju, it was the first time in their educational careers where they needed to branch out of familiar settings and comfort zones— socially and linguistically. Therefore, language becomes a contentious divider and marker of different groups of students if teachers identify and categorize students by linguistic abilities and teach towards those abilities, dividing the class by language.

Although teachers and students in various departments in the three higher educational institutions know that they are to only use English, they “smuggle the vernacular into the

classroom,” as there are institutional barriers to allowing for complete English medium classrooms (Probyn 2009). Students like Sanjeevani and Anand at Y College express that for higher education to be more inclusive and egalitarian it should be necessary and accepted to appreciate and use Marathi in higher education. However, in Nitin’s view, a feeling of giving into regional language speakers in higher education by providing sanctioned space for Marathi use hinders English learning and further disadvantages students who already began their advanced degrees at a disadvantage, in his view, from coming from Marathi medium educational backgrounds. Apart from being a crutch, foreign exchange students highlighted the extra time it takes to orally translate lectures and written material. Language training, in Nitin’s and Raju’s views, should have occurred in the primary and secondary schoolings level so as to ease students into the academic rigor and social differences of higher education instead of students also needing to adapt linguistically in addition to changing academic and social norms.

English is seen to be an academic language necessary for all to succeed in higher education. Marathi becomes a concession that some professors make on behalf of department policies or politics. English is a form of academic pressure for professorial performance as well. Classes are supposed to be English medium but departments that encourage Marathi use in classes still have pressure for their professors to attend international conferences and publish books and articles in English to garner prestige for the department (Interview, Bagh, 9/29/16). English, as an international language of research, is a way for their work to reach outside the state, which is beneficial for the careers of professors and their departments. The result of the examples I have provided here show how language ideologies are created and perpetuated around the use of Marathi, English, and Hindi in higher education classrooms and how these ideologies play into identity construction on behalf of professors ascribing identities onto students and how students appropriate language as a marker of their own identities. My data also show how institutionalized spaces for Marathi are created and used, and the ways in which mixing Marathi, Hindi, and English occurs on a daily basis.

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**The Poetic Art and Vision of Robert Frost with a Focus on His
Pragmatic View of the Relationship between Man and Nature:
A Brief Analysis**

Dr. S. Chelliah, M.A., Ph.D.



Robert Frost 1874-1963

Courtesy: <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/articles/89511/robert-frost-the-road-not-taken>

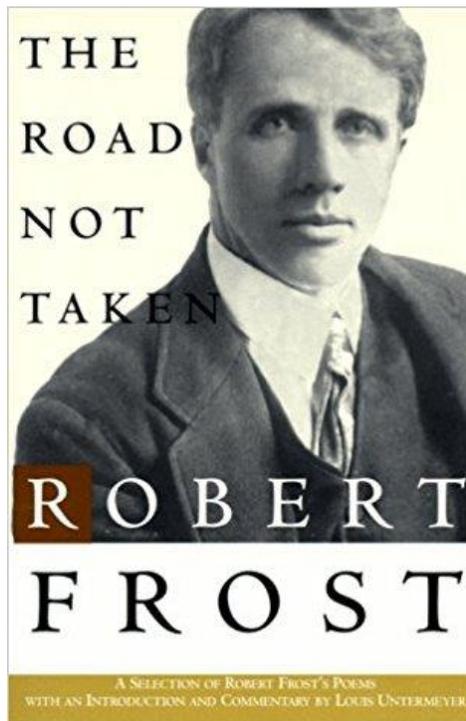
Image Courtesy of Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Abstract

This paper projects Robert Frost as a typical poet of New England and America – almost one among the most eminent poets of the English language winning wide popularity and enjoying the extraordinary academic and official honour heaped on him by a good number of critics, bringing home the fact that Frost is an experimenter and expert in various poetic forms – odes, eclogues, satires, dramatic monologues, dialogues and mosques. It reveals rather

beautifully how he is a great metrical artist as well as a great poetic experimenter with ‘right words at the right place’ and how he has embarked upon the noble task of turning the living speech of men and women into poetry in general and turning common words and expressions into literary pearls in particular. It shows neatly how he has proved himself to be an excellent poetic artist considering ‘descriptive power’ as the most wonderful thing in his poetic realm.

Keywords: Robert Frost, poetic form, poetic experiment, living speech, supreme expression.



Robert Frost

Robert Frost was one of the most popular poets of his day and an important cause of his popularity lay in the fact that no poet was so thoroughly a typical poet of New England or America as he was. If popularity could be regarded as the measure of a poet’s eminence, Frost would certainly be among the most eminent poets of the English language. What is most striking about him is not so much the wide popularity that he enjoyed but the extraordinary academic and official honour that was heaped on him. Critics and poets, differing widely amongst themselves

in taste and temperament, recognized his eminence. While referring to the honour and recognition given to Robert Frost, Malcolm Cowley rightly said:

“He has been a professor of Amherst, a poet in residence and fellow in letters of Michigan; a Charles Eliot Norton Professor, a Ralph Waldo Emerson Fellow and a Fellow in American Civilization at Harvard, all these being fairly lucrative appointments”.

Robert Frost was awarded four Pulitzer Prizes, one more than E. A. Robinson and two more than Stephen Vincent Benet. He was given the Loines Prize for poetry, the gold medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and the Silver medal of the Poetry Society of America.

Such an eminent poet was born in San Francisco, California on March 26, 1874. His father, William Prescott Frost, was a New Englander and his mother, Isebella Moodie, was a Scot who had come to America from Edinburgh. Frost had inherited much of his father’s venturesome practices and his impatience for a life of excitement and colour.

It was in 1912 that Frost decided to make poetry his vocation in life. After selling out his farm, he went with his family to England and settled in Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire. His first volume of lyrics “A Boy’s Will” was accepted in 1913 for publication and his second book of dramatic monologues “North of Boston” (1914) attracted so much attention that it was also published in America soon after. After the successful publication of the first two volumes, he brought out ten notable works as 1. *Mountain Interval* (1916), 2. *New Hampshire* (1923), 3. *West Running Brook* (1928), 4. *A Further Range* (1936), 4. *Witness Tree* (1942), 5. *Come in and other Poems*, 6. *A Mosque of Reason* (1945), 7. *Steeple Bush* (1947), 8. *A Mosque of Mercy* (1947) and *In the Clearing* (1962). Other than these poems, he also wrote three hundred odd poems. Nearly forty honorary degrees were conferred upon him by different Universities including Oxford and Cambridge and he was elected to the Membership of the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1916 and Membership in the American Academy in 1930. On January 20, 1961, he was called upon to recite his patriotic poem, “The Gift outright” when the late President Kennedy assumed office. Frost died on January 1963. President Kennedy described Frost as,

“The great American poet of our time

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Dr. S. Chelliah, M.A., Ph.D.

The Poetic Art and Vision of Robert Frost with a Focus on His Pragmatic View of the Relationship between Man and Nature: A Brief Analysis

His life and his art summed up the
essential qualities of the New England
he loved so much: the fresh delight
in Nature, the plainness of speech,
the canny wisdom and the deep underlying
insight into the human soul” (Gerber 139)

Jawaharlal Nehru was greatly impacted by the poems of Robert Frost, and he had kept these lines in his bedroom, clearly showing how he viewed his life:

**The woods are lovely, dark and deep.
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.**

“A Poem Begins with a Lump in the Throat”

As the twentieth-century men, Robert Frost and Wallace Stevens shared the twentieth century concerns and like most other contemporary writers, they faced the problems of coming to terms with a world that seemed to lack real spiritual significance, a world often visualized as a wasteland. Frost and Stevens experienced the terror of vision that the universe is the diminished thing to which modern man must respond. Though he tried to explore the real horrors of the mind just as Poe, Melville and Henry James did, Frost even in his best lyrical poetry was content to stop outside, either in the thrush-haunted dusk or on a snowy evening. Frost was a poet neither of the mountains nor of the woods, although he lived among both, but rather of the hill pasture, the intervals, the dooryard in autumn with the leaves swirling, the closed house shaking in the winter storms. In his words,

“A poem begins with a lump in the throat; a home sickness or love sickness. It is reaching out towards expression; an effort to find fulfillment. A complete poem is one where an emotion has found the words... My definition of poetry would be thus; words that have become deeds” (Cox 16).

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An Experimenter

It should be borne in mind that Frost is an experimenter and expert in various poetic forms – odes, eclogues, satires, dramatic monologues, dialogues and mosques. He has employed ballet metres, sonnet variants, terzavima, heroic couplet, blank verse, and certain forms which are his own invention. According to Frost, a poem is a put-up job’, thereby differing from those who hold that a poem is an artifact or a thing deliberately constructed: He believed that a poem should make itself as it grows and his own poems bear out this. In short, Frost is a great metrical artist as well as a great artist with words. It is said that Frost has turned the living speech of men and women into poetry, carefully rendering into metre the customary Yankee speech. His greatness and skill lies in his mastery over the different art of handling conversation in verse forms.

Form of Poetry

In his different letters, he has revealed his unique ideas regarding form of poetry, sound of poetry and vocal imagination. These theories of Frost stand as a touchstone to expose the special genius of Frost, the poet. In a poem after poem, all that is other than himself is identified by sound, either seductive or threatening, either meaningful or brute. There is the sound of the wind and the rain, of trees in their rustling, of the scythe in the field, the cry in the night, the beating on a box by a lonely old man, the movement of a beast, the song of birds, the voice of a lover or her silence. Richard Poirier writes rather aptly:

“The voice of imagination, the speaking voice must know certainly how to behave, how to posture in every sentence he offers. The person who is vulnerable to these sounds and silences is characterized as the common man who is a poet maker of poetry” (73).

Images of Voices

When Frost refers to vocal imagination, he makes it synonymous with what he calls ‘images of the voices speaking’. Frost listens for those images as much in nature as in human dialogue. The difference is that only in human dialogue can such images emerge as ‘sentence

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sounds' rather than as vagrant noises, the sweep of mind and downy flake, or mere words. His capacity to find these images in nature depends upon human love. The supreme expression of this complex of feelings is found in the poem, 'Never Again Would Birds Song Be the Same'. Frost was different from his contemporaries in his approach to poetry and in his writings, he rejected the revolutionary poetic principles that were sweeping the time. He alone chose "the old fashioned way to the new" instead of the totally new.

Poetry is a Metaphor

When compared with his contemporaries, Robert Frost has said very little about what a poem is or how a poem comes into existence. His remarks on poetry appear in his essays 'The Constant Symbol', 'The Figure a Poem makes' and in 'Poetry and School'. In 'The Constant Symbol', Frost makes an observation about a poem thus:

"There are many things I have found myself saying about poetry, but the chiefest of these is that it is a metaphor, saying one thing and meaning another, saying one thing in terms of another, the pleasures of ulteriority. Poetry is simply made of metaphor... Every poem is a new metaphor inside or it is nothing. There is a sense in which all poems are the same old metaphor always" (Lathern 400)

Lawrence Thompson has very ably explained as to what Frost meant when he described poetry as a metaphor by analyzing the well-known poem, "Stopping by woods on a Snowy Evening". Thompson has, at first, given the literal, the prose meaning of this lyric in these words. "The poem is a dramatic lyric which breaks into the middle of an incident, so that there is a drama-in-miniature revealed with setting and lighting and actors and properties complete. At the beginning the reader finds the curtain going up on a little action which approaches the climax of an experience, real or imagined; that is, an experience which happened to the poet or one which came to the mind of the poet possible. A rural traveller is the actor whose brief soliloquy describes the circumstances under which he has stopped his horse-drawn-sleigh to enjoy, inspite of cold and loneliness, the strange beauty of white snowflakes falling against a background of dark trees. There are many reasons why he should not stop; common-sense reasons which seem to occur even to the travellers little horse". But the spell of the moment is so strong that the

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traveller is reluctant to leave regardless of the winter night and the cold storm. He is impelled to move on by the realization of duties and distances; those “promises” which he must keep and the “miles to go” before he completes his journey. Thus, the poem ends and the images which crowd the statements are direct and unmistakable.” One of the most important of Frost’s utterances about poetry is that in which he described poetry as “a momentary stay against confusion” by which he, perhaps, meant that out of the chaotic confusion of daily impressions and thoughts the poet captures a moment with his words and achieves a kind of crystallization that gives to his chaotic raw materials not only shape but weight. His poem, “West Running Brook” is a fine example of what he meant by the term “a momentary stay against confusion.” The brook which runs west while all the other brooks flow east to reach the ocean, brings to the poet’s mind the analogy of existence. Frost believed that in poetry, there is a combination of impulse and art and he avoided two kinds of extremes, the view of those who think that poetry is nothing of content (pure art) and the view that poetry is nothing except content (pure preaching).

Poetic Form

In the words of Frost, ‘form’ is essential to poetry in all ages. To him, If a poet wants to give form to poetry, he should employ the intricate method of conveying organization, shapeliness, fitness to the matter or substance of the context or meaning of the poem. Meaning should be subordinated in its proper balance with the structure. Frost himself has said something about his own experience – the working out of a poem. For Frost, there is a striking analogy between the course of a true poem and of true love, for each begins as an impulse:

“No one can really hold that the ecstasy should be static and stand still in one place. It begins in delight, it inclines to the impulse, it assumed direction with the first line laid down, it runs a course of lucky events, and ends in a clarification of life-not necessarily a great clarification, such as sects and cults are founded on, but in a momentary stay against confusion...” (P55)

Recognising the Poetic Impulse

As Frost says, there are two ways of recognising the poetic impulse which results in the formation of a poem. The first way of recognition is like this: the mental recognition of meaning

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in this emotional experience gradually asserts itself on a new plane of metaphorical reference. The second kind of recognition occurs when a sudden emotional pleasure is derived from the sudden mental perception of a thought which comes into the sharp focus through the discovery and recognition of a particular apt correspondence or analogy. Frost's idea of poetry as clarification of life has intimate connection with his poetic theory of Emerson, an individualist. Frost's idea of poetic intent is closely associated with the statement of Emerson:

“For it is not metres, but a metre-making argument that makes a poem, - a thought so passionate and alive that like the spirit of a plant or an animal, it has an architecture of its own, and adorns nature with a new thing. The thought and the form are equal in the order of time, but in the order of genesis, the thought is prior to the form. The poet has a new thought; he has a whole new experience to unfold; he will tell us how it is with him, and all men will be the richer in his fortune...” (P10)

Spontaneity

Frost's remarks about his own poetry and about poetry in general, which appear in “the Introduction” to his complete poems, make it clear that he prizes spontaneity, above almost every other quality but he also laid stress on discipline, patience and watchfulness. He expressed his views concerning the relationship between ideas and poetry. It was his conviction that a poet could eschew thought, but he must think from the marrow of his bones, thinking must become part and parcel of his sensibility. According to him, “a poet has every right to deal with abstract theories but he must not think intellectually”. In poetry, thought must become ‘felt thought’. In his opinion, the dramatic necessity is a very vital point of poetry, “There should always be people in poems.” Yes, even in lyrics “Lyrics ought to be dramatic”.

Rural Background – On Beauty

Unlike his contemporaries, Frost was a lover of nature and humanity. There is a strong rural background in his poetry. A. Zverev, a social critic observes:

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“One can often see a poet of eternal themes, a poet of the land, of nature in Robert Frost. But he was not cut off from the anxieties of his America, from his spiritual needs or from the artistic striving of the 20th century” (P 243)

Poets like Keats and W.H. Davies observed and recorded the beauties of Nature: for Keats, a thing of beauty was a joy forever and for Davies, Nature was a fountain of Beauty. Some other poets like Whitman and Shelley stood on a height to observe the panorama of Nature and society together. Still some others like Hardy and Wordsworth spiritualized or personified Nature; to them, Nature spoke a significant language and stirred within them profound philosophical reflections. But Frost’s approach to Nature was a fusion of all these. Sometimes he simply observed and recorded beauties of Nature; at times he found spiritual echoes in it, still at some other times, he found Nature to be a mirror of men’s soul. But he never saw Nature away from Nature. That is why he said,

“I’m no nature poet!
All but a few poems have
a person in them” (Gould 215)

It is true that Frost is not a nature poet; yet his poems might be called “nature poems” because as Louis Untermeyer rightly put it, “Although Robert Frost is not to be classified as a “Nature Poet”, he knows more about nature than most of his living contemporaries, more even than most of the poets of the past, with the possible exception of Vergil and Wordsworth” (Louis 195). Frost is ultimately not very much concerned with developing a philosophically consistent concept of Nature. What really interest him is not definitions but attitudes, not what nature is in itself but how man responds to it in a world he never made. Frost never sees in the natural world, the pervading spirit that Wordsworth saw. But Frost has Wordsworthian simplicity of style in his description of Nature.

Descriptive Power

What is considered as the most wonderful thing in his poetic realm is his ‘descriptive power’. His attitude towards nature and life and the place he gives to nature and man is

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noteworthy in his poems. Being a pastoral poet, Frost writes about natural scenes and sounds. He deals with nature for nature always provides the background to his' poems. Though nature provides only a background to his poems, his descriptive is something remarkable – a snowfall, a spring thaw, a bending tree, a valley, the mist and a brook are not mere descriptions but expressions of personal registration in terms of the subject matter of the poems. In poems like “Birches” and “Blueberries”, one can see not only the ability of Frost in describing nature, but also in conveying his different experiences. “Birches” is one of the most widely quoted nature-lyrics of Robert Frost. It is remarkable for its skillful blending of fact and fantasy, observation and imagination. The subject of the poem “Birches” is not nature but man’s attitude towards life. The birches symbolise rural beauty. In spite of the boy’s severe swinging, the branches of the birch trees remain unscathed. Actually Frost sees in the act of swinging, a kind of objective correlative which connects the present with the past. Loren and his children in the poem “Blueberries” go picking blueberries through Patterson’s pasture to make their living. The poet says:

“He has brought them all upon wild berries,
they say,
Like birds, they store a great many away.
They eat them the year round, and those they don’t eat
They sell in the store and buy shoes for their feet”

(Lines 50-53)

Really they lead a frugal life, without being influenced by the luxurious habits of the modern society. They work hard ferrying and accept what nature gives. They limit their needs to the minimum so that they live a life of contentment. They never conflict with nature or press nature to give more because of increasing needs. The Lovens’ experience is a concrete example of how nature has nothing but good effects for those who live in harmonious relationship with nature. Blue-berries represent a life force in the world of nature. The description reaches the peak at the closing lines:

“You ought to have seen how it looked in the rain,
The fruit mixed with water in layers of leaves,
Like two kinds of jewels, a vision for thieves”

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(Lines 103-105)

The metaphor in the last line is an example of Frost's descriptive power. Though the value of Frost's treatment of Nature may be called in question, it is undeniable that his nature-poetry gives evidence of his capacity for minute observation and acute description. Isidor Schneider, who criticizes Frost's poetry on other grounds, makes this significant remark on his descriptive power:

“The descriptive power of Mr. Frost is to me the most wonderful thing in his poetry. A Snowfall, a spring thaw, a bending tree, a valley mist, a brook, these are brought not to bur into the experience of the reader” (P 13).

Frost and Wordsworth as Nature Poets

There are a few marked similarities between Frost and Wordsworth as nature Poets and this point of similarity has very admirably been brought out by C. Day Lewis in these words that follow:

“Detachment, for him as for Wordsworth, is a necessary condition of the creative power. It is worth noticing that his most consistently successful work, *North of Boston*, which is concerned throughout with the New England landscape and character, was written while he was living in Gloucestershire. This is as clear an example of ‘emotion recollected in tranquility’ – as the lines of Tin tern Abbey. Frost's most remarkable affinity with Wordsworth, however, lies in the temper (or tempo, or temperature) of his verse.” (P 14).

The one remarkable thing about Frost's treatment of nature is that his description of the objects and manifestations of nature show that he did not idealize or glorify them. His attitude towards them has been that of a realist, not so much of a romanticist. In the words of W.H. Auden, “His poems on natural objects such as ‘Birches’, ‘Mending Wall’ or ‘The Grindstone’ are always concerned with them not as foci for mystical meditation or starting points for fantasy but as things with which on and which man acts in the course of the daily work of gaining a livelihood” (Malaviya 15).

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In poems like “Tree at my window”, “A considerable Speck”, “Departmental” and “The Bear”, one can find Frost speaking to nature, one characteristic of Frost’s nature poems in his comparison of man with nature. In the poem, “Tree at my window”, Frost establishes a relationship between man and nature by speaking to the tree at the window. Frost says,

“But let there never be curtain drawn
Between you and me”

Tree and Frost

The tree seems to fascinate him. This is so because the poet has discovered close similarity between himself and the tree. The tree is torn and tossed by the “outer weather” while the man is torn and agitated by the “inner weather”. The man is tormented and plagued by the inner conflicts, fears, spiritual anguish and doubts. The tree is insensitive, unfeeling and dull; to feel and to suffer spiritually is a peculiarly human prerogative. In this way, Frost asserts the superiority of man over nature, of mind over matter. In “The Bear”, Frost compares man with the bear. Speaking about the poem, Louis Untermeyer points out:

“Frost does not regard the bear as the creature of foot loose freedom, but as a symbol of mortal perplexity. Here is a satirical comparison of the uncaged bear and man trapped in the endless conflicts between mind and mood” (P 65).

Nature and Man

As a poet, Frost thinks that nature and man are two different forces and nature is indifferent to man sometimes. So he expects man to accept the gauntlet thrown by nature. Man on earth need not be desperate on account of forces beyond his control. On the other hand, he has to live courageously and fearlessly in the face of natural barriers and threats. What man has to do is as pointed out by N. Subramanian:

“Man is not to despair of his relation with nature. Instead, he can wisely avoid her when she appears unkind and get the most out of her when she is kind to him. This attitude of discrimination is necessary if man is to live on intimate terms with

nature. It should not be considered a time-serving device but only a wise and indispensable mode of man's life" (P 28).

Poems like "Our Hold on the Planet" and "A Minor Bird" discuss beautifully the relationship between man and nature. In "Our Hold on the Planet", nature's benignity is understood by man with gratitude. If nature is not in favour of man, then our hold on the planet would not have increased. Thus, there exists a relationship between man and nature. In "Slopping by Woods on Snowy Evening", Frost expresses his attitude, to nature:

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep" (Lines 13-16)

Frost's love of nature is primarily owing to his temperament; but it is also due to background – the circumstances under which he lived a great part of his life. Both as man and poet, Frost loved to live in Nature, to become one with it. As he says in "Two Tramps in Mud Time",

"My object in living is to unite
My avocation and my vocation"

Farming and Composing Poetry

The avocation and vocation are the twin activities of farming and composing poetry. The poems about nature by Frost make a delightful reading on account of their skilful handling of the poetic devices like images and personifications. Personification is generally employed to add vitality to descriptions of nature. The personifications of the Romantic take the form of brief metaphor, while Frost's are nearly always extended analogies. Frost does not merely likes things in nature to man, he explores the resemblances usually at some length. These devices serve to communicate their sensory experiences of the world of nature, which are largely visual and auditory and help them make a significant contribution to nature poems. Frost seems to view that nature includes man necessarily and there is a rightful place for him in it. He believes in a

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harmonious relationship between man and nature. His poems reveal how beneficial it is for man to be in amity with nature and how bothersome it could be for him to content against the forces of nature.

To Conclude

To conclude, Frost is a great and original nature poet. But he has not given any explicit statement of a theory of nature or of man's relationship with nature. He writes from his own personal experience and observation. What interested Frost in nature was not definition of nature but attitudes, not what nature is in itself but how man responds to nature in different circumstances. In the world of Frost, nature is treated as a medium and a mode to fix the place of man in the created order. Frost's attitude is based on this worldliness. In a word, it may be said that Frost takes a pragmatic view of the relationship between man and nature.

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Kamala Das's Poetry: A Feminist Perspective

Ishfaq Hussain Bhat, M.A.



Kamala Das 1934-2009

Courtesy: http://www.stateofkerala.in/kerala_celebrities/kamala-surayya.php

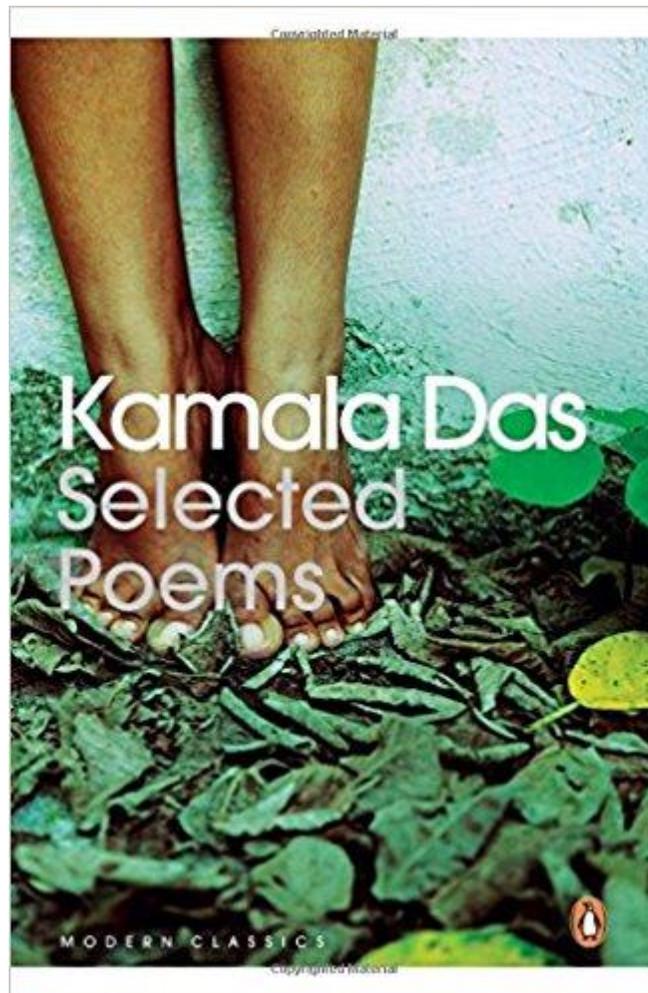
Abstract

“I have chosen to no longer be apologetic for my femininity. And I want to be respected in all my femaleness.” (Adichie, 15)

Kamala Surayya (1934-2009), popularly known as Madhavikutty and Kamala Das, is beyond doubt the greatest woman poet in contemporary Indo-Anglian literature. Her poetic collection includes: *Summer in Calcutta* (1965), *The Descendants* (1967), *The Old Playhouse And Other Poems* (1973), *The Anamalai Poems* (1985), *The Best of Kamala Das* (1991) and *Only Soul Knows How To Sing* (1996). Kamala Das's poetry is replete with feministic ethos.

She repudiated the archaic and somewhat sterile aestheticism for an independence of mind and body. Her poetry conveys her aversion to male domination and to the artificialities of modern life in which she feels suffocated. Her poetry is remarkably realistic and feministic. The paper aims at a feminist reading of Kamala Das's poetry whereby she effectively subverts the ingrained elements of patriarchy, privileging female will, choice and strength.

Keywords: patriarchy, feminine, misery, revolt, freedom.



Feminism

“There is no gate, no lock, no bolt that you can set upon the freedom of my mind.
(Woolf, 76)

Feminism is a movement which tries to define and establish social, legal and cultural freedom and equality of women. Gender equality is at the core of feminist movement: it advocates women's rights on the ground of equality of sexes in all spheres of life. Feminism, as a literary movement, aims to revolt against the patriarchal society which associates masculine with superiority, strength, action, self-assertion and domination; and feminine with inferiority, weakness, passivity, obedience and self-negation. Feminism aims to emancipate women from the chains of subjugation and domesticity. By depicting domestic violence, sexual harassment, male ego, etc., in their works the Feminist writers highlight and condemn the plight of women in the patriarchal society and thereby try to inculcate a sense of rebellion and self-identity in them.

Robert Webb defines feminism in the following terms: "Feminism isn't about hating men. It's about challenging the absurd gender distinctions that boys and girls learn from childhood and carry into their adult lives."¹

Kamala Das – A Feminist Poet

Kamala Das is a representative feminist poet. The themes prevalent in most of her poems make her poems highly absorbing, confessional and feminist. "Many scholars find powerful feminist imagery in Das's poetry, focusing on critiques of marriage, motherhood, women's relationship with their bodies and control of their sexuality, and the roles women are offered in traditional Indian patriarchal society."² Kamala Das's poetry artistically portrays her unhappy, dissatisfied life. Her poetry is a critique of patriarchal prejudices and discriminations. Even as a child, Kamala Das experienced the bitterness of sexism: Her parents considered her a burden and compelled her to become a premature wife and mother. She was married to a relative when she was only a school girl. She complains about it in her poem *Of Calcutta*:

"I was sent away, to protect a family's
Honor, to save a few cowards, to defend
Some

Abstractions, sent to another city to be
A relative's wife."

(*Collected Poems I*, 56-60)

Moreover, the transformation of a wife into the contemptible canine status of a house wife has artistically been portrayed in this poem:

"Here in my husband's house, I am a trained circus dog
Jumping my routine hoops each day."

(*Collected Poems I*, 56-60)

Against Self-Assumed Superiority of the Patriarchal Society

Kamala Das exposes the supposed and self-assumed superiority of the patriarchal society in her poems. Sexual exploitation, betrayal, and the lack of love in man-woman relationship are the major themes in her poetry. She portrays a loveless relationship as unbearable and as a means of oppression. In the words of Prasantha Kumar:

"Kamala Das conceives of the male as beast wallowing in lust with a monstrous ego under which the woman loses her identity. The strong desire for freedom, including the freedom to rebel, forms the central strain in many of her poems. She enumerates the male felonies in her poems and builds up a structure of protest and rebellion in her poetry...Several poems of Das convey the tedium and monotony of sex within and outside marriage...Their love is disgusted lust, a poor substitute for real love. The life of Das's persona may be considered a tale of her experiments with love and repeated failures of her experiments force her ego to be resentful and defiant. She looks upon each encounter as a substitute for the real experience of true love."

(Kumar 34-35)

Indifference of Man to Woman's Miseries

Kamala Das exposes the patriarchal prejudice of the male-dominated society by portraying the indifference of man to woman's miseries in her poem *The Stone Age*:

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“You turn me into a bird of stone,
A granite dove,
You build round me a shabby drawing room
And strike my face absentmindedly while you
Read. (The Best of Kamala Das, 97-98)

Kamala Das expresses her frustration caused by her disillusionment with real love in a male-dominated society in her poem *The Freaks*:

“...Can this man with
Nimble finger-tips unleash
Nothing more alive than the
Skin’s lazy hungers?”

(Only The Soul Knows How to Sing, 59)

Feminism - A Form of Revolt Against Patriarchal Prejudices and Bias

Feminist literature highlights and condemns the inequalities and injustices in the treatment of women- the disadvantages women have to bear on account of their gender.” (Kumar, 9). Feminism, as a form of revolt against patriarchal prejudices and bias, can be found in most of her poems. Her poem *The Old Playhouse* is seminal for the discussion of feminist strain in her poetry. It is a representative feminist poem composed by Kamala Das. In *The Old Playhouse*, Kamala Das not only depicts the plight and sufferings of a married woman chained to her husband’s house but also revolts against the male domination. The poem symbolizes a protest of all womanhood against the male ego:

“You planned to tame a swallow, to hold her
In the long summer of your love so that she
Would forget
Not the raw seasons alone, and the homes left
Behind, but
Also her nature, the urge to fly, and the endless

Pathways of the sky...”

(*The Old Playhouse*, 1)

The poem highlights and condemns the miseries of a woman, a wife, who is expected to play certain conventional roles, and her wishes and aspirations are not taken into account. Kamala Das exposes the callousness and the hollowness of patriarchal society in this poem. The miserable condition of a woman in a patriarchal society has elegantly been portrayed in the following lines of the poem:

“You called me wife,
I was taught to break saccharine into your tea and
To offer at the right movement the vitamins, cowering
Beneath your monstrous ego I ate the magic
Loaf and
Became a dwarf. I lost my will and reason, to
All your
Questions I mumbled in coherent replies...”

(*The Old Playhouse*, 1)

Kamala Das – Aloof from the Ordinary Concerns of a Woman

Feminist strain in the poetry of Kamala Das is manifested in her highly individualistic sensibility and her aloofness from the ordinary concerns of a woman. Her hatred and repugnance that she feels for traditional roles assigned to women gets an artistic expression in her poem *An Introduction*:

“Then... I wore a shirt and my
Brother’s trousers, I cut my hair short and ignored
My womanliness.”

(*The Best of Kamala Das*, 12)

Kamala Das goes on to portray how traditional sex roles assigned to women are, in a way, forced upon them by the dominant male members of their families:

“Dress in sarees, be girl,
Be wife, they said. Be embroiderer, be cook,
Be a quarreler with servants. Fit in, oh!
Belong, cried the Categorizer. Don’t sit
On walls or peep in through our lace-draped
Windows.
Be Amy, or be Kamala. Or better
Still, be Madhavikutty. It is time to
Choose a name, a role.”

(*The Best of Kamala Das*, 13)

K. Satchindanandan says in this context:

“The woman cannot change her body; so the poet changes her dress and tries to imitate men. But the voices of the tradition would force her back into sarees, the saree becoming here a sign of convention. She is pushed back into her excepted gender roles: wife, cook, embroiderer, quarreller with servants.”
(Satchindanandan, 13)

In the poem *An Introduction* Kamala Das struggles against ‘the categorizers’ who ask her to ‘fit in’. Having revolted against them she defines her identity:

“I am saint. I am the beloved and the
Betrayed. I have no joys which are not yours, no
Aches which are not yours. I too call myself I”

(Kamala Das Poems, 9)

Main Motto

The main motto of a feminist is to challenge the traditional framework that presents a woman as weak, submissive, passive, acquiescent, timid and emotional. E. V. Ramakrishnan rightly stresses that in her poetry Kamala Das “has always dealt with private humiliations and sufferings...Indian critics have found in her poems the voice of the new liberated Indian women...” (Tilak, 112).

The cumulative burden of domesticity, dull routine is realistically and artistically portrayed in the poem *The Blood*:

“I shall be the fat-kneed hag in the long queue
The one from whose shopping bag the mean potato must
Roll across the road...”

In her poem, *The Sunshine Cat*, Kamala Das presents her humiliations and sufferings. She portrays her callous husband as “selfish” and “coward”. She calls him a ‘ruthless watcher’ who keeps watch on her and thus curtails her freedom of movement:

“...Her husband shut
Her
In, every morning, locked her in a room of books.”

The poem throws a significant light on the brutalities of the patriarchal society where nobody cares for women. In this poem, Kamala Das portrays male ego, selfishness and lust.

The Looking Glass

The Looking Glass is another poem in which Kamala Das underlines patriarchal prejudices. The poem exposes the hypocrisy and the hollowness of the male dominated society which associates inferiority, submissiveness with the ‘feminine’ and in contrast strength, power and assertiveness with the ‘masculine’:

‘...Stand nude before the glass with him

So that he sees himself the stronger one
And believes it so, and you so much more
Softer, younger, lovelier.”

Social Rebel

“I am no bird; and no net snares me: I am a free human being with an independent will.” (Bronte, 280)

Kamala Das’s aim as a poet, thus, is to highlight and condemn the plight of women in a society governed by men. Her poems are a remarkable manifestation of her longing for domestic security and for independence. She revolts against the callousness of patriarchy by trying to assert, conquer and dominate. She tries to uplift the position of women and thus resist the dominance of men. In her poetry, Feminism gets manifested through the themes she presents- death, victimization, revolt against patriarchy, man-woman relationship.

Her personal frustrations and sense of loneliness impart to her poems a rare intensity and immediacy of appeal. Kamala Das was unconventional in life, and she is equally unconventional in poetry. She refuses to conform to the traditional roles which a woman and a wife is expected to play. As a social rebel, her poems portray a desire for breaking away from the dull routine of domesticity. She, as a feminist, revolts against the patriarchal society, “where male ego takes the decision and women have to keep silence ignoring their own power and capacity.”³ She dares to challenge the tradition that silences the feminine in women, for which women regard themselves as inferior, passive and the ‘Other’. She is a rebel against the restraints of man-made world. She violates the systematic, traditional norms and values in order to secure an unconventional position of women in society, where she will be given significance and respect. She exposes the sterility of patriarchal society where woman is denied genuine love and spiritual gratification. As a feminist, she challenges the absurd gender distinctions prevalent in the society. It would not be wrong to conclude the paper with a quotation from Srinivasa Iyengar (Iyengar ,680):

“Kamala Das’s is a fiercely feminine sensibility that dares without inhibitions to articulate the hurts it has received in an insensitive, largely man-made world...But one hopes- and her exceptional talent offers the ground for such hopes- she will outgrow this obsession in due course and find her way to...a world other than the ‘unreal’ city of dreadful ghosts.”

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Developing Reading Test Using Lower to Higher Order of Thinking for ESP Students

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Abstract

Reading assessment should cover reading micro skills as well as the students' order of thinking. The development of reading test that describes quality of reading performance, in large scale assessment is well established. However, less attention has been directed towards the development of reading test using multiple choice which ranges from lower to higher order of thinking levels. This paper reports on a recent project to define the construct of reading test which accommodate the order of thinking levels. The authors discuss how the processes of theoretical construct definition, together with empirical analysis of test taker performance are used to underpin the development of the test. Methodologies utilized in the project included expert judgment, text readability analysis, and item analysis. Based on the results, the findings can inform decisions about how best to account the reading micro skills of the students' performance.

Keywords: reading test, ESP, order of thinking

Introduction

As mentioned by Keenan, Betjemann, and Olson (2008) reading assessments are presented as measures of the same construct, comprehension. Comprehension as the ultimate goal of reading which involves decoding process (Fischer-Baum, et al., 2017) has shown that multiple cognitive processes (Rupp, Ferne, and Choi, 2006; Abu-Rabia, Share and Said, 2013) as well as metacognitive processes (Keenan, Betjemann, and Olson, 2008) include in achieving it. More particularly in reading tests, there has been an increased interest in trying to assess and understand comprehension (Gorjian, 2013; Artuso and Palladino, 2016; Levesque, Kieffer and Deacon, 2017; Ferrer et al., 2017).

In relation to cognitive processes, reading tests should cover all low order of thinking as well as high order of thinking processes. This should be achieved by providing various questions which reflect different cognitive processes. The reading comprehension tests assisted the students in reaching a higher level understanding. Therefore, the taxonomy that served these purposes was the six-step question system based on Bloom (Daines, 1982: 159). It is confirmed that micro skill of reading for ESP can be matched by this Bloom's taxonomy (Orey, 2010; Adams, 2015) because it was one of the best known examples of logical analysis of cognitive areas. The sequential steps of this system consist of knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. However, the test used the revised bloom taxonomy namely remembering, understanding, applying, analyzing, evaluating, and creating (Orey, 2010; Adams, 2015).

The taxonomy was constructed as hierarchy and could be used in all content areas and at any grade level. Remembering is retrieving, recognizing, and recalling relevant knowledge from long-term memory. Understanding is constructing meaning from oral, written, and graphic messages through interpreting, exemplifying, classifying, summarizing, inferring, comparing, and explaining. Applying is carrying out or using a procedure through executing, or implementing. Analyzing is breaking material into constituent parts, determining how the parts relate to one another and to an overall structure or purpose through differentiating, organizing, and attributing. Evaluating is making judgments based on criteria and standards through checking and critiquing. Creating is putting elements together to form a coherent or functional whole; reorganizing elements into a new pattern or structure through generating, planning, or producing.

Additionally, reading tests should also reflect the microskills of reading. According to Brown (2004), micro-skills for reading include understanding topic, main idea, supporting ideas/ details, organization of the text, implied details, word meaning, pronoun reference, and the writer's tone of writing. Thus, in English for specific purposes (ESP), reading is the basic classroom activity to develop the Non-English Department students' study skill. The suitable reading materials are in the form of topics and texts which cover specific current content. The classroom discussion should cover the micro reading skills for specific purposes, and so do the reading tests.

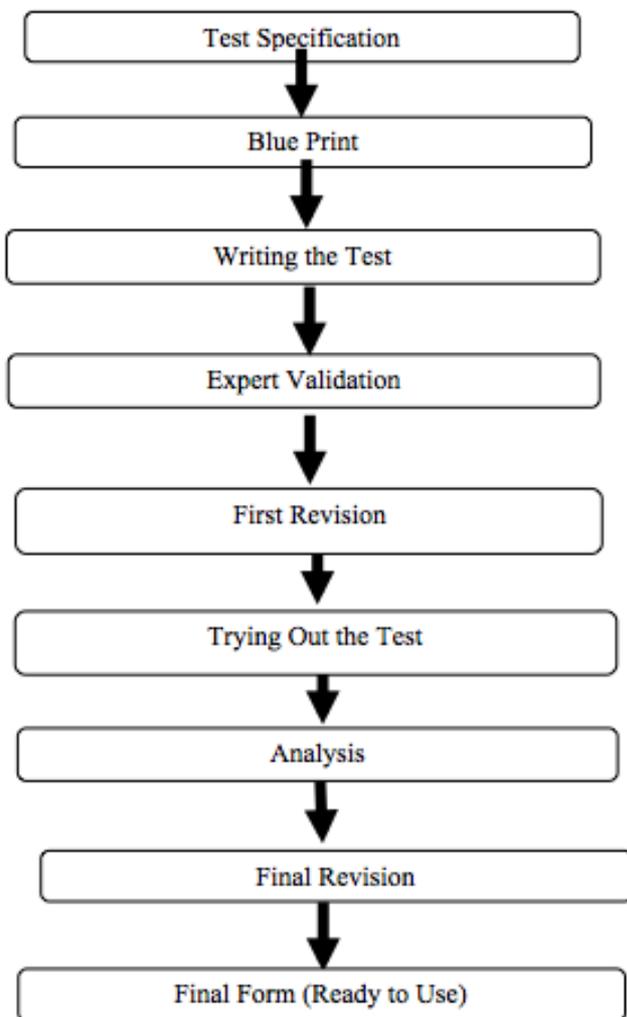
Tests of reading comprehension, notably for a research should cover characteristics of a good test. First, this reading test should be valid to the extent to which this reading test can measure what it should measure (Heaton, 1989; Hughes, 2003; Brown, 2004; Weir, 1990). Second, reading test should be reliable as a measuring instrument (Heaton, 1989) by proving consistency on the test results (Hughes, 2003; Brown, 2004). Third, reading tests are good if they can discriminate the test takers' performance (Heaton, 1989). Fourth, the tests should have practical administration and test efficiency (Weir, 1990). Fifth, the reading test should have authenticity (Brown, 2004).

The issue at the present study concerned with appears to be related to some several previous studies. Gorjian (2013) mentioned that reading tests using multiple choice is suitable to students with a big number, and the results of this study provided evidence that prior knowledge and interest to the reading texts concerned with facilitating effects on the performance of foreign language learning taking multiple choice reading comprehension test. Besides that Baghaei and Ravand (2015) identified that cognitive processes underlying the reading test were derived. The derived processes were reading for details, making inferences, reading for main idea, syntax, and vocabulary. Evidence has shown that besides fulfilling criteria of a good test mentions by several experts, reading test with multiple choice format which provide cognitive processes questions on different order of thinking as well as measuring microskills of reading is highly demanded. Thus, a reading test which fulfill these requirements worth to constructing and standardizing.

Research Method

The authors discuss how the processes of theoretical construct definition, together with empirical analysis of test taker performance are used to underpin the development of the test. Methodologies utilized in the project included expert judgment, text readability analysis, and item analysis. Before the tests are constructed, table of specification and blue print for the test were designed. In developing the test, the researchers took several steps: 1) developing test specification of the test 2) writing the blue print of the test; 3) writing the test covering writing the direction and the items; 4) validating the test by an expert; 5) revising the test based on the comments from the expert; 6) trying out the test; 7) analyzing the result of the try out, and 8) revising the test based on the analysis. To make it clear, the model of test development used in this research is presented in the figure 1.

Figure 1. Model of Test Development Plan



Results And Discussion

Test specification dealt with identifying the objective of the course, determining the objective of the test, micro skills tested, kind of test, number of texts in the test, sources of texts, number of items, time for test, equipment involved, and scoring method.

Identifying the objective of the course was important to do to ensure the content validity of the test. The test should correspond to the objective of the course and the test items have to be representative samples from the domain that is to be tested. In other words, the test should measure accurately what is intended to measure (Hughes, 2003: 22; Brown, 2004: 22). Therefore, the researchers went through this step before determining the objective of the test, the micro skills tested and type of the texts.

The objective of the course for the first semester student of Fisheries and Marine Science reads that this course was designed to improve the students' reading skills and writing short essays in English related to Fisheries and Marine Science. These were aimed to enable the students to have a more thorough and comprehensive knowledge about Fisheries and Marine Science that was found in the literatures written in English to support their study. The general instructional objective of reading was to evaluate students' reading comprehension on the expository texts by using six-step question system of Bloom taxonomy.

The specific instructional objectives were evaluating students' understanding of topic, main idea, supporting ideas/details, organization of the text, implied details, word meaning, pronoun reference, and the writer's tone of writing of expository texts.

Based on the information above, the objective of the test was defined as to measure the students' reading comprehension of expository test. The micro skills tested included understanding of topic, main idea, supporting ideas/details, organization of the text, implied details, word meaning, pronoun reference, and the writer's tone of writing of expository texts.

The kind of test was multiple choice consisting of 5 expository texts and 30 items. The texts consist of 274 to 346 words. They were adapted from various sources, such as Robert (2003), Walker (1995) and Bob (2011). The time allotment to do the test was 90 minutes in which students work individually. They were required to bring a pen or pencil to write the right answer in the answer sheet provided. In scoring, correct answer is scored 1, while wrong answer was scored 0. for the total score. The total score equals the score obtained divided by the maximum score times 100. For details description, Appendix 1 shows the test specification for the test.

The Readability of the Texts

In this study, the readability of the texts that were used in the treatment was calculates using Flesch-Kincaid Formula. It was calculated automatically using readability software that was provided by Microsoft Office Word 2007. It is done offline. The procedures in using the readability results are as follow: (1) On the *Tools* menu, click *Options*, and then click the

Spelling & Grammar tab; (2) select the *Check grammar* with spelling check box; (3) select the *Show readability statistics* check box, and then click *OK*. (4) On the *Standard* toolbar (toolbar: A bar with buttons and options that you use to carry out commands. To display a toolbar, press ALT and then SHIFT+F10.), click *Spelling and Grammar* Button image; (5) when *Microsoft Word* finishes checking spelling and grammar, it displays information about the reading level of the document. The reading texts used was 6.5 because it includes into plain English, so that it can be used for EFL learners in university level.

The result of the text readability was shown in the next table 1.

Table 1. Results of Readability of Texts

Title of the text	Word count	Readability Flesch-Kincaid Grade level
Text 1. The Need for Water Conservation	277	6.5
Text 2. GPS-You are Here	327	6.5
Text 3. Scuba Diving in Indonesia	305	6.5
Text 4. Coral Bleaching	255	6.5
Text 5. Whaling	314	6.5

Designing a Blue Print

In order to design the blue print, the researchers made indicators from the course objectives that were taken from micro skill of reading that was matched with the need of the Non-English Department especially in tertiary level of education. The micro skills described were fulfilled the need of ESP courses based on Sulistyono and Rachmajanti (2008: 20). They were evaluating students' understanding of topic, main idea, supporting ideas/details, organization of the text, implied details, word meaning, pronoun reference, and the writer's tone of writing of expository texts. Appendix 2 shows the blue print for the test.

Writing the Reading Test

The third step was writing the test covering writing the direction and the items. The direction was made as clear and brief as possible to ensure that the students were not confused without having to spend much time in reading the direction. The test items were based on the micro skills tested. The distribution of test item was as follows.

There were four point five percent or two numbers questioning about topic. Questions about main ideas were nine percent or four numbers. Questions about supporting details were

eighteen percent or eight questions. They were divided into understanding cause effect (one number), descriptive (four numbers), problem solution (one number), sequence (one number), and comparative (one number).

Question about the organization of the text is nine percent, equals to four items. There are thirteen questions or twenty three point five percent for questions on implied details. Specifically, questions were divided into understanding problem (3 numbers), understanding description (2 numbers), understanding comparison (two numbers), understanding sequence (two numbers), and understanding cause effect (four numbers). Besides, there were seven questions or sixteen percent about word meaning. Questions on pronoun reference were four or nine percent. Questions on the writer's tone of writing were three or seven percent.

Validating the Test

Validity is another important feature of a good test. In developing and constructing a test to assess the students' skills and knowledge, a crucial consideration should be made, so that the test can get a valid result. Validity is defined as the extent to which an instrument measured what it claimed to measure (Ary et al., 2006: 263). In other words, in measuring the subjects' skills or knowledge, the test must measure appropriately the intended skills or knowledge so that the result of the test will be a convincing measurement that reflects the subjects' correct, right, or appropriate performance. Because validity of the result of the assessment is something abstract, it can merely predicted through providing validity evidence (Bachman, 1990: 237; Brown, 2004: 22; Latief, 2010: 132-133).

To get the validity evidence, after the process of writing the test has finished, the researchers asked an English lecturer of State University of Malang who had years of experiences in teaching English and testing to validate the test. To do this, the researchers gave him the test with enclosed test specification, blue print and expert validation checklist. He was asked to give feedback and comment on the quality of the test based on the questions provided in the checklist.

There were ten points asked to the expert: the construct of the test, the type of the texts, the content of the texts, the difficulty of the texts, the length of the texts, the number of

items, the number of distractors, the micro skills, the questions, the directions, and the time allotment.

First Revision

The researchers came to revision stage once she got the feedback and comments from the expert. They also discussed with him. Based on his feedback, comment, and discussion, the test was revised. First, the micro skills tested was added by topic. Second, the order of reading skills in the blueprint was revised. Third, the word meaning in one of micro skills tested might be specified into vocabulary skills such as connotation, denotation, definition, synonym, antonym, or contextual meaning.

Trying-out the Test

The try-out test was aimed to produce or result the required data with relatively valid instrument. It was intended to know for sure the discrimination power of the test, the level of difficulty of the test and the reliability of the test in general before conducting the real test. The test was tried-out to another group of students with the same characteristics with the subjects of the experimentation of this study. After the first revision is finished, the test was tried out. It was conducted to three classes; there were 127 students joined for the try out.

Analyzing the Results of the Try-out

Analyzing the results of the try-out test was carried out after conducting the try-out test. They were analyzed to estimate reliability, item analysis, and item discrimination of the test. Reliability was a measure of consistency of test scores from one test administration to another or within one set of scores (Djiwandono, 1996: 98; Ary et al.; 2006: 254; Latief, 2010: 125). Reliability is of primary importance in the use of public achievement and proficiency test as well as is classroom tests.

Item difficulty is what Djiwandono (1996: 140) and Ary, et al., (2006: 229) describe as the index of difficulty is generally displayed as the fraction or percentage of the students who answered the item test either correctly or wrongly. In other words, the test should not be too difficult or too easy for the students. The discrimination index of test items indicates the extent to which the item could discriminate between the test takers, separating proficient

students from low proficient ones (Djiwandono, 1996: 140; Ary et al., 2006: 229). Therefore, the test for measuring the quality of the test should be able to distinguish the high achievers from the low ones.

Item discrimination shows the extent to which each item discriminates among the test takers in the same way as the total score discriminates (Djiwandono, 1996: 142; Ary et al., 2006: 229). If an item is answered correctly more by proficient students than the less proficient students, it has good item discrimination. The item analysis was done by using *Item and Test Analysis Program (ITEMAN) Version 3.50*. The consideration of using this program was by far the least time consuming of all the reliability estimation procedures. It involved only one administration of a test and employed easily available information.

Thirty (30) items out of forty-five (45) were taken and analyzed. The item selection was based on point biserial (item validity), namely coefficient correlation. It ranges from 1.00 for a perfect valid test to 0.00 for totally invalid test. However, other considerations, like blue print and reliability of the test support the items selection. Blue print was needed to guide the researchers to select items that covered all the needs for the test based on the objective of the test. The test reliability (as shown below) shows that the test is reliable. The followings were the explanation on the result of the analysis.

Reliability

The reliability was calculated based on the relationship among scores taken from individual items or subsets of items within a test (internal-consistency coefficient). It ranges from 1.00 for a perfect reliable test to 0.00 for totally unreliable test (Ary et al., 2006: 261). The computation resulted in a reliability coefficient of 0.69 It means that the scores are 69% consistent or reliable with 31% measurement error (100%-69% = 31%). By using ITEMAN, the reliability score was seen in the scale statistics, especially in *alpha*.

Item Difficulty

Item difficulty of each test item could be seen from the item statistics, especially in *proper correct* from ITEMAN analysis summary information. Each item ranges from 0% to 100% or 0.0 to 1.00. The closer the value to 1.00 is, the easier the item is. According to Djiwandono (1996: 141), the recommended test item difficulty is between 0.20 to 0.80 unless

the test items needs to revise, discard, or change. Table 2 below was a table of item difficulty range.

Table 2. Item Difficulty Index Range and Interpretation

Index Range	Interpretation
0.7 and up	easy
0.3 – 0.7	moderate
below 0.3	difficult

The test items used were easy, moderate, and difficult because the test was achievement test. The proportion was seventeen percent easy and difficult questions and sixty six percent for the moderate ones.

Based on the analysis, five items were categorized as difficult item, five items were categorized as easy item, and fourteen items were moderate. There were six items, two were too easy and the other four were too difficult, so they were revised.

Item Discrimination

Based on ITEMAN, item discrimination was symbolized as *discrimination index*. Item discrimination (ID) indexes range from 1.00 (if all the upper-group students answered correctly and all the lower-group students answered incorrectly) to -1.00 (if all the lower-group students answered correctly and all upper-group students answered incorrectly). The closer the ID index to 1.00, the better it was. The categorization of item discrimination was based on guidelines from Arnold (1980: 126) as cited in Djiwandono (1996: 142) as shown in Table 3

Table 3. Item Discrimination Index Range and Interpretation

Index Range	Interpretation	Action
0.40 and up	very good	Accepted
0.30 - 0.39	good	accepted
0.11 - 0.29	enough	reviewed and revised
0.11 - 0.29	ok (enough)	reviewed or rejected
0.11 – 0.10	poor	reviewed or rejected
0	no discrimination	rejected
-	negative	rejected

1.00 is the ideal ID index, meaning that the item was successfully discriminate upper-group students from lower-group students. The entire first group answered the item correctly, while the later group did not. However, in reality, it rarely happened.

Based on the analysis, one item fell to the category of poor item, ten items were ok (enough). There were twelve items fell to the category of good items, and seven items were categorized as very good items.

Final Revision

After doing the analysis, the researchers revised the test items based on the result of item analysis concerning the reliability, item discrimination, and item difficulty. Revision was conducted to those that did not meet required standard or unreliable, not able to discriminate between proficient students and less proficient students, and too easy or too difficult items.

Because the reliability coefficient of the tests is 0.69, it was concluded that the test was reliable. However, based on the analysis of item difficulty analysis, there were six items, two were too easy and the other four numbers were too difficult were revised. They were revised in term the questions. Besides that, based on item discrimination, eleven items were revised in term of the answer options.

More applied implication of the findings refers to the format of the questions of reading tests. There has been great criticism of multiple choice questions because they may engage recognition processes rather than productive retrieval process. This research adds some other studies (Rupp, Ferne, and Choi, 2006; Gorjian, 2013; Baghaei and Ravand, 2015) proved that the criticism is not correct, but this test format appear to trigger productive cognitive process, for which multiple choice items are an appropriate alternative for ESP students.

Inserting questions which show cognitive processes especially lower order of thinking (remembering, understanding, applying) as well as higher order of thinking (analyzing, evaluating, creating) due to several reasons. This reading test is one of

approaches to assess students' high order of thinking in reading. As Wilson (2007) suggests the reading texts should be challenging which allow the students to feel a sense of achievement and agency along the way are all key factors in responding analyzing and evaluation questions. These findings also complete Kamgar and Jadidi (2016)'s study results that students with high order of thinking can bring implication for teachers to design appropriate medium of evaluation to measure students' order of thinking level. The results of this research is fulfilling the suggestion asked by Karimi and Veisi (2016) which mentions that test developers are also recommended to develop test to affect the quality of teaching as well as students' ability on tests by using order of thinking based on Bloom's Taxonomy.

The findings also support that there were several ways to go through in order to make a good test, the process is not easy and it time consuming. However, these test development steps are worth doing due to its appropriateness in developing a standardized test, for a research purposes, particularly (Hughes, 2003; Brown, 2004).

Conclusion and Suggestion

To make a reading test for ESP students which fulfilling the criteria of a good test as well as reflecting the cognitive process are demanding. However, a multiple choice test format still can be used when the number of the students are big in the class. In developing the test, several steps, like developing test specification of the test, writing the blue print of the test, writing the test covering writing the direction and the items, validating the test by an expert, revising the test based on the comments from the expert, trying out the test, analyzing the result of the try out, and revising the test based on the analysis, can be done.

However, further research can be done by utilizing this test for several studies related to ESP students which deal with students' reading achievement in reading and cognitive processes. These studies can be done through various quantitative and qualitative research designs.

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Appendix 1. Test Specification for the Reading Test

No	Test Specification	
1.	Objective of the course	: to improve the students' reading skills and writing short essay in English related to fisheries and marine science. These are aimed to enable the students to have a more thorough and comprehensive knowledge about fisheries and marine science that can be found in the literatures written in English to support their study.
2.	General instructional objective of reading test	: evaluate students' reading comprehension on the expository texts by using six-step question system of Revised Bloom taxonomy
3.	Specific instructional	: to measure the students' reading comprehension skill in term of

	objective	expository text, especially in identifying: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - topic - main idea - supporting ideas/details (understanding problem solution, description, comparison, sequence, and cause effect) - organization of the text - implied details (understanding problem solution, description, comparison, sequence, and cause effect) - the writer's tone of writing - pronoun reference - and word meaning.
4.	Kind of test	: multiple choice test
5.	Number of texts	: 5 expository texts, each of which employs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Problem-solution: The Need for Water Conservation (Text 1) - Description: GPS-You are Here (Text 2) - Comparison: Diving in Indonesia (Text 3) - Sequence: Coral Bleaching (Text 4) - Cause-effect: Whaling (Text 5)
6.	Source of texts	: - The Need for Water Conservation (Muschla, Gary Robert. 2003. <i>Ready-to-Use Reading Proficiency Lessons and Activities</i> . San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. A Wiley Imprint. Page: 176) - GPS-You are Here (Walker, Michael. 1995. <i>Success Communicating in English. Textbook 4</i> . Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. Page 30-31) - Diving in Indonesia (http://www.dive-the-world.com/diving-sites-indonesia.php . Retrieved 1 June 2011) - Coral Bleaching (Ewing, Bob. 2011. <i>Study Says Sunscreen Lotion Threatens Coral</i> . Retrieved from http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/255126#ixzz1PVV5ZHxz , on 18 June 2011) - Whaling (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Whaling Retrieved on June 1st, 2011)
7.	Number of items	: 45 items
8.	Time allotment	: 90 minutes
9.	Equipment	: paper and pen/pencil
10.	Scoring	: 1 for correct answer. 0 for wrong answer. For the total score, the formula is: <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 10px auto;"> $\text{Total score} = \frac{\text{the score obtained}}{\text{the maximum score}} \times 100$ </div>

Appendix 2. Blueprint for the Reading Test

Language skill: READING

Course Goal: to improve the students' reading skills and writing short essay in English related to fisheries and marine science. These are aimed to enable the students to have a more thorough and comprehensive knowledge about fisheries and marine science that can be found in the literatures written in English to support their study.

Content		Cognitive Domain						Total	Percentage
Test objective	Indicators	Remembering	Understanding	Applying	Analyzing	Evaluating	Creating		
Measure the students' reading comprehension of expository test	Given five expository texts the students are able to identify: ▪ topic number				1	1	-	2	4.5%
					1	26	-		
	▪ main idea number	-	-	-	1	3	-	4	9%
		-	-	-	16	7, 24, 35	-		
	▪ supporting ideas/details - understanding problem solution number - understanding description	2	1	2	1	2		8	18%
		-	-	-	-	4	-		
		12, 19	15	-	11	-	-		
		-	-	-	-	-	-		

	number					21			
-	understanding comparison	-	-	29	-	-	-		
	number								
-	understanding sequence								
	number	-	-	37	-	-	-		
-	understanding cause effect								
	number								
▪	organization of the text	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	9%
	number	-	-	-	-	18, 27, 36, 45	-		
▪	implied details	-	1	-	4	8	-		
-	understanding problem solution	-	-	-	2	5, 6	-		
	number								
-	understanding description	-	14	-	-	9	-	13	27.5%
	number								
-	understanding comparison	-	-	-	25	22	-		
	number								
-	understanding sequence	-	-	-	32	30	-		
	number								
-	understanding cause effect	-	-	-	42	38, 39,			

	number					40			
▪	the writer's tone of writing	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	7%
	number	-	-	-	-	8, 17, 28	-		
▪	pronoun reference	-	-	3	1	-	-	4	9%
	number	-	-	31, 33, 41	10	-	-		
▪	word meaning	-	1	6	-	-	-	7	16%
	number	-	3	13, 20, 23, 34, 43, 44	-	-	-		

Appendix 3. Sample of the Final Reading Test

DIRECTIONS:

1. Write your name and student number on the answer sheet provided
2. Read the texts and write the answers on the answer sheet provided by using capital letter (A, B, C, or D)
3. You may not use dictionary
4. You have 60 minutes to finish the test
5. Do not write anything on the test book

TEXT 1. For Questions No. 1-8

The Need for Water Conservation

As population increases, the need for fresh water increases. The availability of fresh water will become one of the most pressing issues for many communities in the upcoming years. At least, fresh water will become more expensive; at the worsts, water lacks and rationing will become daily occurrences.

Fresh water is a **finite** resource, accounting for only about 3 percent of all the water on Earth. As the demands for fresh increase, nature will become hard pressed to replenish lakes, rivers, and underground aquifers. In many regions today, nature is falling behind the demand.

In the past, as water use increased, local authorities simply expanded pumping facilities to draw more water from rivers, lakes, and reservoirs, or they dug more and deeper wells. But surface sources of water, as well as subterranean sources, can become overdrawn, especially during times of drought. Reservoirs shrink, and wells go dry.

Since fresh water is a limited resource, we must take steps that can anticipate a water crisis and give planners time to devise strategies that will assure an adequate supply of water. Some of the most obvious and simple conservation efforts include fixing leaking faucets and pipes, installing water-saving devices such as low-flow toilets and showerheads, and not letting water run when it is not being used. Reducing water pollution and cleaning and restoring polluted water to its natural state also help to stretch our fresh water supplies.

If current policies are not changed and supplies are not expanded people may suffer from water restrictions in the future. Policies to ensure future fresh water availability should be developed and enacted today. Tomorrow will be too late.

1. The author believes that we may face a
 - a. water conservation
 - b. lack of will for conservation
 - c. lack of fresh water in the future
 - d. problem of treating waste water

2. According to the author,
 - a. fresh water is limited
 - b. water is essential for life
 - c. people use too much water
 - d. water pollution is a serious problem

3. “Fresh water is a **finite** resource,”
The word “finite” in the sentence (paragraph 2) has **antonym**
 - a. purified
 - b. sufficient
 - c. unlimited
 - d. boundless

4. Why do the population increases influence fresh water increases? Because
 - a. fresh water will lack in the future
 - b. fresh water will become more expensive
 - c. nature is falling in fulfilling the need of water in the river
 - d. the increasing number of people demand more water supply

5. Below are some conservations efforts to reduce a water crisis, **except**
 - a. repairing leaking faucets
 - b. decreasing water pollutions
 - c. ignoring water run when it’s not used
 - d. setting low-flow showerheads and toilets

6. What is the solution given by the author?
 - a. People should not fulfill the demand of fresh water.
 - b. The government should ensure future fresh water availability.
 - c. The government should plan to do simple water conservations.
 - d. People should increase pumping facilities to get more fresh water.

7. The following best represents the main idea of this article:
 - a. Water is valuable resource that is vital for life.
 - b. There is little we can do to prevent future water lacks except to reduce our reliance on fresh water.
 - c. Without conservation, an increasing population is likely to severely strain our current water supplies.
 - d. To prevent severe water lacks in the future, conservation must be followed with steps to expand water supplies.

8. The writer wrote the article by showing
 - a. sequence on the use of water
 - b. description of water pollutions
 - c. problem solution on the need of water conservation
 - d. comparison about water uses in the present and past time

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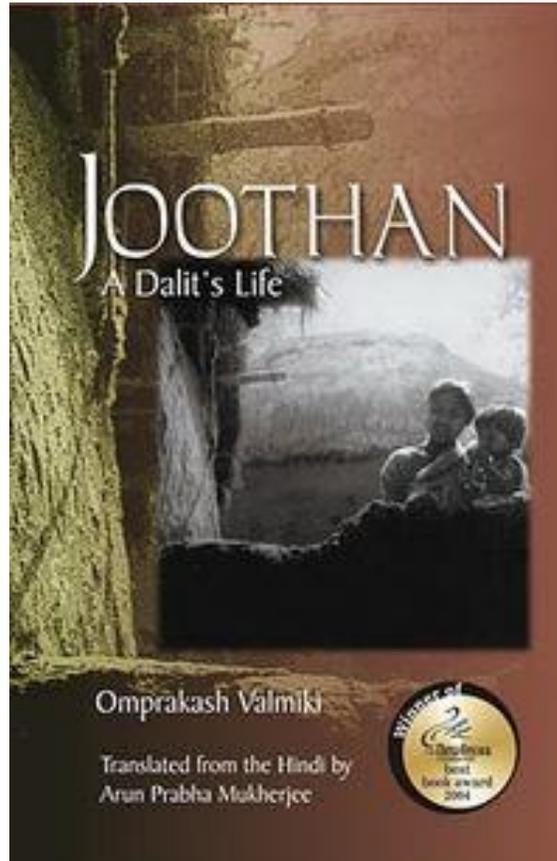
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Developing Reading Test Using Lower to Higher Order of Thinking for ESP Students

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**Angst of the Tyrannized:
A Reading of Omprakash Valmiki's *Joothan***

S. Johny, Ph.D. Candidate
Dr. J. G. Duresh



Subaltern Literature

A remarkable feature of Post-colonial Literary Writing is the emergence of the voice of the subalterns who have been marginalized for ages. Due to the hegemony of the elite the downtrodden who remain in the periphery of the social structure could not find due representation either in history or literature. In the post-colonial period there is a rapid rise of the subaltern as they move towards the centre. Gita Vishwanath rightly observes that “studying the post-colonial

identity of individuals who constitute such marginal groups is part of the enterprise of post-colonial studies.” (175) Interestingly, writers from the oppressed social groups bring forth wonderful literary texts which are invariably related to the experiences of subaltern life. The writings of black writers, the natives of Canada and the tribal and Dalit writers of India can be cited as examples.



Omprakash Valmiki (1950-2013)

Courtesy: <http://sfijnuunit.blogspot.com/2013/11/omprakash-valmiki-departs-task-of.html>

Dalit Literature

In the Indian context, Dalit literature has established itself as a distinct genre. In the second part of twentieth century, several Dalit writers from different linguistic backgrounds have brought out poems, novels and autobiographical writings which portray the miseries and misfortunes of Dalits. Commenting on the crux of Dalit literature, G. Dominic Savio claims that “That Dalits who are doubly marginalized on account of caste and colonization try to recognize their voice through literature of their own is truly post-colonial”. (13)

Further Valmiki succinctly observes the major concerns of Dalit writing as follows: “Dalit literature is the portrayal of the wishes and aspirations of these oppressed and tormented Dalits” (97). Among subaltern authors, the genre autobiography is the most common one despite the taunting barb of the mainstream critics who claim that autobiography is not a literary genre. It is interesting to note that authors such as Maya Angelou and Toni Morrison have made maximum use of the autobiographical form of narratives as it provides ample possibilities for outpouring the inner conflicts and dilemma. In Indian Literature also, subaltern writers such as

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Angst of the Tyrannized: A Reading of Omprakash Valmiki's *Joothan*

Omprakash Valmiki, Bama, Namdeo Nimgade, Manohar Mouli Biswas, Balbir Madhopuri and Aravind Malagati have written autobiographies which deal with a variety of aspects of Dalit life and the exigent need of Dalit empowerment. Valmiki requests “Dalit writers to write more autobiographies so that not only our history will stay alive but also our true portrayals of wrong doers. Dalit autobiographies will provide inspiration to our future generations” (Valmiki: 20).

Valmiki’s *Joothan*

Among the Dalit autobiographies Valmiki’s *Joothan* stands out due to its candid presentation of Dalit life. Omprakash Valmiki is an outstanding Dalit writer whose *Joothan* has been read and discussed among the *literati*. This work is a bold attempt to display the subjugation and discrimination of Dalits in the Indian society. The text has served as a powerful vehicle to parade the most excruciating experiences of Dalit life including their abject poverty, wageless labour, sexual exploitation, denial of basic rights and heartless discrimination. The present paper attempts to study and evaluate Valmiki’s depiction of the horrifying aspects of Dalit life.

The Narration

Valmiki wrote *Joothan* in Hindi and later it was translated into English by Arun Prabha Mukerjee. *Joothan* is a painful recollection of miseries and misfortunes of the people of Valmiki’s community. The narration describes how the downtrodden people are oppressed by the so-called upper class, how women are sexually abused, and how through exploitation of labour, denial of basic rights, socially ostracization, Dalits are put into penury. The narration also justifies the Dalits genuine demand for equal rights and the genuineness of their struggle for emancipation.

Concerted Effort to Deny Knowledge to Dalits

As the upper class people are well aware of the mighty impact of knowledge in social development, by all possible means they try to forbid education to the subaltern. In *Joothan*, there are several references to the upper class people’s concerted effort to deny knowledge to Dalits and to discourage them from pursuing studies. Valmiki has undergone all kinds of

tortures, abuses and discrimination in all educational institutions. Likewise, Valmiki's friends as well have undergone similar experiences of torture and pain. In order to keep the Dalit students away from classes, the teachers assigned them menial jobs or physically assaulted them. In order to keep Valmiki out of classroom he was asked to sweep the school premises. He recollects the painful experiences as follows: "I was not even allowed to get a drink of water. I sweep the whole day" (5). As an example of brutal assault on the Dalit students by the upper class teachers, Valmiki makes a reference to the physical education teacher, Phool Singh Tyagi who pounced on one of his classmates. The teacher reminds one of a cold blooded villain.

Humiliating Experience

Valmiki meticulously portrays the most humiliating experiences of the members of his community by the upperclass people at the social milieu. Whether one was old or young, if one is a Dalit, he/she was an object of ridicule and discrimination. Valmiki painfully expresses, "They did not call by our names. If a person were older, then he would be called 'OeChuhre'. If the person were younger or of the same age, then 'AbeyChuhre' was used" (2). In utter dismay Valmiki questions why the upperclass people who love and care even animals, extract the hard labour of the Dalits and consider them as outcasts.

Suffering

Down in memory lane, Valmiki brings forth vignettes of poverty, hunger and starvation which make a reader cry. The continuous downpour of rain put the people of his community in trouble for several days. Valmiki's father went to a landlord seeking some grain for loan. The wicked landlord agreed to grant some grain provided he should indenture one of his sons. To cap it all, when Valmiki's mother brought some rice and started boiling it, the pleasant smell of rice charmed the children of the neighbourhood who "were looking at Maschulla with expectant eyes" (29).

Rituals and Beliefs Reinforce Subjugation

After remarking the bitter experiences of his community, Valmiki brings out certain rituals or boorish beliefs that lead to the subjugation of the Dalits. One such obnoxious age-old

custom is “going for salaam”. As per the tradition, on the wedding day the bride and bridegroom of low class society should go to the houses of upperclass people who may give some gift to them. This system is a constant reminder of class structure and it “creates an inferiority complex in them on the very first day of their marriage” (33). Likewise, the downtrodden people had to satisfy themselves with the leftover food thrown out by the upper class. The Dalit women would collect the scraps of food to feed themselves. “Sometimes, the joothan, the scraps, would also be put in the basket with the rotis for us” (9). On a wedding feast in the house of a landlord, Valmiki’s mother and sister waited outside hoping that they would get some delicacies left by the guests. When one of the landlords came out, Valmiki’s mother implored for some scraps. The angry landlord reminded her of her caste and asked her to be contented with what she got. “Don’t forget your place, Chuhri. Pick up your basket and get going” (11).

Voice of Protest

Along with the painful experiences, Valmiki has effectively exposed the voice of protest raised by the downtrodden despite the threats of the upperclass. When the landlord refused to give the leftover food at the wedding party and abused her, Valmiki’s mother emerged like Goddess Durga and said, “Feed it to the . . . without being afraid” (11). The attitude of Valmiki’s mother is a signal of the gradual empowerment of the Dalits and their protest against the oppressors. On another occasion, a teacher was explaining the poverty of Dhronacharya with emotion. He was mentioning that Dhronacharya fed Ashwatthama with flour dissolved in water instead of milk. At once Valmiki got up and asked a pertinent question “So Ashwatthama was given flour mixed in water instead of milk, but what about us who had to drink mar? How come we were never mentioned in any epic? Why didn’t an epic poet ever write a word on our lives?” (23). The wise question of Valmiki irked the teacher who shouted back. “Darkest Kaliyugas descended upon us so that an untouchable is daring to talk back”(23). Similarly when the Government officials try to force the Dalits to clean the Government guest house without wages, they refused. The landlords cunningly induced the officials to punish the poor labourers. Consequently the policemen severely attacked the villages.

Challenge to the Educated Dalits

All these incidents reveal the ultimate fact that, though the voices of the Dalits are hushed by the landlords, they have enormous potentialities and ability to fight back. Valmiki, in his autobiographical narration, gives a challenge to the educated Dalits, and he himself set a model. He started an evening school in his domestic hut and taught the Dalit children to read and write. If every Dalit takes a constructive step like this, of course there will be desirable changes in the lives of the Dalits.

Caste Discrimination

Valmiki avers that throughout his life he has witnessed caste discrimination. He expresses the fact that a person is assessed and respected in India not based on his worth but by his caste. There are instances in the text in which houses are not rented to the Dalits. We also read severing of relationship and refusal of opportunities to the author due to the caste identity. Once Valmiki was invited to deliver a lecture on Buddhist Literature and Philosophy at a conference. When Valmiki was about to start his speech, a member of the audience shouted “How can a ‘Valmiki’ be allowed to speak on Buddhist Literature and Philosophy? Aren’t you ashamed?” (131). Though he was abused openly, Valmiki delivered his talk effectively. The person who shouted only reflected the attitude of the main stream society towards Dalits, he felt.

A Valid Question

Towards the close of the narration Valmiki raises a very valid question that what sort of development India will witness if one part of the society is subjugated and discriminated. He implores the fellow Hindus why do they discriminate Dalits whereas they worship trees and plants. “The Hindus who worship trees and plants, beasts and birds, why are they so intolerant of Dalits?” (134). Valmiki is vexed with the highhanded nature of the so-called upper class people who are keen to retain the age-old caste system and exploit the oppressed. In utter dismay, he concludes his narration with the most poignant and powerful statement “Because in their eyes, I am only an SC, the one who stands outside the door” (134).

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Narrative Discourse of Kannada-English Bilingual Individuals with Traumatic Brain Injury: A Comparative Study

Hema. N., Shyamala. K. C. & K. P. Priya

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Abstract

Individuals while speaking in two different languages may essentially have different thought patterns in the languages they use while speaking, this is the linguistic relativity hypothesis. However there is dearth of studies in checking validity of linguistic hypothesis in disordered population (with traumatic brain injury). Thus present study is an attempt in particular to investigate how and when narrating, a bilingual individual with TBI expresses verbal notions through the appropriate use of voices, aspect and tense forms which are accessible in each of their two languages and study tries to inspect the narration ability of 20 bilingual individual with TBI. Participants were required to narrate in English and Kannada languages which were video recorded. Target task of oral narratives was used, where usage of past tense was expected when representing string of events which takes part in a particular sequence. Narrative discourses were quantified separately as four variables under T-unit analysis. The variables were number of words per clauses and number of clauses, number of words per T unit and number of T units. The statistical results showed significant differences in all parameters and lower mean was obtained in English narrative discourse when compared to Kannada narrative discourse.

Key Words: T-unit, Traumatic brain injury, Linguistic relativity

Introduction

There exist a correlation between the Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) and the resulting cognitive dysfunctions in adults with traumatic brain injury. Traumatic brain injury (TBI) is a consequence of an external physical trauma to the brain causing permanent or transient neurological dysfunction, with road traffic accidents (RTA) being the major cause and primarily

among the young group of males in the age range of 15-19 years old. TBI can create wide spread and significant disabilities in terms of emotional, social and physical outcomes. Research studies have stated that, primary disabling factors such as communicative, cognitive, emotional, and psychosocial dysfunctions are seen in survivors of TBI (Johnston, Shawaryn, Malec, Kreutzer & Hammond, 2006). For the rest of their lifetime these survivors often require health, welfare and social services. Hence there is an imperative need for enduring research into outcomes after TBI which is crucial essential.

Cognitive dysfunctions due to traumatic brain injury (TBI) are considerably large source of morbidity for affected individuals, their family members and society they live in. Disturbances in memory, attention and executive functioning are the most wide spreading neuro-cognitive outcomes of TBI (Arciniegas, Held &Wagner, 2002). The individuals with acquired traumatic brain injury differs significantly from that of neuro-typical individuals in terms of their communication skills. Milton, Prutting and Binder (1984) reports that the survivors of traumatic brain injuries “talk better than they communicate”, this suggests that their speech is generally fluent and devoid of remarkable number of grammatical errors but their communication intent is not as effective and efficient as it is in neuro-typical individuals. Since communication is regarded as a manifestation of cognition, the ability in processing linguistic information is affected because individuals with TBI have difficulty in planning, organizing ideas and thinking, which may be due to the information-processing abilities at sentence level being affected because of diffuse injury (Cannizzaro & Coelho, 2002). This cognitive communicative ability of TBI population is well assessed using a discourse analysis method.

Discourse analysis method includes different tasks like conversation, narration and picture description to name few. Among these different types of discourse genres, narration plays a significant role in pragmatic, educational and theoretical reasoning. Narration plays a central and crucial role in skills which underlie successful academic outcomes, including writing and reading (Feagans, 1982; Watson, 1989; Snow & Dickinson, 1990; Graesser, Golding & Long, 1991). The research on language aspects involving the association between language and thought

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process, analysis of narrative discourse is one of the very old critical debates and is also a source of great curiosity. Hence it leads to a question- how does a speakers' perception of world is influenced by a particular language. For example, representation of past experiences in narrative discourse mainly involves recounting of sequences of events (McCabe, 1995). But Whorf (1965) suggests that according to linguistic relativity hypothesis speakers using different languages tend to think and behave differently depending on the language being used by them. Language influences thought and different language influences thought in different ways. On this topic, significant amount of research has been conducted and these researches have shown strong facts in support of the linguistic relativity hypothesis (Brown & Lenneberg, 1954; Bloom, 1981).Whereas, others have also provided evidence questioning the validity of linguistic relativity (Berlin & Kay, 1969). This hypothesis mainly suggests that bilinguals while speaking in different languages may actually have different thought patterns.

Focus of the Present Study

The present study is an attempt to combine studies on bilingualism and few view points of narrative discourse genre against the backdrop of the linguistic relativity hypothesis on individuals with TBI. According to Peterson (1990) and Reilly (1992) structural aspects of narrative discourse are the main focus of studies for language development and language acquisition. For bilinguals learning the skills that are required for narrative genre is extremely complicated. The extent that the schema, which serves as a structural framework of events and actions, affects several processes such as memory retrieval and encoding, this differs for each of the language being used. The schema of prepacked interpretations or expectations and also the usage of specific linguistic system can influence the human mind greatly.

The same was assessed with reference to the bilingual individuals in a study on linguistic relativity hypothesis by Hema and Shyamala (2011) and reported the mean length of 73.5 in English language narration and of 76.5 clauses in the Kannada language narration of neuro-typical adults. The findings indicated that an adult bilinguals' narration are correlated with

richness and sophistication of vocabulary, appropriate use of pronouns and nouns as referencing devices under cohesive devices, as well as T-unit analysis.

Similarly, the current study is an attempt in particular to understand how and when narrating, a bilingual individual with TBI expresses verbal ideas through the appropriate voice use, aspects and tense forms which are available in each of their two languages. For instance, present tense is usually used in script narratives which includes identifying typical series of events taking place in particular activity, whereas the past tense may be largely used in the picture book narrations or for the tasks relating to a narrative activity, and it is frequently used in narratives of oral type, indicating the distinctive series of events taking part in a particular order sequence.

Review

According to the set of authors like Labov (1972), Karmiloff-Smith (1980), Hickman (1990), Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991), and Berman and Slobin (1994), the systematic use of tense forms is adopted by the narrator when he refers to the events or situations which are temporally related. Any narration requires few most complicated and sophisticated linguistic skills of the persons' repertoire. To mention few are the use of array of logical, spatial and temporal relationships which further includes the use of complex linguistic elements while referring to situations, items and characters already mentioned or newly occurring in the story and the appropriate use of varied linguistic mechanism that reveals the narrator's individual view point. Whereas the discourse which is expressed by individuals with TBI has been defined in wide variety of terms, which includes their discourse being referred as tangential, off-target, confabulatory, confused, disorganized, irrelevant, inefficient, unclear, and self focused and has demonstrated a challenge when evaluating communication deficits. Thus, the narratives of those with TBI have a diverse array of deficits which has been noticed and documented (Cannizzaro & Coelho, 2002). The produced narratives have revealed increased errors of coherence and cohesion which occur due to the recurrent disruption in flow of ongoing utterances, derailments and extraneous utterances that results in their discourse being ambiguous and vague. But, in their

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narratives TBI individuals produced a normal amount of thematic units (i.e. concepts). On the other hand, this information shows inappropriate organization at macro- and micro levels of linguistic processing (Marini, et al 2011).

With reference to syntactic complexity, which is an important area in narration, has been long used to examine the micro linguistic levels of processing. The measure considered for analyzing syntactic complexity could be the total number of single syntactic units. According to Norbury and Bishop (2003) it is further categorized as a full main clause and any subordinate clauses belonging to it. One syntactic unit consists of simple and complex sentences. The two syntactic units consists only the compound sentences. The sum of complex sentences thus consists of complement clauses, subordinate clauses, passive construction and verbal complements. The present study examines narratives of Kannada-English bilingual individuals with TBI in particular. Since English and Kannada are distantly different language this comparison offers an interesting platform for the study of cross linguistic analysis. The major Dravidian language of India which is used predominantly in the state of Karnataka is Kannada language and roughly 38 million speakers use this language and in the world this is the 27th most spoken language. Kannada language has a script of its own which has two numbers (plural and singular) and a highly inflected three genders (feminine, masculine, common or neutral). According to Prakash and Joshi (1995), it is also inflected for number, tense and gender.

While in India, Indian English is a result of evolution during and after the British colonial rule and it comprises several numbers of dialects. According to 1991 Census of India, English is used as an official language since there are about ninety million speakers using it. In English, clauses consist of a verb and a subject. Dependent clauses are of three types, which include adverb, adjective and noun clauses, called so for their syntactic resemblance to adverbs, adjectives, and nouns respectively. Where, a noun is the head of the phrase. At syntax level these variances in language make comparison of Kannada and English of great potential interest for those who research cross- linguistic development.

Bilingualism

A variety of factors like proficiency, social interaction etc are related to predominant phenomena called bilingualism. Thus, it is really complex to give a precise definition which covers and includes all these aspects. Bilingualism as defined by Bialystok (2001) is the ability to use two or more languages in proficient conversation with native speakers of each language. Not only are bilingual speakers able to use linguistic structures of their two languages, they also master pragmatic and sociolinguistic norms of the culture surrounding each languages. Right from earliest times, India has been a multilingual country. English is one language which has become an integral part within bilingualism. This necessitates the study of first language along with the proficient second language in the clinical population too. Literature in the Indian context regarding aspects of discourse processing that are preserved in individuals with TBI and those that are impaired is limited.

Degree of linguistic competency is critical requirement in the bilingual studies. Majority of the bilinguals are generally more fluent in one language compared to the other. This difference is based on the degree of proficiency which often leads to confused results. This study aims to identify the features of a good narration specific to cross linguistically common, possible quasi-universal or universal features and linguistic/cultural aspects of narration. From a cognitive-communicative disorder perspective the present study is an attempt to study the validity of this hypothesis. Among bilinguals, the ability to speak two languages may be acquired early in critical age or during school years. Language representation in bilingual individuals may have formulator and even a separate lexicon for each one of the known languages or a unique large system storing all the data regarding the different languages. Organization of the formulator and the lexicon are affected by factors such as age, method of language acquisition, use of language. Early acquisition of language other than L1 usually results in formulator for both the language being represented in common cerebral structures. If L2 acquired after 10 years, neuro-functional systems responsible for phonology and grammar are also expected to be separate at the level of neuro anatomy (Fabbro, 1996; Kim et al, 1997). In fluent bilinguals, the representation of lexicon occurs in a common neural structure. Whereas neuro-functional separation depends on word -

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use relationships. With regard to set of syllables and prosodic aspects, the independent storage areas for each of the language may be usually present in late bilinguals (some bilinguals); whereas in early bilinguals (other bilinguals) they have only one store containing all elements of both languages (Flege & Fletcher, 1992).

Bilinguals loose one of their languages if they experience TBI, this may be because majority of both languages being housed in the same area of the brain, it is likely for both languages would be impacted if there was damage to that general region (Ojemann &Whitaker, 1978). However, the effect on each language may differ. About the recovery process earlier studies has showed that, language will return more quickly for a bilingual over a monolingual because they have double the language. Bilinguals have beneficial dimensions in cognitive performance (De Bleser, et al, 2003) and it also has been suggested that bilingualism may be factor that aids in cognitive rehabilitation following head injury (Marrero, Golden & Espepfeifer, 2002). Review suggest, TBI adults have impaired thought process (Grzankowski, 1997), language (Murdoch & Theodros, 2000) and cognition (Arciniegas, Held & Wagner, 2002). These three are interconnected; thought can be described as human mental activity and conceptual products of mental activity which includes emotion, conation and cognition. Language can be viewed as representation of particular system of thought (David, 1996). But in TBI individuals these three domains are frequently affected and this combination can be ideally assessed using narrative discourse genres which also explore the linguistic relativity hypothesis in bilingual adults with traumatic brain injury at two different languages. Further, there is dearth of studies in checking validity of linguistic relativity hypothesis and exploring more about this principle among TBI individuals may help in rehabilitative procedures.

Aim

The aim of the present study is to compare the narrative discourse abilities of English (L2) and Kannada (L1) speaking (adults) bilingual individuals with traumatic brain injury.

Method

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A total of 20 individuals with traumatic brain injury (TBI) in the age range of 25 to 48 (mean age - 32.5 years) diagnosed by a neurologist were selected. These participants were confirmed to fit and belong to a high/middle socioeconomic status on administration of National Institute of Mental Health Socioeconomic Status Scale (Venkatesan, 2009). Further they were screened for neuropsychological aspects and visual perceptual deficits using Mini Mental Status Examination. Wylie and Ingram (2006), International Second Language Proficiency Rating Scale (ISLPR) was administration for all the participants. The L2 (English) and L1 (Kannada) proficiency was closely described as vocational proficiency.

The target task of the participants' was to orally narrate for a specified duration of 3-5 minutes on a topic "Journey to a place" using only one language (for example - L1), following this the verbatim transcription was done. Later subsequent to 15 days, the other language (for example - L2) was used by the same participants to repeat the same task. To achieve counterbalance and to reduce any effects of order of presentation, one half (10) of the participants were made to narrate in English first and then in Kannada (Group A) and the other half (10) was made to narrate in Kannada first and then in English (Group B). This narration samples were videotaped using a digital handy cam DCR-DVD 908 in a sound treated and well lighted room with no and/or very minimal distraction during the processing of recording. Written informed consent was obtained from the participants. International Phonetic Alphabet (2007) was used to carry out verbatim transcription of all the recorded narrative discourse samples of each participant and for syntactic measures the T-unit analysis was applied. The T unit analysis further consisted of sub -section like number of clauses (NC), number of words per clauses (NWPC), number of T-units (NTU) and number of words per T-unit (NWPTU).

Results

The study was among the bilingual individuals with TBI and the aim was to compare the narrative discourse across English (L2) and Kannada (L1) language. The total participants were divided into two groups, the Group A and Group B. The language samples of these participants in Group A and Group B was collected separately to achieve counter balancing. Descriptive

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statistics was carried out for each parameter of discourse in two different languages among the total participants, Group A and Group B. The Table 1 depicts the results in terms of the mean and standard deviation for the total population, the two groups and the two languages for the parameters separately: number of clauses (NC), number of words per clauses (NWPC), number of T- units (NTU) and number of words per T-unit (NWPTU).

The foremost result of the present study is as following: the Kannada language narrative samples of total participants (Group A plus Group B) showed higher mean for the parameter, number of clauses, number of T-unit and the number of words per T-unit. But English language narrative samples of total participants showed higher mean for the parameter, number of words per clauses when compared to Kannada language narrative samples. Same trend was observed in Group A and Group B also.

Table 1. Mean and Standard Deviations of narrative discourse parameters in Kannada and English for Total participants, Group A and Group B.

Parameters	Total (20 Participants)		Group A (10 Participants)		Group B (10 Participants)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Number of Clauses - K	53.75	16.98	52.3	21.33	55.2	12.2
Number of Clauses - E	34.9	15.00	25.1	8.84	44.7	13.55
Number of Words per Clauses - K	6.3	0.47	6.15	0.41	6.45	0.49
Number of Words per Clauses - E	6.7	0.76	6.3	0.67	7.1	0.65
Number of T-unit - K	6	0.17	5.9	0.99	6.1	0.87
Number of T-unit - E	5.2	1.16	4.5	1.08	5.9	0.87
Words / T-unit - K	66.2	10.98	63.7	12.67	68.7	8.96
Words / T-unit - E	44.55	13.14	35.95	11.25	53.15	8.58

Note: K- Kannada, E-English, SD- Standard Deviation

The statistical significance of above parameters was evaluated using one way repeated measure ANOVA for language with group as between subject factor (mixed ANOVA) to study the effect of group and language (Kannada and English) with each parameters of T-unit analysis of narrative discourse. The results of mixed ANOVA revealed significant interaction, hence there was a need to study these interactions in detail, and hence MANOVA was administered to evaluate the effect of group within each language and each parameter. Subsequent to this paired t-test was done to compare language within each group.

Language – Group and Their Interaction

Mixed ANOVA was administered to compare languages with group as independent variable. Irrespective of the group, there was a need to study the significant differences between the Kannada and English language narrative samples and also find the differences between the groups and check the interaction between language and the group. Initially for between language comparisons the results of statistical analysis showed a significant main effect of language for all the parameter of T-unit analysis (NC, NWPC, NTU and NWPTU). Later for comparison between groups there was a significant main effect of group for the parameter NWPC and NWPTU. Finally, there was a significant interaction between languages and groups for the parameter NC, NTU and NWPTU of T-unit based analysis.

Table 2. Results of mixed ANOVA.

Source	Parameters of T-unit	F(1,18)	p value
Language	Number of clauses	24.915	0.000 *
	Number of words per clause	9.521	0.006 *
	Number of T-units.	23.040	0.000 *
	Number of words per T-unit	80.839	0.000 *
Group	Number of clauses	4.353	0.051
	Number of words per clause	6.241	0.022 *
	Number of T-units	4.085	0.058

	Number of words per T-unit	7.570	0.013 *
Language*Group	Number of clauses	4.889	0.040 *
	Number of words per clause	3.719	0.070
	Number of T-units.	12.60	0.002 *
	Number of words per T-unit	6.418	0.021 *

Effect of Group within Kannada and English Language for Each Parameter

Here MANOVA was administered because there was significant interaction between group and language. This evaluated the difference between the languages (Kannada and English) over the dependent variables (NC, NWPC, NTU and NWPTU) within the groups. The results of statistical analysis revealed a significant main effect of English language for the parameters NC, NWPC, NTU and NWPTU. But there was no significant main effect for none of the parameters in Kannada languages.

Table 3. Results of MANOVA.

Languages	Parameters of T-unit	F (1,18)	p value
Kannada	Number of Clauses	0.139	0.714
	Number of Words per Clauses	2.16	0.159
	Number of T-unit	0.228	0.639
	Number of Words per T-unit	1.037	0.322
English	Number of Clauses	14.656	0.001 *
	Number of Words per Clauses	7.2	0.015 *
	Number of T-unit	10.138	0.005 *
	Number of Words per T-unit	14.761	0.001 *

Difference between Languages in Group A and Group B

Since there was significant interaction between language and group, paired t-test was administered to study the effect of group over the dependent variables NC, NWPC, NTU and NWPTU within each language (Kannada and English). The results of the statistical analysis for

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Group A (K1E2) showed a high significant difference for all the parameters (NC, NTU and NWPTU) of T- unit analysis except NWPC. In case of Group B (E1K2) there was a significant difference for the parameter NC, NWPC and NWPTU of T-unit analysis.

Table 4. Group A and Group B results of paired t-test.

Groups	Parameters of T-unit	t (19)	p value
Group A	Number of clauses	3.654	0.005 *
	Number of words per clause	-0.709	0.496
	Number of T-units.	5.250	0.001 *
	Number of words per T-unit	5.902	0.000 *
Group B	Number of clauses	8.230	0.000 *
	Number of words per clause	-4.333	0.0002*
	Number of T-units.	1	0.343
	Number of words per T-unit	14.923	0.000 *

Discussion

TBI adults have impaired thought process, language and cognition, these three are interconnected and their combination can be ideally assessed in narrative discourse genre and also explore linguistic relativity hypothesis. Further exploring linguistic relativity hypothesis in individuals with TBI may serve as a foundation for their rehabilitative procedures. Thus, the present study compared the narrative discourse abilities in Kannada and English languages of bilingual individuals with traumatic brain injury.

Comparison of Languages in TBI Individuals

The present study reveals that the parameters such as number of clauses (NC), number of T-unit (NTU), number of words per T-unit (NWPT) was more in Kannada language on comparison with English. This may be attributed to the longer exposure and use of Kannada language with reference to the individuals residence or hospital and or/ intervention centers in comparison with the English language being used less frequently. According to Green (1998),

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even though the L2 vocabulary and structures are accessed frequently and are processed more effortlessly than those rarely utilized, fortunately the individuals with TBI were more comfortable with their L1. Similar trend was also observed in the present study. Other feasible reason could be that after trauma individual may be exposed to either first or second language for ease of communication. Because of this difference in exposure immediately after the trauma, there would be a gap between the usages of two languages or usage of either one language, the more exposed language has made them to execute better compared to less exposed language in spite of having equal proficiency in the two languages. Thus, on observation it was noticed that the Kannada language had maximum usage compared to English language. The TBI group produced a higher number of complete and accurate clauses, and more number of responses (in Kannada language compared to English language) that resulted in the expansion of the topics. They had very good initiation skills while speaking in Kannada language. But while speaking in English language, the narration task approximately resembled an event related task. On several instances the experimenter had to prompt in sequences to elicit an organized response. And individuals with TBI answered to that particular sequence of event, lacking relevant elaborations.

The other contributing factor could be the cultural and linguistic differences. This might have influenced to document the differences in discourse across languages. For example, children learn the examples of narrative produced by their families are always influenced by the culture they are exposed too (Gutierrez-Clellen, Peña, & Quinn, 1995; Minami & McCabe, 1995; Melzi, 2000). Thus, the expected performance is a resultant of cultural influence and it may play a large role in the types of narratives that children produce. According to Melzi (2000) study, the comparison between the narrative elicitation style of European American verse Central American mothers and their preschool children. It was observed that the European American mothers paid attention more on the structural and organizational aspects of their children's stories, whereas the Central American mothers paid more attention on the conversational aspects of narration. From the mainstream American culture the narrative style in U. S. Latino culture and socio-cultural role of stories may vary, thus influence the kinds of stories children learn to tell. Similarly, in the present study, the TBI population was divided into two separate groups

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based on the time scheduled for discourse elicitation task and the language to be used to executive the narration task. There was no difference found for the Kannada language compared to English language. This differences in discourse aspects between the languages could be contributed to the fact that, discourse in Kannada language had good information content, information adequacy, maintained the topic with adequate temporal causal relationship and accurate message without any consciousness effort towards the discourse structure. On the other hand a conscious effort was seen towards the discourse structure while speaking in English language. This could have contributed for the differences in the narrative discourse of Kannada and English language among the total twenty individuals with TBI.

Comparison of Languages within Groups (Group A and Group B)

With reference to the sub groups among the total twenty individuals with TBI, there were significant differences for the parameters NC, NWPC, NTU and NWPTU, in English language when comparison was statistically studied between languages within each group [Group A (K1E2) and Group B (K2E1)]. But there were no significant differences for none of the parameters in Kannada languages. There is very little literature support, mainly done on children. Gutierrez-Clellen (2002) studied second-grade children's spontaneous narrative productions elicited in English (L2) and Spanish (L1) speaking bilinguals for their proportion of grammatical T-units. In both their English and Spanish stories, these children demonstrated comparable grammaticality. This study is in parallel with another study by Silliman, Huntley, Brea, Hnath-Chisolm & Mahecha (2002), these authors considered 9-to 11 year old bilingual children's linguistic encoding of mental states in their narrative retellings in English (L2) and Spanish (L1).

There was a discrepancy in the type and amount of clauses used in encoding the mental states. This was attributed to the language used for story retelling. In English language, children used less adverbials clauses and more of nominal clauses. Whereas, in Spanish language, children used more clauses, with less nominal clauses and more adverbial. Overall in both the languages the children used relative clauses the least. These studies express the evidence that

bilingual children make use of language-specific linguistic devices in each of their languages to formulate narratives that are grammatical too.

Comparison of Groups within Languages

The between group comparison revealed poorer performance of Group B (E1K2) when compared to Group A (K1E2) for the parameter NTU. This indicates that TBI participant's were able to say more number of thematic units when narrated first in Kannada language followed by English compared to English narration first followed by Kannada. Suggesting that order of elicitation of narration samples in bilingual TBI adults does influence the results and differences were seen only at thematic level of T unit analysis and not at the sentential level, since both the groups performed similarly in parameters NC, NWPC and NWPTU.

The research in English language on the acquisition of linguistic skills and its evaluation using T unit analysis addresses evidence on the basic analysis of narrative discourse. This is an objective measure of individual's narrative discourse to ensure the developmental changes if any. In the present study, the results in terms of the average length of clauses in Kannada and English narration used by a group of individuals with TBI is reported to be 53.75 and 34.9 respectively. This result is in support with Hema and Shyamala (2011, 2013), where they found increased number of clauses in Kannada language compared to English language narration of normal adult bilinguals and individuals with TBI. Thus, the results specify that the narration of adult bilingual individual are correlated with various aspects and types of analysis like T-unit analysis, richness and sophistication of vocabulary, narrative markers where the individuals use past tense in a sequence of specific individual events, appropriate use of pronouns and nouns as referencing device which is called as cohesive devices. Thus, the present study identifies the specific features of a good narration in terms of cross-linguistically common, possibly universal or quasi-universal features and linguistically or culturally specified features of any narrative discourse. On observation, narrating an event is expected to be told in past tense, and is supposed to be extensive with large number of variety of words in both Kannada and English.

To be more specific, according to Clark (1994) discourse applies to single narration told to others by single narrators, it is a complex and critical communicative event as stated by Ulatowska, Freedman-Stern, Doyle and Macaluso-Haynes (1983). Snow, Douglas and Ponsford, (1999) reported that, narrative genre is considered as one among the different discourse genres. The various conventional aspects and subtleties of conversational exchange are not possible in narration since it holds a monologue format including a different set of demands. However, according to Tucker and Hanlon (1998) investigating discourse production specifically at narrative discourse genre is particularly sensitive to subtle language deficits. For example, studies have suggested that individuals will exhibit difficulty reconstructing their own life experiences while sharing with others; the difficulty is demonstrated by Snow, Douglas and Ponsford (1999) while using the narrative discourse genre. Finally, the narrative discourse genre provides a controlled environment and can sample the behaviors of interest in a structured manner and however similar discourse aspects are demonstrated on a daily basis. This facilitates to avoid the difficulties brought about by the use of more artificial tasks.

Conclusion

In the T-unit based analysis there was a significant difference in two languages (Kannada-L1 and English-L2) at the syntactic level (NWPTU, NC and NWPC). But at the thematic level (NTU) there was no difference at this language level. These differences attributing in TBI individual are due to the primary factors like the use of instantly available language and the native language exposure facilitating immediate retrieval of the linguistic items in the exposed language after the trauma, which was in support with the environmental factors such as social milieu and supportive family. The secondary factor could be with the structure rules of each language, the “agglutinative nature”. Here each word of Kannada language is a combination of several morphemes. This might have led participants to produce and use more frequently since communication is the major priority for any individuals with TBI during their post morbid condition. This resulted in an increased number of words in Kannada on comparison with English language. Thus, same principle was used to carry out the narration task in Kannada language, where the narrative information of these TBI individuals was conveyed with increased

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number of clauses, increased number of words per clauses and increased number of words per T-unit. But while speaking in English language, the TBI individuals used lesser number of clauses, lesser number of words per clauses and lesser number of words per T-unit because of their poor discourse structure. Thus, the discourse analysis should be performed distinctly in both the languages. Since the communication intent is more while speaking in Kannada (L1) language compared to English (L2) language during their post morbid condition.

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A Comparative Study

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**We Acquire Language by Reading:
A Comparison between Avid Readers and Moderate Readers**

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Abstract

The study compares the performance of avid and moderate readers of first year Civil Engineering of National Institute of Technology, India, on a test that tests reading, grammar, vocabulary and writing competence. The results of the study confirm that avid readers performed better than moderate readers and the difference between the groups is statistically significant with an effect size of $d=1.36$. It is found that those who read more acquire more language and readers use the acquired language on standardized tests and in actual performance. In addition, reading results in the incidental acquisition of vocabulary, grammar, and writing skills and there is a strong relationship between the amount of reading and the language competence of readers.

Keywords: incidental acquisition; writing apprehension; pleasure reading; acquired competence.

Introduction

Studies have confirmed that reading results in the acquisition of all measures of language competence including grammar, vocabulary, spelling, syntax and writing competence (Krashen, and Lee 2004; Ponniah, 2011 & Smith, 2006). In order to make reading more effective, reading material must be well within the linguistic competence of a reader (Day and Bamford, 1998). This is consistent with the comprehension hypothesis that readers must be provided with a text that is comprehensible and, further, language acquisition will be effective only when readers focus on meaning. David, Hunt, and Kite, (2012) have also shown that readers who experience simplified version of difficult texts had greater gains in reading rate and acquisition as they received comprehensible input. Another experimental study conducted in India has also

confirmed that reading simplified version of the story 'The Chinese Statue' facilitated incidental acquisition of vocabulary and grammar of words. Moreover, readers were able to use the acquired words in sentences (Ponniah, 2011). In both studies the experimenters simplified the reading texts in order to facilitate reading by providing comprehensible input.

Despite consistent evidences supporting the claim that reading results in the acquisition of second and foreign language, it has been claimed that explicit instruction with a focus on form is required for acquisition (Coady, 1997; Pigada & Schmitt, 2006; & Peters, et al, 2009). This claim has been examined in different studies and the results of the studies have proved that form-focused supplementary activities after reading have only little value (Smith, 2006; Lehmann, 2007). Krashen and Mason (2004) in their study on incidental acquisition of vocabulary, confirm that intentional learning of vocabulary in addition to reading did not contribute to the development of language. Smith (2006) asserts that reading with a focus on meaning contributed to the development of all aspects of language and not the explicit instruction on grammar. Conversely, enhanced reading/output activities such as group discussion, book talk, sharing a book with group members in addition to reading had greater gains on specific grammatical items (Song and Sardegna, 2011) as the activities helped readers process the input they received by reading.

Reading positively affects not only language knowledge but also cognitive capabilities as reading is a cognitive-linguistic process. Studies on cognitive science have also shown that there is a significant association between reading skills such as decoding, reading fluency, and phonological awareness, and cognition (Gabay, Shamay-Tsoory, & Goldfarb, 2016; Yu & Reichle, 2017). The cognitive capability helps in generating new ideas and readers, in the course of giving shape to the new ideas, subconsciously generate infinite number of new structures which they have not explicitly learnt. This is because language is creative and the creative aspect of language is innate (Chomsky, 1965). The cognitive capabilities and language competencies developed by reading positively affect writing ability. The knowledge gained by reading in all dimensions scaffolds writing process as there is reciprocal facilitation of reading and writing (Tierney & Shanahan, 1991)

The study is designed to explain how reading contributes to the development of language competence such as vocabulary, grammar, and writing skills and how it positively affects scores on standardized tests.

Participants

The data was collected from 56 civil engineering students of National Institute of Technology, Tiruchirappalli, India. Subjects were highly motivated students who have cleared the AIEEE/JEE examinations conducted by the Central Board for Secondary Examinations which is considered as the nation's toughest Entrance examination to join Engineering courses in India. They have a habit of reading in English both for pleasure and information and they do not know the kind of reading they were doing helped them acquire language. They believed that they should receive form focused direct instruction to acquire language.

Procedure

Subjects were asked to take a proficiency test that contained the following four units: (i) Reading comprehension passage, (ii) Paragraph writing, (iii) Cloze test and (iv) Grammar / error correction.

The reading/writing passage is on civil engineering that contained questions such as the following:

1. What is the main difference between Construction engineering and Construction management?
2. Mention the types of infrastructure that Geotechnical Engineers deal with.

In the second unit of the test, subjects were asked to write a paragraph after reading the information given in a bar chart. The grammar and the cloze tests contained questions such as the following:

1. Civil engineering is (1) _____ the oldest engineering discipline. It deals with the built environment and can be (2) _____ to the first time someone placed a (3)

_____ over his or her head or laid a tree trunk across a river to make it (4) _____ to get across.

2. Employees love this company because it _____ rewarding wages to them.

i) offers ii) always offers iii) always offered iv) offered. (Choose the appropriate form of tense).

3. Among the two sisters Habiba is the better dancer. (Correct the error in the sentence)

They were also asked to respond to a questionnaire in order to confirm whether they have a habit of reading in English and to know about their choice of reading material.

1. Do you have a habit of reading in English?

2. What kind of books or material do you read?

Then, an author recognition test, a test used by Mezek (2013) was conducted in order to categorize subjects into avid and moderate readers. Subjects were asked to write the titles of five recently read books with the author names and themes. The subjects who gave the correct information for at least four books were considered avid readers and the rest were categorized as moderate readers.

The answer scripts were evaluated by the authors. The writing component of the test was evaluated using the composition scale of Jacobs (1981) et.al and, therefore, the parameters such as vocabulary, spelling, syntax, structure and style were considered for scores.

Some of the moderate readers experienced writing apprehensions while writing answers on the test. When the experimenters interacted with the subjects they said they do not know as to how to organize their thoughts and come up with ideas.

The subjects said they focused only on meaning while writing but when answering grammar questions, they thought about rules. However, they were not sure whether they used rules while answering grammar questions.

Results

The results show that avid readers performed better than moderate readers and the difference between the groups is statistically significant.

The table 1 presents the mean scores and the effect size values of moderate and avid readers.

	Mean scores for moderate readers	Mean scores for avid readers	Effect size(d)
Cloze test	3.66 (1.72)	5.31(1.34)	1.07
Grammar/error correction	3.20(1.32)	4.63 (1.57)	0.98
Writing competence	4.53(2.01)	5.86 (1.94)	0.67
Comprehension	8.80 (0.87)	9.29 (0.99)	0.52
Total score	20.20(3.57)	25.10 (3.60)	1.36

- N=41 for avid readers and 15 for moderate readers
- Standard deviation given in parenthesis for raw scores.
- Maximum score for the test is 40;10 for each parameters

The independent samples t-test (two-tailed) shows that avid readers performed better than moderate readers and the difference between the groups is statistically significant for all the parameters except reading/writing (Cloze test, $t = 3.76$, $df = 44$, $p < .000$; Reading/writing, $t = 1.69$, $df = 44$, $p < .095$; Grammar/error correction $t = 3.13$, $df = 50$, $p < .003$; Writing

competence $t = 2.24$, $df = 50$, $p < .029$; Total score $t = 4.52$, $df = 50$, $p < .000$) but Cohen's value shows that there is a moderate effect size of .52 for reading comprehension.

Discussion

The results of the study confirmed that readers acquire vocabulary, grammar and writing competence incidentally and they use the involuntarily acquired language in real situation and on standardized tests. Further, language knowledge of readers is correlated with the amount of reading.

The participants believed explicit grammar knowledge is necessary for the increased writing competence because they assumed learning rules of grammar helps in writing well-formed sentences without errors. In fact, writers focus on meaning while writing and in the course of composing ideas, they analyze, evaluate, synthesize the received input to come up with new ideas. The thinking process helps in giving shape to the conceived new ideas using language. While composing the generated ideas, the subconscious mind involuntarily generates infinite number of new structures. The discussion with the subjects also indicated that they focused only on meaning while writing and not on form. Therefore, compelling learners to focus on grammar will not facilitate writing but, in fact, creates anxiety.

Moderate readers experienced writer's block as they have less exposure to language and the anxiety level is high for some moderate readers. Foreign language anxiety is the result of incomplete language acquisition (Krashen, 2008) and the learner can overcome this by experiencing more language by reading. This suggests novice learners have to be encouraged to read more for pleasure in order to reduce anxiety in the learning environment and for which they must be intrinsically motivated. Every learner has natural inclination to learn and grow and for the maintenance and the enhancement of the inherent propensity, learners require supportive conditions in the learning environment to avoid anxiety (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Pleasure reading in language classes is a crucial ingredient that supports the innate desire to learn and motivates learners to experience language with pleasure. Such reading can make academic reading easier

(Priya & Ponniah, 2014) and moreover learners will become autonomous which is the goal of all education.

The pedagogical implication of the study is that reading must be integrated into the curriculum to promote learning of any second/foreign language. Since reading is a most powerful tool for acquiring all measures of language competence such as grammar, vocabulary, syntax, spelling and writing, more in-class reading can be encouraged in ESL classes instead of devoting more time for learning grammar and other aspects of language consciously.

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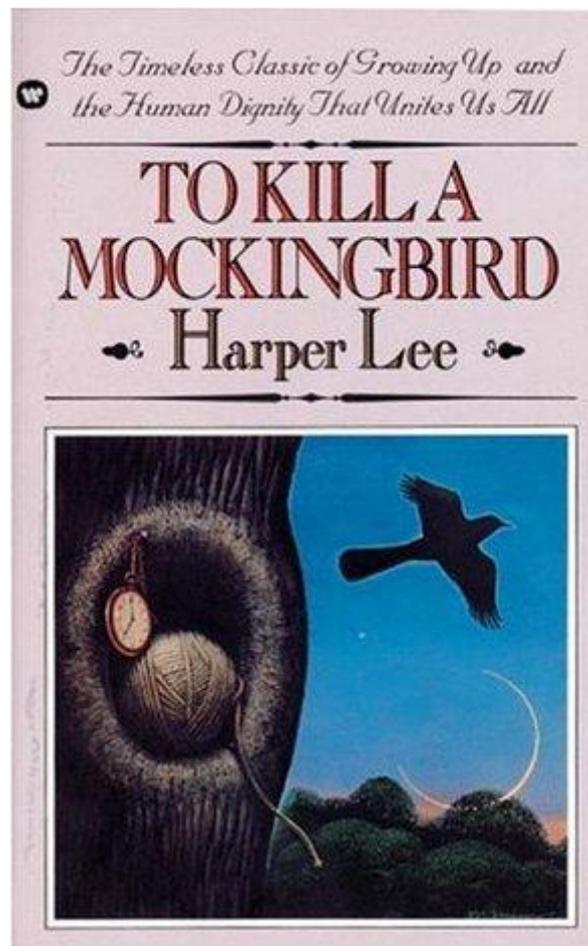
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New Historicism Applied to *To Kill A Mockingbird*

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Abstract

New Historicism is a literary theory based on the view that literature should be studied, designed and understood within the discourse of both the chronicle of the author and the history of the critic. Based on the study of literary criticism of Stephen Greenblatt and proposed by the philosophy of Michel Foucault, New Historicism declares not only that a work of literature is influenced by its author's period of time and circumstances, but that the critic's reaction to that piece of work is also influenced by his environment, notion, and preconception. A New Historicist perception of literature in a wider historical context

analyses both how the writer's times stricken the work and how the work reverberates the writer's times, in turn acknowledge that contemporary cultural contexts color that critic's reason out. *To Kill a Mockingbird* is a novel of historical fiction written by an American writer Harper Lee, a story in which the scene plays a important part in the issue and is anywhere from 25 years in the past to prehistoric times. The story of the novel portrays life in a particular time, period or centering on a particular event in history. The significant to impressive historical fiction is the quality of the author's references to existent events and the authentic portrayal of characters in the time period. Characters framed in historical fiction may either be fanciful or portrayals of actual historical figures. *To Kill a Mockingbird* is set in the 1930s in a small Alabama town. The year is significant because it is in the midst of the Great Depression. When analysing literature, I could use this theory in the present article as a way to better understand the various approaches one may view a piece of literature as a result of their personal biases, as well as encouraging research into a particular subject.

Keywords: History, Background, Racism, Slavery, Rights, Practice, Segregation

New Historicism

Greenblatt is a leading figure in the critical movement known as the new historicism. Begun in America in the early 1980's, this school of thought is in great measure a reaction against the tendency in much modern criticism, starting with the New Critics and extending through deconstruction, to concentrate on the language of isolated texts and ignore the worldly circumstances- the societies and times- that produced them. The new historicism returns literary works to history and culture. This return, it is important to note, does not repeat the historicism of earlier generations, which saw literature as reflecting, in mirror like fashion, a unified spirit of the age. Instead, it combines the urge to reconnect texts to their real-world referents and sources with the lessons of contemporary language-centered theories, which in various ways stress the power of words to make rather than merely mimic reality, in order to create a new and reinvigorated notion of literature as a historically and culturally grounded form of expression. "The idea of a uniform and harmonious culture, "Selden writes, "is a myth imposed on history and propagated by ruling classes in their own interests." (Understanding contemporary American literary theory, Pg-67)

A common disposition in the study of literature written set in a past or foreign culture is to assume a direct comparison between the cultures as presented in the text and as it really was. New Historicism asserts that such a comparison is not possible for two basic reasons. First, the “truth” of a foreign or past culture can never be known as constituted and constant. To say, any discernment of the “truth” is a subject of interpretation on the parts of both the writer and the reader. This is most conspicuously apparent in the fact that the “losers” of history barely ever get heard.

The culture that is submissive by another culture is often mislaid to history because it is the powerful that have the reference to record that history. Even in recent past events, who really knows both sides of the story? Who knows the whole story of the Nazi story? Or the Iraqi story? New Historicists argue that these unexplored histories are just as evidential as the histories of the predominant culture of power and should be included in any world view. Since they often disagree “traditional” history, there is no mode to truly know the implicit truth. Second, while the text under discussion does indeed reverbrate the culture in which it was written, it also takes part in the culture in which it is written. In other words, its very cosmos changes the culture it “reflects.”

To Kill a Mockingbird

To New Historicists, literature and culture are born of one another. Though Harper Lee’s *To Kill a Mockingbird* certainly reflected the culture of the South during the mid-20th century, it also became a tool to raise awareness of and modify certain elements of that culture. In the novel, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Harper Lee touched on topics that revolved around the perspective historicism. *To Kill a Mockingbird* covered topics like racism, slavery and alcoholism all in a historicism perspective. An example in his novel is, when Atticus tells Scout:

As you grow older, you’ll see white men cheat black men every day of your life, but let me tell you something and don’t you forget it-whenver a white man does that to a black man, no matter who he is, how rich he is, or how fine a family he comes from, that white man is trash.(Lee, 23.40).

Although these topics could be seen in a modernism perspective, there are older people’s points of view on the trial. *To Kill a Mockingbird* was first published in 1960, by an

American author Harper Lee who uses historicism as a tool in his novel while talking about racism and slavery.

One of the aims of the new historicists is to place the literary text in the larger context of the cultural text, to cease to see the literary text as “a sacred, self-enclosed, and self-justifying miracle” and re-envision it as drawing upon “a whole life-world” (Understanding Contemporary American Literary Theory, Pg-91)

Novel in the South of the 1930s

President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 when African Americans were still denied many of their basic rights. Conditions were little improved by the early 1960s in America when Lee sets her novel in the South of the 1930s. The civil rights movement was just taking shape in the 1950s, and its principles were beginning to find a voice in American courtrooms and the law. The famous 1954 U.S. Supreme Court trial of *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* declared the long-held practice of segregation in public schools unconstitutional and quickly led to desegregation of other public institutions. However, there was still considerable resistance to these changes, and many states, especially those in the South, took years before they fully integrated their schools. Other ways by which black people were degraded by society included the segregation of public restrooms and drinking fountains, as well as the practice of forcing blacks to ride in the back of buses. This injustice was challenged by a mild-mannered department store seamstress named Rosa Parks (1913-2005). After she was arrested for failing to yield her seat to a white passenger, civil rights leaders began a successful boycott of the bus system in Montgomery, Alabama, on December 5, 1955. The principal leader of the boycott was the reverend Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968). In January 1957, King and other black pastors, such as Charles K. Steele (1914-1980) and Fred Shuttlesworth (1922-2011), organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, one of the leading organizations that helped end legal segregation by the mid-1960s. The same year that Lee won a contract for the unfinished manuscript of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which provided penalties for the violation of voting rights and created the Civil Rights Commission. African Americans would not see protection and enforcement of all of their rights until well into the next decade, when the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Civil Rights Bill of 1968 were passed. These

laws banned racial discrimination from public places, workplaces, polling places, and housing.

The justice system was similarly discriminatory in the 1950s, as blacks were excluded from juries and could be arrested, tried, and even convicted with little cause. One notable case occurred in 1955, when two white men were charged with the murder of Emmett Till (1941-1955), a fourteen-year-old African American who had allegedly harassed a white woman. Like the jury in Tom Robinson's trial, the jury for the Till case was all white and all male; the trial was also held in a segregated courtroom. Although the defense's case rested on the unlikely claims that the corpse could not be specifically identified as Till and that the defendants had been framed, the jury took only one hour to acquit the men of all charges. The men later admitted their crimes to a journalist in great detail but were never punished for the murder.

Race Relations in the 1950s and 1960s and *To Kill A Mockingbird*

The events surrounding race relations in the 1950s and 1960s have a strong correspondence with those in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which is set nearly thirty years earlier. The South, which was still steeped in its agricultural traditions, was hit hard by the Great Depression. Small farmers like Lee's Walter Cunningham Sr. Often could not earn enough cash from their crops to cover their mortgages, let alone living expenses. Lee's novel captures the romanticism many white people associated with the Southern way of life, which they felt was being threatened by industrialization. Part of this tradition, however, protected such practices as sharecropping, in which tenant farmers would find themselves virtually enslaved to landowners who provided them with acreage, food, and farming supplies. The desperation sharecroppers felt was brilliantly depicted in Erskine Caldwell's (1903-1987) 1932 novel, *Tobacco Road*. The racism of the South—many blacks were sharecroppers—is also portrayed in Richard Wright's (1908-1960) novel *Uncle Tom's Children* (1938).

There was little opportunity for African Americans to advance themselves in the South. Schools were segregated between whites and blacks, who were not allowed to attend white high schools. Blacks were therefore effectively denied an education, since, in the early 1930s, there was not a single high school built for black students in the South. The result was that nearly half of all black people in the South did not have an education past the fifth grade;

in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Calpurnia tells the children she is one of only four members of her church who can read. Ironically, the Depression helped to change that when northern school boards began integrating schools to save the costs of running separate facilities. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (1882-1945) New Deal also led to the creation of the National Youth Administration (founded in 1935) and its Division of Negro Affairs, which helped teach black students to read and write. The Depression was particularly painful to blacks, who were already grossly underemployed in the 1920s. With worsening economic times, however, they found that even the menial jobs they once had—like picking cotton—had been taken by whites. The New Deal helped here, too, with the creation of the Federal Housing Administration, the Works Progress Administration, and other agencies that assisted poor blacks in obtaining jobs and housing.

Yet the oppressive society in the South often prevented blacks from taking advantage of this government assistance. Racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Shirts terrorized blacks out of their jobs. The vigilante practice of lynching was still common in the South in the early 1930s. “Both West Indian and Afro-American slavery resulted in the creation of an excluded group of black men and women subjugated by violence and deprived of the fruits of their labor.” (Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature, Pg-28). Only North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Alabama had laws specifically outlawing lynching as an illegal activity. (Surprisingly, only two northern states had similar laws.) By 1935, public outrage had reached a point where lynching was no longer tolerated, even by whites. In Lee's novel, for instance, the local sheriff tries to warn Atticus Finch of a possible lynch mob while a concerned citizen, B. B. Underwood, is prepared to turn them away from the jail with his shotgun.

This approach may be used to look at Charles Dickens' novel, *A Tale of Two Cities*, in the import that without knowledge of the French Revolution, the reader would not be able to get the picture the point to which the French people are oppressed and destitute. People living in war torn countries such as Afghanistan and Sierra Leone are more inclined to feel that the setting described in *A Tale of Two Cities* is not as hideous as their own, and therefore not a major issue. However, people from stable countries like Canada would most likely find the conditions in the novel appalling, as it is not something they are accused to in their own life.

New Historicism and *To Kill a Mockingbird*

New Historicism can be employed to Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* when we discuss its plot and the setting of the novel, where African Americans were treated unfairly in the court of law. At that time, the unfair treatment was reasoned unobjectionable because it was believed that African-Americans were naturally less moral as a race. Jem and Scout are the heart of the story, filling it with their world of imagination, a world of fancy, and superstition, centralised on town myths such as the strange history of Boo Radley and imaginative diversions such as acting out stories from books.

Maycomb was an old town, but it was a tired old town when I first knew it. In rainy weather the streets turned to red slop....[s]omehow it was hotter then.... bony mules hitched to Hoover carts flicked flies in the sweltering shade of the live oaks on the square..... But it was a time of vague optimism for some of the people. Maycomb County had recently been told that it had nothing to fear but fear itself. (Pg-31)

Scout's opening description of Maycomb emphasizes the slow step, Alabama heat, and outmoded belief of the town, in which men wear shirt collars, ladies use talcum powder and the streets are unpaved. This kind of description stipulate essential evidence of chronological setting and historical recollections, in addition to obsolete elements such as mule-driven Hoover carts and dirt roads, it also makes acknowledgment to the far-flung poorness of the town, implying that Maycomb in the midst of the Great Depression.

There's something in our world that makes men lose their heads—they couldn't be fair if they tried. In our courts, when it's a white man's word against a black man's, the white man always wins. They're ugly, but those are the facts of life. [...]

The one place where a man ought to get a square deal is in a courtroom, be he any color of the rainbow, but people have a way of carrying their resentments right into a jury box. (23.38-40)

According to Atticus, there is simply something about race which makes white people demented. His holding up Jem as an exclusion because of his teens suggest that whatever that X element is, it's found out and not innate perhaps it is able to be modified via schooling. He additionally recognizes, in case it wasn't already obvious, that law isn't a natural realm free of

the prejudices that plague ordinary life—it's concern for the equal issues as society at big. Generally, Atticus is a voice of wish for alternate, but here he flatly says that racism is a "truth of existence," suggesting that dropping Tom's case severely dented his optimism concerning human nature—otherwise that, having sat through the case.

Which, gentlemen, we know is in itself a lie as black as Tom Robinson's skin, a lie I do not have to point out to you. You know the truth, and the truth is this: some Negroes lie, some Negroes are immoral, some Negro men are not to be trusted around women—black or white. But this is a truth that applies to the human race and to no particular race of men. There is not a person in this courtroom who has never told a lie, who has never done an immoral thing, and there is no man living who has never looked upon a woman without desire." (20.47-48)

On the one hand, Atticus is totally proper: we need to judge people as individuals in place of through their race. No argument right here. However, check out the manner he calls the lie of racist stereotypes "as black as Tom Robinson's skin," yet again associating evilness with blackness, despite the fact that in a greater figurative way.

Informative Piece of Historical Literature

The novel has many historical elements to be mentioned, from the legends and secrets and techniques surrounding Boo Radley to Dill's imaginative testimonies and the children's superstitions. The unreasonable snow and the hearth at omit Maudie's, in addition to the later appearance of a mad dog, can be seen as contributing to a feel of supernatural foreboding leading up to the injustice that pervades Tom Robinson's trial.

However, this interpretation is balanced by way of the fact that each the snow and fireplace carry to the pleasant in people -school is cancelled. Scout and Jem build a fine snowman, the neighbours help to save Miss Maudie and her belongings, and she perseveres after the house is destroyed. Even when she sees her prize flowers ruined, the brave old woman does not despair; instead, she offers a cheerful comment about wanting a smaller house and a larger garden. This interweaving of dramatic, Gothic atmosphere epitomizes *To Kill a Mocking Bird*.

The novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* is a clearly informative piece of historical literature through its use of emotionally charged passages, effective imagery, and lessons that the reader can certainly apply to normal life. The thoughts that characters such as Atticus hold forth are critical to cherish and their projects applauded. This novel conveys the methods and historical method with a form of passion. It allows mirroring, examining, and studying from the past and trying for a racist loose society day after today. “We never feels that we can simply put off all our historically conditioned longings, fears, doubts, and dreams, along with our accumulated knowledge of the world, and enter into another conceptual universe,” Greenblatt and Gallagher acknowledge. (Understanding Contemporary American Literary Theory, Pg- 92) In Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mocking Bird* the plot certainly mirrored the culture of the South during the mid-20th century. Thus, it became an instrument to raise awareness of and modify certain elements of that culture.

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New Historicism Applied to *To Kill A Mockingbird*

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**A Study of Resoluteness of Calpurnia in
Harper Lee's *To Kill A Mocking Bird***

X. Merlin



Harper Lee

Courtesy:

<http://www.fox23.com/news/trending-now/photos-the-life-of-to-kill-a-mockingbird-author-harper-lee/95263556>

Abstract

Harper Lee created daring episodes of social problems relating to race and gender in *To Kill a Mocking Bird*. The novel deals with the situations in the 1930's, within the geographical area of Alabama, where discrimination due to race and gender ran rampant. Lee was seemingly influenced by experiences in her own life, particularly two trials where black men were suspected of raping or sexually attempting to rape a white woman. She grew up in Alabama. Her father was a professional lawyer. Calpurnia is the black woman in *To Kill a Mocking Bird* who looked after Scout and Jem. Calpurnia was one of the black maids working for whites in the 1930's. She worked for a lawyer, resident of Maycomb. His name was Atticus Finch, father of Jem Finch and Scout Finch. Calpurnia is a flat character who has strong views and is in conflict with the society. This article examines the role of Calpurnia and her resoluteness in *To Kill a Mocking Bird*.

Keywords: Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mocking Bird*, Calpurnia, Racial discrimination, Determination, Conflicts, Responsibility, Household Chores

The Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement was the umbrella description given to social efforts to end discrimination and support improved acknowledgement of the civil rights of minorities, together with blacks and women. The Montgomery Bus Boycott was a year-long protest by blacks against the general public transit in Montgomery, Alabama, starting in Dec 1955. The integration of schools picked up speed once the Supreme Court's verdict on *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. These developments helped Harper Lee instill strength and a moral code of ethics into characters such as Scout (a young girl), Atticus Finch (a lawyer and also the father of Scout and her brother Jem), and Tom Robinson (a black man unproved, defended by Atticus Finch).



Calpurnia Character

Courtesy:

<http://tokillamockingbirdchaptertwo.weebly.com/literary---character-explanation-calpurnia.html>

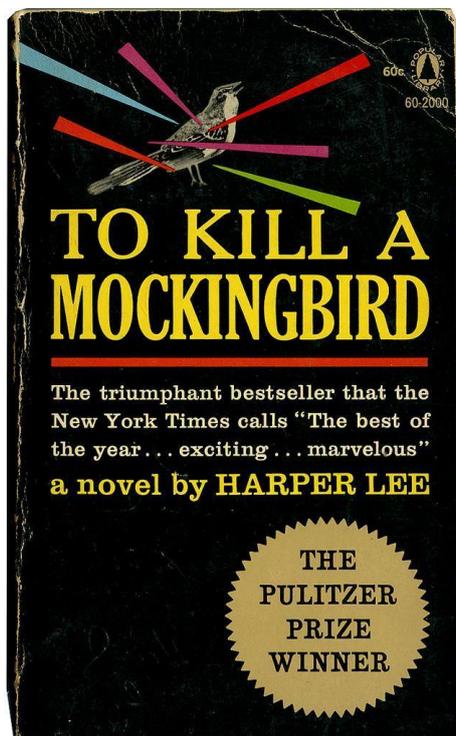
Calpurnia

Calpurnia is the black woman in *To Kill a Mocking Bird* who looks after Scout and Jem. Calpurnia worked for a lawyer, resident of Maycomb. His name is Atticus Finch, father of Jem Finch and Scout Finch. Calpurnia is a flat character who has strong views and is in conflict with the society. She is like a mother figure to Jem Finch and Scout Finch, and Atticus holds her in high esteem. Although she is treated well, she is not an equal. She calls Scout 'ma'am' and Jem 'sir.' Scout tells us about her relationship with Calpurnia: 'Our battles were epic and one-sided. Calpurnia always won, mainly because Atticus always took her side.'

Scout confuses Calpurnia's unappeasable behavior for the feeling of dislike. Calpurnia is knotty on her; she is demanding, and she rules with an iron hand, but Scout realizes that Calpurnia loves her in the way Atticus does. When Scout and Jem go to church with Calpurnia, Scout is confused by the way Calpurnia speaks when she is among her friends; her character serves as the bridge between two worlds, a sense of her double life, which is split between the Finch household and the black community. Calpurnia explains it this way:

Folks don't like to have somebody around knowin' more than they do. It aggravates 'em. You're not gonna change any of them by talkin' right, they've got to want to learn themselves, and when they don't want to learn there's nothing you can do but keep your mouth shut or talk their language. (12.139-144)

This speech demonstrates the gulf between blacks and whites in Maycomb: not only do class distinctions and bigotry divide the two races, but language does as well. In that instant, probably for the first time, Scout realizes Calpurnia has a life outside the Finch family. She could not endure and adopt in the family throughout her life. Scout shares that same surprise when she spends time in Calpurnia's world.



Courtesy:

<https://flashbak.com/eleven-classic-covers-of-harper-lees-to-kill-a-mockingbird-55722/>

Part of the Family

Atticus is clear on his view that Calpurnia is one among his family. He declares that he couldn't have anything without her through the years. Calpurnia is also paid by Atticus to watch his children while he's at work. She's more of a parent to the kids than their Aunt Alexandra who comes to live with them. She washes their clothes, feeds them, and teaches them manners. "So from the point of view of the young man, the only kind of women who exist are entrappers and domesticators." (New Feminist Criticism Essays on Women, Literature and Theory, Pg. 73).

Since she is also African American, she represents her culture living in Maycomb Country during the 1930s. She's a good Christian woman who has a good work ethic and is a little superstitious as an African. Calpurnia is paid by Atticus to watch his children while he's at work. She's more of a mother to the kids than their Aunt Alexandra who comes to live with them. She washes their clothes, feeds them, and teaches them manners.

Two-dimensional Character

Calpurnia is a two-dimensional character. Her values of life and respect stayed constant. One example is, when Walter Cunningham comes home and pours molasses all over his dinner. She pulled Scout out, into the kitchen, from the diner, and taught her how to respect and be kind towards her guests. At the point when Scout was disturbed that Atticus had been acting mean towards her since Atticus did not know her side of the story in the battle with her cousin. When this happened Calpurnia was patient and explained the situation to her, and told her to be comprehensive, even though Scout was acting very unpleasant.

A last case of why Calpurnia was the part of a two-dimensional character is the circumstance is which she took both Scout and Jem to her black community church. Despite the fact that one of the ladies there was being uninformed and unwelcoming to the children, Calpurnia did not lose her esteems and stayed cool and set a decent case for Jem and Scout. "It seems to be a fact of life that we all- women and men alike- experience social conventions and responsibilities and obligations first in the persons of women, since women are entrusted by society with the task of rearing young children." (New Feminist Criticism Essays on

Calpurnia is an adroit dark lady who realizes what she is doing. One case is the point at which a distraught dog was free on their road. Calpurnia called every one of the neighbors. Each wood entryway was shut. This shows how she knew to get everybody to close their entryways and how the neighbors believed her pledge regarding the matter. She knew when and where to address things in various ways and when and where to talk with individuals.

A Loyal Maid – How Society Viewed Her

Calpurnia is a fine and loyal maid of the family but her biggest conflict is how society views her. One woman, Lula, questioned why she brought the Jem and Scout to a black church. Lula said “You ain’t got no business bringin’ white chillum here- they got their church, we got our’n. It is our church, ain’t it, Miss Cal” (119). These quotes show how some blacks viewed white people with hatred and in turn caused conflict with Calpurnia.

In Aunt Alexandra’s Missionary Society, life resumed as if she had always lived with us. Aunt Alexandra never missed a chance to point out the shortcomings of others. Everyone in Maycomb seemed to have a Streak: A Drinking Streak, a Gambling Streak, a Mean Streak, and a Funny Streak. She was also much occupied with heredity: who came from what family. I had received the impression the Fine Folks were people who did the best they could with the sense they had, but Aunt Alexandra was of the opinion that the longer a family had been squatting on one patch of land the finer it was. (Pg-32)

This quote demonstrates that, however Calpurnia is an incredible cook Aunt Alexandra does not allow her to do anything that may have even a little possibility of demolishing her notoriety. Atticus said, “Alexandra, Cal’s not leaving this house until she wants to. You may think otherwise, but we really need her and she is a great person who feels like a member of our family. She’s done a great job of helping me raise the children.” 34). This quote shows how Alexandra wants Calpurnia out of the house even though she is one of the only things that keeps the house running. Calpurnia is smart and helpful she is still

looked down upon by society.

Always Setting a Good Example

In conclusion, with all the conflicts in which Calpurnia stepped in, she stayed defined as a flat character. When Scout was rude to the little farm boy, when Scout was upset after fighting her cousin, and when Lula was unwelcoming at the church toward the children, she maintained a status of kind, wise, and always setting a good example toward Atticus' children. Calpurnia is a strict disciplinarian and the children's bridge between the white world and her own black community. Lee introduces the black community at a decisive moment in the subject matter. By emphasising the goodness and solidarity of the black community, Lee casts the racism erect among Maycomb's white in an extremely farinaceous and disfigured light. Thus Lee enables us to identify the black community in a mode that makes the townspeople's involuntariness to do mean-spirited and stubborn.

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**Dynamics of History, Power and Dissent:
A Study of Theatrical Tradition of Dario Fo**

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Dario Fo (1926-2016)

Courtesy:

https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1997/fo-bio.html

Abstract

Italian playwright Dario Fo, who got the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1997, views theatre as a dialectical space in constant conflict with the historical space and believes that theatrical space should engage in constant dialogue with a critical audience leading to continuous rewriting and sharpening of political message. Fo invents the dissident potential and carnivalesque aspects of Italian Commedia dell' arte for specific political purposes and redefines the image of the guillare, the popular, unofficial mouth piece of the peasant population, who is essentially *pre-*

commedia. The present paper aims to demonstrate how Dario Fo employs the tradition of amateur theatre groups and Commedia dell'arte to restore the dignity of the downtrodden masses with his own interpretation of history. He believes that there is a need to reinterpret history from the prism of writers and performers who are more frequently regarded as purveyors of mere entertainment, strolling players, clowns, local story tellers, variety performers, farceurs and scriptwriters for various popular carnivals and fêtes. He shows distrust in the quasi-divine image of a historian and alleges that historian is also a performer who cooks several historical details and serve them to the readers as facts. He redefines the concept of tradition in his theatre by applying the historicity of past facts to the present leading to a cultural revolution.

Keywords: Dario Fo, Tradition, Cultural Revolution, Popular Tradition, History, Carnavalesque, Theatrical Space, Power.

Introduction

Theatre is a living, dynamic art whose completed form is the performance, an ephemeral product that changes with each audience. No performance lasts beyond its duration. (Lorch 17)

The Italian playwright Dario Fo, who got the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1997, is rooted in the tradition of amateur theatre groups and the popular Commedia dell arte. He was the most significant figure in the history of political theatre since Vsevolod Meyerhold, Erwin Piscator and Bertolt Brecht. He views theatre as an enterprise to critically reinterpret and revise historical narratives. He emphasizes the performance oriented nature of most texts and employs the dissident potential of *commedia dell' arte* to unfold the multiple layers of past. Fo believes that theatre can reconfigure history by questioning the authenticity of past narratives, and dismantle hegemonic assumptions of “religion centric” historical discourse. The purpose of the present paper is to analyze Fo’s theatre as a dialectical space which is in constant conflict with the historical space and believes that theatrical space should engage in constant dialogue with a critical audience leading to continuous rewriting and a sharpening of political message. He shows distrust in the quasi-divine image of a historian and alleges that historian is also a performer who cooks several historical details and serve them to the readers as facts. Image of a

historian or a writer is tainted with political consideration and, therefore, in a Fo's performance, historical narrative is treated as a multidimensional trope where writing and performing occur at a given moment in time, in a specific political situation. But his greatest influence comes from the local storytellers he refers to as *fabulatori*. (Scuderi 27)

Fo's theatre becomes an agitprop theatre with a difference, as he breaks the stereotype of humourless left-wingers in his plays and uses laughter as a theatrical strategy to expose the dynamics of power struggle in society, expressing his tirade against the Italian government and The Roman Catholic Church. The theatrical tradition of farce and comedy in Fo's theatre not only stems solely from the Commedia dell'arte. He is equally influenced by the *guillare*, the popular, unofficial mouth pieces of the peasant population, who are essentially pre-commedia. The performers of the commedia are regarded by Fo as the professional court jesters officially recognized by the ruling classes. Fo experienced the acclaim and stature of a bourgeois court jester when he became a prominent figure in the established, mainstream Italian theatre during the mid-sixties. Fo takes the credit of employing laughter as a theatrical strategy to show his tirade against the monopoly of religious and political institutions. His mission is to restore the dignity of the downtrodden masses with his own interpretation of history. Apart from Brecht and Moliere, Fo acknowledges his debt to the writers and performers who are more frequently regarded as purveyors of mere entertainment, strolling players, clowns, variety performers, farceurs and scriptwriters for various popular carnivals and fêtes. He uses techniques from popular traditions for specific political purposes.

Use of Tradition

Dario Fo uses "tradition" not in its historical sense but in a modern sense. He analyzes the discourse of history with his torch of cynicism and concludes that it has sacrificed reason at the altar of political expediency. Fo vehemently attacks the so called objectivity of historical discourses and comes up with his own versions of history from below. He maintains that historical space has been a battleground for politics where popular traditions have been denigrated and denied their rightful place by the elite culture. C.H. Carr points out: "in the first place, the facts of history never come to us 'pure', since they don't exist in a pure form, they are always refracted through the mirror of the recorder" (16). History has been called an "enormous

jig-saw with a lot of missing parts” (Carr 7). So a historian can only recover fragments of past and, therefore, past remains incomplete. Renowned Italian historian and philosopher Benedetto Croce in his book *History as the Story of Liberty* states that all history is contemporary history. The main work of the historian is not to record, but to evaluate, for, if he does not evaluate, how can he know what is worth recording:

The practical requirements which underlie every historical judgement give to all history the character of ‘contemporary history’, because, however remote in time events thus recounted may seem to be, the history in reality refers to present needs and present situations wherein those events vibrate. (qtd. in Carr 21)

Apart from the emphasis on performance oriented nature of theatrical texts Fo also emphasizes their topicality. He believes in the power of spoken word more than the written word. His texts are always open to change.

Grammelot

Fo uses *grammelot*, an onomatopoeic device dating back to the fifteenth century, as an oppositional strategy in his plays. It refers to those sounds which, nonetheless, manage to convey the sense of a speech. In order to make themselves understood in foreign countries, Italian performers adapted the rhythms, sounds and certain key words of various regional dialects and create anti-authoritarian satires throughout Europe. More than an opposition to privileged language, *grammelot* is an anti-textual element, defined entirely in the moment of performance through cadence, intonation, gesture and context. Joylynn Wing holds the view that Fo uses *grammelot* as, “interruption, as oscillation, as explication to counter the literary, cultivated language of the foregrounded figures and to disrupt both the linearity and the propriety of the normative discourse. The gibberish of the clown upstages the cultured language of the court” (12). Fo coins the term “lexical terrorism” for the excessive use of annotations, use of little known words or scarcely known historical figures. He believes that a linguistic content of this nature performed to a working class audience could easily give rise to lexical terrorism where words are used to terrify people. This leads to a virtual division among the audience. The result is, alleges Fo, embarrassment for the majority and the prestigious elevation of those few who

know the origin or the synonyms of these words (Behan 99). Consequently, the dominant class managed to appropriate what it wanted from popular culture, stripped it of its dignity and validity, and presented it back to the people as substandard and inferior.

Popular Storytelling

In an attempt to restore the dignity of popular traditions, Fo based his theatrical style in popular storytelling and variety rather than classical or avant-garde theatre. This interest later encouraged him to research popular medieval theatre in Italy, and he became particularly interested in the role of the *giullari*, the travelling players who performed to townspeople or peasants in public squares. This was a common art form throughout European society, given that similar figures can be identified such as the French *jongleurs* and Spanish *juglare* (Behan 96). According to Fo, the task of the *giullari* was to articulate through gesture, when words were censored, both the real conditions of oppression and the potential, shown through grotesque and laughter, of liberation from that condition (Wing 43). His play *Mistero Buffo* is a dramatic representation of Biblical stories as performed by itinerant plebeian performers of the Middle Ages. Fo's wife Franca Rame once remarked, "Besides being a play, *Mistero Buffo* is also a living newspaper, continuously incorporating current news events and political and cultural satire into performances" (qtd. in Malick). In *Mistero Buffo*, Fo's irreverent re-telling of sacred stories in diverse narrative modes subverts orthodox religion. In most of these stories, Christ's miracles are seen through the eyes of the common people. Just like a *giullare*, Fo, in his plays, attempts to make audience become aware that their position in society is a consequence of the privileges and oppression perpetrated at their expense by another group in society, the ruling class.

Dario Fo believes that the *giullare* has something in common with the Shakesporean fool, but nothing at all with the aristocratic pet who was the court jester. He made his living from what he could earn as he travelled from town to town, and he was willing to turn his hand to storytelling, to acting in the piazzas, to singing, dancing, and acrobatics (*The Tricks* 6). Many of the performances of the *giullari* were based on their reading of the Bible and the Gospels, but the written versions, which were generally commissioned by either the Church or local princes, tended to omit the critical content and irreverent tones which dominated these performances.

Therefore, the relationship between the giullare and Christ is crucial to an understanding of Fo's use of the gospel stories in his plays. As he explains it:

The giullare received that kiss because he was a "poor Christ" too, an underdog who had endured at the hands of the padrone the worst possible sufferings that a slave could imagine. It's that experience which gave him the possibility of opening his mind to others through his buffoonery. It wasn't the miracle of the kiss that gave the peasant the new skills of a giullare. It's the realization of the necessity of rousing all the poor Christs of the world to rebellious anger, and that's what stimulates the comedian of today to become a giullare. (qtd. in Wing 45)

Propaganda Theatre

With his theatrical style rooted in popular forms, Fo introduces a colourful propaganda theatre with a difference. As an intellectual, Fo is engaged in a type of theatrical event which actively incorporates the spectator in the artistic creation of a representation in which both human beings and the world are experienced as "alterable and able to alter" (Brecht 33). He accomplishes this task, both by borrowing liberally from the discoveries of his predecessor, Bertolt Brecht, and by incorporating techniques from his own theatrical tradition in Italy (Wing 165). Like Brecht, and for precisely the same reasons, Fo's strategy is to abolish the naturalistic 'fourth wall' illusion and to establish the actor as an epic storyteller, rather than an incarnation of a psychologically integrated persona. Theatrical representation of either personality or plot as integrated and continuous is objectively false and dangerously misleading according to Brecht:

The continuity of the ego is a myth. A man is an atom that perpetually breaks up and forms anew. We have to show things as they are . . . The bourgeois theatre's performances always aim at smoothing over contradictions, at creating false harmony, at idealization. Conditions are reported as if they could not be otherwise. . . If there is any development it is always steady, never by jerks; the developments always take place within a definite framework which cannot be

broken through. None of this is like reality, so a realistic theatre must give it up.
(277)

Illusion

The danger of a homogenous presentation is that it can lull the audience into a sentimental illusion of identification with the portrayed situation, rather than provoke it into an interaction with a present-time conflict. Disgusted with what he termed a “culinary theatre,” which could be consumed as served, without active engagement on the part of the spectator, Brecht suggests that theatre make use of various distancing effects, to constantly remind the audience of its actual surroundings and to encourage its participation in an active interchange. Ideally, employment of the “Verfremdungseffekt” would facilitate a sense of critical detachment on the part of performer and spectator alike, with socially productive results. As Brechtian scholar Martin Esslin observes:

The destruction of stage illusion, however, is not an end in itself. The “Verfremdungseffekt” has its positive side. By inhibiting the process of identification between the spectator and the characters, by creating a distance between them and enabling the audience to look at the action in a detached and critical spirit, familiar things, attitudes, and situations appear in a new and strange light, and create, through astonishment and wonder, a new understanding of the human situation. (Esslin 119)

Perception of Character

The idea of the actor as a performer who can step in and out of his role, or roles, at will is central to the philosophy of both Brecht and Fo, for the perception of character which is created by a given method of performance has intrinsic social and political implications. Fo states:

In bourgeois theatre the actors tend to speak to one another, and thus the spectator eavesdrops on a story which doesn't involve him, but he empathizes with it, and the actor takes pains to make it his (the story). In this way, he becomes the center of the play, and the audience tries to see itself in the character he represents.

Popular theatre is the complete opposite: no mention is made of the individual, the isolated character above and beyond: it's about togetherness. There is a community dimension in performing theatre, and the characters are a pretext to make the people 'speak.' (*Some Aspects*135)

In Fovian theatre, audiences are not just passive consumers of meaning but creators of meaning. Walter Benjamin aptly sums up this approach: "In order to turn consumers into producers, it is necessary to turn spectators into collaborators" (306). Indeed, Fo has said that the purpose of his theatre is to create a debate, that he doesn't want his theatre to "rain down vertically on people's heads" (*Some Aspects*136). Both Brecht and Fo believe in a aggressive concept of popular culture where people can fight for themselves and bring about cultural revolution. But before people could do it, it is the task of the creative writer to make them believe that such reclamation is possible.

Harbinger of Social, Political and Cultural Revolution

Having discussed in detail, the theatre of Dario Fo we can aptly say that his theatre acts as a harbinger of social, political and cultural revolution. Rooted in the tradition of amateur theatre groups, Fo attempts to translate theatrical experience into political activism by bringing about the carnivalesque aspects of popular Commedia dell arte. As a creative artist and a social rebel, Fo uses the theatrical space to unveil the dynamics of power in society and religion. The unveiling process of his theatrical space gives way to a pugnacious anarchic discourse that puts to test the monolithic discourses of politics and religion. Javed Malick opines that radical form of leftwing resistance is losing its popularity. Leftwing resistance is no longer trendy. If one were to believe "the postmodern prophets of the 'end of history,' 'end of ideology,' and the consequent death of the 'transgressive' kind of political art, Fo's could well be the last great example of his kind in the West" ("Dario Fo's Politics"). Although his plays are rooted in Italian religion and politics, and perhaps, the particular phase of radical ferment which produced Fo is over but the timeless appeal of his plays can be established from the fact that his attack on Roman Catholic Church and its appropriation of the Christian history also seems true in the Indian context where grand narrative of Hinduism engulfed the "truth" of local devotional cults resulting in monopoly of the few and slavery for the majority. Epic conception of his plays contests the notion of a

single, monolithic and immobile truth, which is as corrupt as the notion of a unified, consistent and cohesive theatrical representation, turning spectators into collaborators that can fight for themselves and bring about a cultural revolution.

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Dynamics of History, Power and Dissent: A Study of Theatrical Tradition of Dario Fo 208

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**King Janamejaya and
Former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi – A Comparative Study**

Dr. D. Nagarathinam

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Abstract

King Parikshit was the king of the Kurus, who ruled the kingdom of Hastinapur after the Pandavas and ruled it for a long time truthfully. King was popular among his subjects and was a terror to his enemies. **King Janamejaya** was the son of King Parikshit.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Prime Minister (PM) of independent India. He was the chief framer of domestic and international policies during his term as PM between 1947 and 1964. Smt. Indira Gandhi was the only child of Jawaharlal Nehru.

This paper attempts to draw the similarities between **Mahabharata King Janamejaya episode** and Constitutional scenario of **Indira Gandhi**. Long arguments in the King's court or Court of Law became instrumental to change their perception.

Keywords: Veda Vyasa, Sarpa Satra Yagna, Astika, Vaisampayana, Kesavananda Bharathi, Supreme Court of India, Nana Palkivala, S. M. Sikri.

Introduction

The **Mahabharatham**⁽¹⁻⁶⁾ is an ancient Indian epic where the main story revolves around two branches of a family – the **Pandavas and Kauravas**- who, in the **Kuruksheetra War**, battled for the throne of **Hastinapura**. The **Mahabharatham**, that is, the great **Bharata**, is one of the two most important ancient **epics** of **India**. One of the Indian great sages (rishi) named Vyasa is believed to have composed the work. He is also sometimes called **Veda Vyasa** or **Krishna Dwaipayana**. Vyasa is also considered to be one of the

seven [Chiranjivins](#) (long lived, or immortals), who are still in existence according to Hindu belief. The legend states that the Lord [Ganesh](#) wrote the Mahabharata while [Vyasa](#) dictated the same. The epic contains about 110,000 couplets in eighteen sections. Sage Vyasa taught this epic to his son Suka and his students **Vaisampayana** and others. The Pandavas ruled for 36 years, after which they abdicated in favour of **Abhimanyu's son**, Parikshit. Years later, Parikshit's son succeeded his father as King.

Indira Gandhi⁽¹¹⁾ was the only child of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of independent India. Indira Gandhi was born on November 19, 1917. A highly intelligent young woman, she attended schools in India, Switzerland and England, including Somerville College, Oxford. Indira Gandhi was India's third Prime Minister, serving from 1966 until 1984 with break in between, when her life ended in assassination.

Sarpa Satya Yagna by King Janamejaya

King Janamejaya, son of Parikshit and Iravati, and the grandson of the heroes (Arjun) of the epic, performed a great “**Sarpa Satya Yagna**”, which is also known as snake-sacrifice (yagna)^(7,8,9). Janamejaya had been performing the snake killing ceremony in the grief of his deceased father Parikshit. **Parikshit had been killed due to snake (Takshaka) bite**. It is to be noted that Parikshit was the son of the legendry Abhimanyu. Many great priests and sages were involved in the conduct of this sacrifice. The sacrifice continued for 7 days.

King's Yagna to Kill Takshaka

Aastika was the son of a Rishi named **Jaratkaru** who had devoted his entire life to austerities, starting at a very young age^(8,9). His mother **Manasa alias Jaratkaru was a Naga** and his father a Rishi known as Jaratkaru. Astika was a brilliant scholar, and was very learned in the Vedas and Scriptures. When he was about sixteen, King Janamejaya performed the great snake-sacrifice with the aim of destroying all the snakes. King Janamejaya had only one aim, to get Takshaka into the fire. Snakes were perishing in the flames in thousands. The sacrifice was nearing completion.

Meanwhile, the great serpent Takshaka tried to hide here and there. But, the power that was pulling him was such that he found it hard to resist. Finally, he rushed to his friend and mentor, Indra. The King of gods offered him refuge in heaven. But Takshaka felt the pull even from heaven drawing him gradually towards the sacrificial fire. In the land of serpents, King Vasuki was in a similar situation. When it was too much for him to bear he rushed to his sister, Jaratkaru (Manasa) and asked her to save Taksha and others.

Comparison between King Janamejaya and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

JANAMEJAYA	INDIRA GANDHI
He was born to a King, Parishita	She was born to a Prime Minister, Nehru.
He belongs to Royal Kuru Family	She belongs to Royal Nehru-Gandhi family.
Brought up in a protected and traditional family.	Brought up in a Nehru's protected family.
He ascended to the throne of Hastinapura upon the death of his father Parikshita.	She could become Prime Minister because she is from Nehru's family.
He performed many yagna for the welfare of the people.	She inaugurated and developed many Public Sector Companies for the welfare of the people.
King Janmejjaya carried out a massive snake sacrifice (Great Sarpa Satra Yaga) to kill Takshaka.	She introduced a series of constitutional amendments in Parliament. These amendments gave Parliament uncontrolled power to alter or even abolish any fundamental right.
Great Sarpa Satra Yaga is valid or not? This yaga is challenged by Astika in King Janamejaya Court.	Whether 24 th , 25 th and 29 th amendments acts 1971 are valid or not? These amendments are challenged by the case of Kesavananda Bharathi in Supreme Court of India.
Takshaka and Aastika did not meet and they didn't talk with each other.	Kesavananda Bharathi and Lawyer Nana Palkivala did not meet and they didn't talk

	with each other ⁽²⁴⁾ .
Krishna Dwaipayana @ Vedavyasa acted as the Judge for the Dispute.	13 Eminent Judges Constitutional Bench heard the case which included S. M. Sikri, CJI.
King Janamejaya and Takshaka have had this Conflict.	Judiciary and Parliament have had this Conflict.
There were heated arguments between Aastika and King Janamejaya.	There were heated arguments between N. A. Palkhivala and H.M. Seervai.
Result: Takshaka (Snakes) has a right to life and his entire species was saved.	Result: Basic Feature of our Constitution was saved

Chief Priest Vaisampayana

King Janamejaya continued his yagna. The priests chanted and offered oblations to the Fire. The king goads the priests and they continued the yagna incessantly. Many serpents were seen crawling and falling into the fire. The king ordered the sacrifice to continue without a break so that the new dawn wakes into a world where there will be no snake. The king was jubilant and declared that the sacrifice had been a success. But the chief priest Vaisampayana reported that **Takshaka and his son were yet** to make their appearance and they were behind Indra. The king was shocked.



Fig. 1: King Janamejaya's Sarpa Satya Sacrifice (Yagna)

Courtesy: <http://www.harekrsna.com/sun/features/09-13/features2949.htm>

King Janamejaya told the chief priest to bring the sages who knew the mantras to bring Indra and Takshaka into the Yagna. The chief priest told that the sages who knew the mantras that compel Indra into submission were already on the way.

Entry of Aastika to Snake Sacrifice Yagna

Sage Astika who was in deep meditation in a forest was aroused by the chants. Young sage Aastika had spent years in deep meditation and had developed a glow of divinity around him. Manasa, Vasuki's sister, asked her son to save his uncle. Accordingly, the young sage Aastika shook himself out and was seen walking away.

It was the custom for priests and sages to attend sacrificial rituals like the one performed by Janamejaya. The sage Aastika entered the sacrificial platform. He introduced himself as Aastika and said he was well versed in Vedas and was coming from the land of Gods. Aastika praised the yagna, the manner in which the ritual was performed. He did not omit to give due credit to the priests and sages who performed it so correctly according to the Sastra (science of

rituals) and to the king Janamejaya who arranged it all. King Janamejaya was greatly pleased. He asked the young sage **Aastika** to ask for any gift.

At this time, the chief priest Vaisampayana intervened and said, "O King, the sacrifice is not yet completed. Takshaka, whose destruction you desired, was still alive. Wait till he is falling to the fire, before you begin giving gifts to sage Aastika." ⁽⁶⁾. Janamejaya persisted with his request saying that he would consider it as an honour to give whatever the Aastika desired most that is within the King's powers to offer. Also, the King expressed his happiness and hoped his presence would help bring the Yagna to a conclusion.

Aastika Demanded to Save the Life of Takshaka

Then, Aastika spoke. The **only gift** that would make him happy was that the **sacrifice must stop immediately**. By then Takshaka had already appeared in the sky and was about to fall into the fire. Janamejaya was shocked. All his efforts would go as waste. He tried to persuade the sage Aastika to ask for anything else, however might be the unlimited wealth. But, Aastika would not budge from his demand. Aastika told that as per his mother's command he came here to save Takshaka, **not for wealth**. Then there was a heated argument between King Janamejaya and Aastika. King Janamejaya told that Aastika had cheated him. But Aastika replied that the **Vedas say that he can do anything to save somebody's life**. Finally they accepted the intervention of Veda Vyasa as their Judge to solve their disputes.

Intervention of Veda Vyasa as Judge

In front of Veda Vyasa a great debate between Janamejaya and Aastika was held. At last, Vyasa blessed Takshaka that **he has a Right to his Life** and he put an end to this debate. Vyasa also told that he did not find any flaw in Aastika's arguments. Whatever Aastika said was right. So, King Janamejaya must offer Takshaka's life just as he promised and let the Snake-Sacrifice end without completion.

Indira Gandhi



Indira Gandhi 1917-1984

Courtesy: <http://www.culturalindia.net/leaders/indira-gandhi.html>

Indira Gandhi (1917-1984) was the only child of Kamla and Jawaharlal Nehru. She received her college education at Somerville College, Oxford. A famous photograph from her childhood shows her sitting by the bedside of Mahatma Gandhi. She was not actively involved in the freedom struggle, but she came to know the entire Indian political leadership.

In 1964, the year of her father's death, Indira Gandhi was for the first time elected to Parliament, and she was Minister of Information and Broadcasting in the government of Lal Bahadur Shastri. Lal Bahadur Shastri died unexpectedly of a heart attack less than two years after assuming office and Indira Gandhi could become Prime Minister after his death.

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Iron Lady of India

During her period, India was achieving tangible success through advancements of the **Green Revolution**. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi issued an ordinance and **nationalised the 14 largest commercial banks** with effect from the midnight of 19th July, 1969 which is considered as an economic milestone of India. It contributed significantly to regional development and to the expansion of India's industrial and agricultural base. This move proved to be fruitful as it improved the geographical coverage of banks with the number of branches rising from 8200 to 62000. Furthermore, nationalization of banks increased household savings and saw investment in small and medium-sized enterprises and agricultural sector.

Indira Gandhi nationalized Insurance companies, mineral resources, Heavy industries including, coal, steel, copper and refining industries, to safeguard the interests of common people of India. The main aim of this move was to protect employment and secure the interest of the organised labor. She also nationalized oil companies so that air-force and navy need not depend on foreign owned companies. She oversaw the implementation of over three **Five-year plans** - two of which were

successful in meeting the targeted growth. Many **Public Sector Companies (PSU)** were started for the economic development of India and also for the younger generation employment opportunities. This resulted in a good number of Small and medium enterprises as a sub unit of PSU or PSC. She introduced equal pay for equal work for both men and women. She put an end for the Privy Purse given to royalty since 1947 by successfully passing the 26th Amendment to the Constitution of India in 1971. She led the country in its darkest time, a time some attribute to her rule controversially. Indira Gandhi's skill with politics is one unsurpassed by most politicians. Because of these she is popularly known as the **Iron Lady of India**.

Indira Gandhi earned a formidable reputation across the globe as a 'statesman'.

Indira's Campaign Slogan - Remove Poverty

Her campaign slogan, **Remove Poverty** (Garibi Hatao), had become the iconic motto of the Indian National Congress. There were several achievements that Indira Gandhi achieved during her Prime Ministership. Those achievements were remarkable in Indian History. To the rural and urban poor, Dalits, minorities and women in India, Indira Gandhi was "**Indira Amma or Mother Indira**".

War with Pakistan during 1971

Indira Gandhi was riding the crest of popularity after India's triumph in the **war of 1971 against Pakistan**, and the explosion of a **nuclear device in 1974** helped enhance her reputation among middle-class Indians as a tough and shrewd political leader. Indira Gandhi was the second longest serving and one of the most popular and powerful Prime Ministers of India.

Most Powerful Woman of 20th Century

Indira Gandhi is admired globally as the most **charismatic political leader** of India. She was the first woman elected to lead a democracy and the world's longest serving woman Prime Minister from 1966 to 1984 with break, when she was assassinated. She had remarkable endurance and ambition whilst building a formidable international reputation. Thus, she was listed as one of the "**Most Powerful Women of the Century**". Her **20 Points Programme** was a bold way to bring prosperity to the poor. She was a woman of vision, courage and foresight. She was the worthy daughter of the worthy parents, who made history to perform her duty. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi enacted and successfully brought out many **Amendments in the Constitution in India** in order to help the poor and the middle class people. She **declared that she was for the people** of India and the people were for her. Major amendments to the Constitution of India (the 24th, 25th, 26th and 29th) had been enacted by Indira Gandhi's Government through Parliament in 1971. In the Landmark case, **Kesavananda Bharati Vs State of Kerala**⁽¹⁶⁻²⁰⁾ the validity of 24th, 25th and 29th amendments to the Constitution of India were challenged.

Indian Constitutional Law

The **Constitution of India** is the supreme law of [India](#)^(16,17,18). A Constitution of a Country may be Unitary or Federal. Unitary Constitution gives all the powers to Central Government. E.g., British Constitution. In Federal Constitution the powers are distributed between central and state governments. E.g. American constitution. The **Constitution of India** is neither purely federal nor purely unitary but it is a combination of both. The Constitution of India lays down the framework defining fundamental political principles, establishes the structure, procedures, powers and duties of government institutions and sets out fundamental rights, [directive principles](#) and the duties of citizens. It is the longest written constitution of any sovereign country in the world. [B. R. Ambedkar](#), the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, is widely considered to be its chief architect.

His Holiness Keshvananda Bharati Vs State of Kerala

The case is called in the annals of Indian judicial history, got its name from Keshvananda Bharati a Pontiff of the mutt. On **24 April, 1973** the case was decided, which has been playing a great role between Judiciary and Parliament from then till today. The *Kesavananda Bharati* case was the culmination of a serious conflict between the judiciary and the government, then headed by Mrs Indira Gandhi. **The story begins with Golaknath Case, 1967** ⁽²¹⁾, in which the petitioner challenged the **7th** Constitutional Amendment Act, 1964 under Article 32 for violation of his fundamental rights. The Apex Court ruled, “Parliament cannot take away or abridge and amend any of the fundamental rights, even cannot touch, because these are sacrosanct in nature”. Parliament passed the **24th** and **25th** Amendments Act in **1971** and overruled the verdict of Golaknath Case, and expressed that, “we, the Parliament can Amend Anything in the Constitution, and Judiciary have no power to review”. Between the conflicts, Supreme Court got an opportunity to review the Amendment Acts in 1973, when the famous case of [Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala](#) came before the Apex Court, where the petitioner challenged these Amendments. First Time in the Indian Judiciary, 13 judges gathered to hear this case, and on 24

April, 1973, a very divided Judgement was passed by the majority of seven judges, including Chief Justice S.M. Sikiri, and was decided by a thin margin of 7–6⁽¹⁶⁻²⁰⁾. In this case Justice H.R. KHANNA laid down the Principle of Basic Feature and Structure of Doctrine for the Constitution, which cannot be altered or destroyed by any of the Constitutional Amendments Acts passed by the Parliament.



Photo of Kesavananda Bharati in 2013: Courtesy *The Hindu*

In Kesavananda case, Majority of judges held, “Government can Amend the fundamental rights of the Constitution by **Article 368**, but without changing the Basic Feature, Structure and Nature of the Constitution .” And the Court further held that, “ Preamble is the Integral Part of the Constitution⁽²³⁾.

Conclusion

Vyasa declared that Takshaka has Right to Life. The life of Takshaka was saved and he had given direction to King Janamejaya to stop the Snake Sacrifice Yagna. In Kesavananda Bharati case, one main question in the Supreme Court of India was: Is the power of Parliament to amend the Constitution of India unlimited? The 13-Judges Bench gave the verdict that

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The Principle of Basic Structure Doctrine for the Constitution could not be altered or destroyed by any of the Constitutional amendments acts passed by the Parliament. It was declared all around that the Indian Democracy was saved by the Kesavananda Bharati case.

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Fluency in Discourse for Female RHD Participants

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Abstract

This paper conducts a cross sectional study on 4 Bangla speaking RHD (right hemisphere of the brain damaged) participants at the level of discourse, along with 4 age and gender matched controls. We are looking at the fluency in discourse, for these participants. Fluency or words spoken per minute is the number of words spoken in a minute. While making a discourse, every person has an average rate at which they speak and this is fluency in discourse. The average rate at which a person speaks in a discourse has been manually calculated from the mentioned 4 RHD and 4 control participants and then tabulated and compared. Participants with damage to the right hemisphere of the brain have been seen to have stammering speech and a slower rate of fluency in comparison with normal people. This paper puts that hypothesis to the test and compares 4 RHD participants with 4 age- and gender-matched normal controls.

The study procedure consisted of narrating two short stories to the participants and then requesting them to narrate back the story, which was recorded by the researcher. The recordings were analyzed in Praat, where the number of words spoken in a minute or fluency in discourse was calculated. Fluency was tabulated using Ms. Excel. The 4 participants have been compared to single controls and to the mean of the whole group.

This paper has found out that there is a marked difference between the fluency ranges of the RHD participants at 123 words per minute in comparison with the controls at 132 words per minute, proving that RHD participants have a lesser rate of words per minute spoken in discourse.

1. Introduction

The right hemisphere of the brain primarily controls the voluntary activities in the left side of the body. Apart from that it imparts personalities to human beings, making us unique and novel and different from each other. The right hemisphere of the brain is also responsible for helping us comprehend the theme of situations, in particular, of discourses. It helps in understanding what is being spoken about, so that we can speak relevant things. The right hemisphere further helps with understanding metaphors and imageries. The right hemisphere is responsible for giving us the sense of perception and when it is damaged the subjects affected can lose the sense of perception. Left side of the body neglect is very common among subjects with right hemisphere damage. The right hemisphere helps recognise tones in voices as well as other para-linguistic cues in voice which help us understand conversations better. The right hemisphere also gives us the ability to use the frequency modulations, we do, in normal conversations to express various para-linguistic messages along with normal speech (Springer, Deutsch, 1993, Weisenberg, 1935, Rachel and Crow, 2005, Metcalfe, Funnell and Gazzaniga, 1995, Moor, 1982, Robinson, Kubos, Starr, Rao, Price, 1984, Vallar, Perani, 1986, Bihrllea, Brownell, Powelsona and Gardnerc, 1986, Ozonoff, Miller, 1996, Gordon, Hewer, Wade, 1987, Narang, 2009).

However, in this research paper, we shall take a look at the fluency rate in discourse. We shall compare four right hemisphere damaged female participants (to be henceforth referred to as RHD participants) in comparison with age and gender matched controls. We shall also compare them to the mean of the whole RHD group (mean of all the RHD participants) and the mean of the whole control group.

1.1. The Present Study

The present study falls under the broad area of neurolinguistics. It is an empirical study which involves the collection of primary data RHD participants along with age and gender matched normal controls preferably from the same family as the RHD subjects. It is not a longitudinal study. It is a cross sectional study. The present study would look into the fluency rates of words spoken per minute by RHD participants in comparison with age and gender matched normal controls, at the level of discourse.

In the next section we shall do a short literature review of relevant literature to understand the nature and intensity of damage. Throughout my field study, I have come across various RHD participants and it was a clear fact that the fluency at which we can speak differs in every individual but RHD participants generally have a much lower fluency rate in comparison with normal people. This also makes it difficult for the listener to understand speech. The literature review shall discuss similar issues, faced by researchers before. We shall discuss the research methodology in the section following literature review and it would elaborate the various steps taken throughout the field study, for studying the participants, as well as controls from the same family or similar socio-economic backgrounds. This would be followed by a section called case study, which would discuss the background of the RHD participants included in this study. The final section would house the discussions and analysis found from the data presented in the subsequent sections.

2. Literature Review

A paper by Ropper A.H., *Severe dysarthria with right hemisphere stroke*, mentions that stroke to the right hemisphere can cause highly slurred speech. It is also accompanied by variable degrees of hemiparesis depending on the degree of brain damage. The author has done a test involving dysarthric participants and has come to the conclusion that dysarthria can be caused due to a lesion in the right brain. Participants with dysarthria have difficulties in articulating vowels. They have a problem in using the active articulators of speech. Depending on the degree of damage of an individual and the right brain, the level of control in RHD participants depends and varies. The acoustic vowel space for such individuals also vary depending on the amount of brain damage caused. (Ropper, 1987, 1061-63)

The article *Dysphagia In Acute Stroke* (Caroline Gordon, 1987) studied the incidence, duration and reason for dysphagia in stroke patients. Dysphagia is referred to a clinical condition in which a subject is unable to swallow food due to loss of motor control from the parts concerned. A total of 91 subjects were tested on as random selections. 41 subjects were admitted with dysphagia and 37 subjects out of the 41 subjects had a lesion in any one of the hemispheres. Seven subjects had lesions in both the brain hemispheres. Nineteen of these subjects regained

back the ability to swallow in fourteen days from the date of their strokes. The authors conclude by stating that stroke in any one hemisphere of the brain can cause more incidences of dysphagia than unilateral stroke to both the hemispheres. In unilateral stroke cases, as the author states and hypothesises, due to cerebral oedema to the brain stem, one can lose control of the motor activities inside the mouth; but this does not explain all cases. The central cerebral artery is responsible for the supply of blood to many regions which are responsible for swallowing. Infarctions at such regions and ischemic strokes, can cause swallowing problems. There is also another scenario in which it has been noted that many apraxic subjects have displayed dysphagia. Regarding this, it has been hypothesized that brain regions responsible for swallowing might be near to the regions which cause apraxia in the brain. There is no hard and fast factor which can be pointed out for dysphagia in subjects. (Caroline Gordon, Richard Langton Hewer, Derick T. Wade, 1987)

Ropper mentions that damage to the right hemisphere of the brain also causes slurred speech, in the paper Severe dysarthria with right hemisphere stroke (Ropper, 1987, pp 1061-63). The more the area damaged, the more the level of slurring. Subjects with damage to the right hemisphere of the brain have problems in articulating vowels, as a result. They also have a very limited frequency range in their speech, according to Behrens, in the paper Characterizing sentence intonation in a right hemisphere-damaged population (Behrens, 1989). They have much lesser range between their maximum and minimum pitch. It has also been noticed that they have a much lesser f₀ or fundamental frequency level. Subjects with damage to the right hemisphere display problems in modulating their fundamental frequency. It has also been noticed in the paper The Role of the right hemisphere in emotional communication (Blonder, Bowers, Heilman, 1990, pp 1115-27) that damage to the right hemisphere can cause the inability to understand facial expressions, tones, metaphors, imageries and the comprehension of gestures, emotions without spoken communication and so on. Such subjects suffer major disruptions in nonverbal communication.

According to the book, Left Brain Right Brain by Springer and Deutsch, damage to the posterior left temporal cortex or Wernicke's area causes problems in speech comprehension. Participants with such an aphasia have problems in understanding what is being told to them. They have major problems in understanding communication, yet they have no problems in

speaking correct sentences, no matter how absurd they sound. Their sentences are grammatically correct. Anomic aphasia refers to a condition of an individual who has problems in recalling words. Any person who is affected by anomic aphasia has extreme problems in remembering names and coming up with words for a sentence they are speaking. Primary Progressive aphasia refers to a condition where an individual gradually loses the ability to read, write, and speak or to comprehend. While the wide horizon of communication windows slowly lessens down for such participants they develop new ways to communicate with other human beings like gestural communication. Deaf people use sign language to speak. Sign language is a fully developed way of speaking for deaf signers. It has been noted that deaf people with aphasia have similar problems as normal participants with aphasia. Global aphasia refers to a condition when a person has a widespread brain damage and two or more symptoms and kinds of aphasias take place at once. Participants with global aphasia can have symptoms of both Broca's aphasia and Wernicke's aphasia with the effects of right hemisphere damage added to it. The subject at times might not be able to move a complete body hemisphere or be under hemiplegia. (Springer and Deutsch 1993, 153-55)

In the book *Introduction to Aphasia, Handbook of Neurological Speech and Language Disorders* (Kirshner, 1998), the author mentions that the process of recognition of audio starts with the ears, or in other words, the auditory pathway starts with the ears. The eight cranial nerves convey the signal to the area 41 and 42 of Broadman's area, which are further responsible for analysing the signals. The Heschls gyri is located on the superior surface of the superior temporal gyrus, which in turn is buried inside the sylvian fissure. Similarly the visual cortex is responsible for the visual pathway. The primary visual area is called the striate cortex. The posterior areas of the left hemisphere are responsible for processing sensory information into language, and the right hemisphere, specifically the Exner's area. Speech also involves the Basal ganglia, which is also responsible for motor activity in the body. The thalamus of the brain acts like a relaying centre which sits above the diencephalon and since it contains motor relay units, it sends the sensory information to the Wernicke's area and Broadman's area 39, which in turn is believed to be responsible for associating information from various sensory streams. (Kirshner, Howard S, 1998)

The right hemisphere activation levels are high while a person is reading a story, listening to a conversation or even listening to a talk passively. The imaging machines have let us to an understanding that the left hemisphere is not enough to listen and understand discourses. Participants without any sort of brain damage had been tested at labs and it was found out that the right hemisphere had more lit up sections during making discourses and listening to talks than the left hemisphere. The temporal lobe activity has been lateralized in the right hemisphere highly and this proves that the right hemisphere is responsible for an understanding in discourses. On being asked “Can you open the door for me”, a typical RHD patient would answer in ‘yes’ or ‘no’ because they have lost the ability to understand the pragmatic reference of the question being asked but a subject without any brain damage would easily understand the meaning such a question and open the door for the person asking the question. Participants with RHD do not have the ability to differentiate between the literal meaning of the question and the real meaning of the question asked, with reference to the situation because we know that they have lost the ability to use the right hemisphere in communication and they cannot recall the other meanings of the words being used in the question. According to Tim J Crow and Rachel L C. Mitchell, the right brain is necessary for humans to comprehend discourses. (Rachel and Crow, 2005, 963-78)

Subjects with damage to the right hemisphere of the brain can be affected with hemiplegia or hemiparesis, depending on the level of damage. As mentioned in the book, Introduction to Neurolinguistics (Ahlsen, 2006, pp 6), subjects with damage to the right hemisphere of the brain can be suffering from left hemisphere neglect, even if their left side of the body is still under their control. Depending on the level of damage, subjects lose ability to participate in discourses properly and the ability to comprehend metaphors, imageries, sarcasm, humor and emotional prosody. The paper *Beyond the right hemisphere: brain mechanisms mediating vocal emotional processing* (Schirmer, Kotz, 2006, pp 24-30) states that the right hemisphere of the brain is responsible for judging emotions in speech and moods in speech. This ability of the right brain is an asset to the process of evolution in the human race. Acoustic cues like, frequency of voice and range of voice and temporal movements are analysed by the right hemisphere of the brain.

Strokes to the left hemisphere of the brain might cause problems in the language faculty of a human being and the same to the right hemisphere of a human being might disrupt orientation, theme understanding, discourse understanding and the overall understanding of metaphors and sarcasms and so on. Aphasia might follow any kind of stroke to the left hemisphere damaging either the Broca's area or the Wernicke's area, respectively in the frontal lobe and the temporal lobe. Stroke to any other place might cause no speech disorder but might cause apraxia or hemiplegia of the right hemisphere. (Ahlsen, 2006, p. 17)

A case study of 12 patients was carried out by Vaishna Narang as described in her book (Narang, 2009, p. 93) on 12 native Punjabi speakers who were affected by stroke. This study tested participants for the lexical level, sentence level and discourse level of communication. The study was conducted to understand the effect of stroke in LHD and RHD participants in comparison with normal controls in the lexical, sentence and discourse level. The results of the sentence level of study revealed that RHD subjects were most affected while either comprehending tones or pitch levels in a sentence or producing tones and pitch when compared with normal controls, in a sentence.

Praat is a software which can be used (Praat: Home, 2015) to find out formants, pitch, intensity and other acoustic data from sound files while working with phonological data. Praat can also be used to segment sounds, de-noise sound files and to monitor sound spectrograms for further analysis. Other tools like palatography and electropalatography can help understand the active and passive articulators and the exact regions of articulation.

Agniva Pal's (2016) unpublished M.Phil. thesis on Language and Speech of the RHD, presents the study 18 right hemisphere damaged participants in comparison with their age and gender matched normal controls. It studies the deviations at the level of discourse, frequency at the level of sentences and vowels as used in words at the level of speech. At the level of discourse it studied the duration of discourse, the fluency in discourse, comprehension and digressions in speech. It included some personal and subjective views from the researcher regarding the facial expressions and emotional quotients. At the level of sentences, it studied the fundamental frequency as a measure for pitch levels in declarative sentences for continuous

speech. It studied fluency in discourse by manually calculating the number of words spoken per minute. It was found out that RHD participants have much lesser fluency rates in comparison with the control group participants. At the level of vowels as in words. The acoustic space of vowels in cases of RHD and Controls was studied in detail using all peripheral vowels in the Bengali language. It is interesting to note that in some cases the acoustic space of vowels was reduced to as small as 9%, 13%, 23%, 43% to 70% and 90%. In the cases with more than 70% acoustic space, the deviations were not audible without tools and instruments. It is also important to notice that no major difference was found between the RHD group and the control group in terms of vowel duration.

The Glasgow Coma scale is a test, which can be administered only by clinical persons on patients and participants to understand the extent of coma. GCS can actually help a researcher understand how terminally ill a participant is. The scores are distributed as such: Eye (4), Verbal (5), and Motor (6). The maximum score is 15. A score of under 11 is considered critical. A score under 8 is considered fatal. A score under 15 needs urgent attention and care. (Glasgow Coma Scale/Score (GCS), 2017) The NIMHANS neurophysiological battery serves a similar purpose. (Rao SL, Subhkrishnan DK, Gopulkumar K, 2004)

The Mini Mental State Examination or MMSE is a very common way to test problems of memory loss and other related mental abilities. It lets a researcher understand if an individual is suffering from dementia or not. Prior medical records of a person can further substantiate the results of an MMSE exam. There are various questions in an MMSE exam, the full marks being 30. A score of 27 or more is expected from undamaged individuals with no dementia. There is a hindi version of the MMSE exam available in India called the Hindi Mental State Examination (Ganguli et al, 1993). (The MMSE test, 2017)

3. Research Methodology

The present study is a neurolinguistic study, which uses tools and methodologies from general linguistics as well as neurolinguistics. The present research uses audio recordings to find out the fluency rates in Bangla speaking cases of Right Hemisphere Damage through the use of Praat to playback the recordings. At the level of discourse, the participants were required to

listen to two short stories and then narrate the same story back to the researcher, being as close to the original story as possible. At the level of sentences the participants were asked to read out a list of 9 sentences.

Linguistic fieldwork requires the researcher to make the participants feel comfortable. It is absolutely a necessity that the participants feel normal and stable for the researcher to record unbiased opinions, recordings or videos. If the participant is not speaking the way he or she speaks normally, it would entail some prejudice in the data for that research. It can skew the entire data of the research. (Max Planck, 11) If the participant is from a tribal community or from an extremely backward region, he or she must be made to feel comfortable. A working rapport with the participant and the researcher can ease up the process of data collection largely.

3.1. Participant Selection

Preferably, monolingual Bangla speaking participants who have damage to the right hemisphere of the brain, have been selected. Controls chosen are generally members of the same family with age and gender matching. In case no one from the same family was available for the research according to the parameters mentioned above, age and gender matched control participants were chosen from the same socio- economic background.

3.2. Inclusion And Exclusion Criteria

Primarily, the research data elicitation began with random sampling. The inclusion criteria had been set after a few random samplings. The Mini Mental State Exam ensured the current state of the participants, both RHD and healthy participants, and a score of 25-30 would ensure, that they are not suffering from any other sort of disorders which might sabotage the data. The Glasgow Coma Scale with a score of at least 11 would also ensure similar levels of severity of all participants and that no participant is under coma, which might sabotage the data. The exclusion criteria would make sure that participants in the ICU, or participants with extreme disabilities would not be selected. The other criteria have been determined after the random sampling phase.

3.3. Ethical Clearance

Any research involving human participants, being conducted by JNU students, requires an ethical clearance from the JNU Institutional Ethics Review Board (IERB). A detailed description of the research proceedings and the involvement details of the participants have to be submitted to the JNU IERB while presenting one's research proposal to receive ethical clearance. The ethical clearance for the present research, granted by IERB, JNU is attached in the appendix. For working with human participants, other than being granted an ethical clearance from JNU IERB, a researcher also needs a PIS ICF form. When a participant agrees to provide information for a certain research, he or she has to sign a form with detailed information about the research (including information like a brief introduction, research objectives, nature of involvement of the subjects and how the information will be used).

3.4. Field Study

To acquire a steady flow of participants, Bangur Institute of Neurosciences, Kolkata was approached. Dr, Goutam Ganguly, from the above-mentioned institute, was requested to help with the present research. The participant selection procedure, according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria, have all taken place under his supervision. Participants have been documented in details. A specific format for documenting participants was created and used. Such forms for all participants have been filled with details of the subject like the place of lesion or lesions, the time post incidence, the present condition, the symptoms and so on. In the primary information section, name, age and gender of the subjects have also be documented, although this is purely for documenting the data and related purposes. The names of the participants have not been used in the present research; instead codes have been used.

3.5. Coding Participants

Participants have been coded according to the following table:

Serial number	Name initials	Age	Gender	R / C
00	AB	50	M	R
01	AC	55	F	C

The above table explains the process of coding the names for the participants in the present study. The unique serial number for every participant is an 8 digit code. The first two digits are allotted according to alphabetical order of the participants. The initials of the name have engaged the next two digits. The next two digits have been used by the age followed by a single digit for gender. The last digit is either R (signifying RHD) or C (signifying controls). For example 00AB50MR, 01AC55FC as stated in the table above.

3.6. Tools and Instruments

This section houses all the various tools, either technical or linguistic. Linguistic research requires recording equipment and softwares. Linguistic research requires the ability to transcribe spoken speech for further analysis using various softwares like Praat, Goldwave and Elan. Praat for Mac and Windows (Boersma, 2001) has been used for playing back the recordings. Praat is a free software for analyzing and doing phonetics on personal computers. (Praat: Home, 2015)

Microsoft Excel was primarily used to save the primary data after being processed from Praat. Microsoft Excel, a program based on spreadsheets helps in creating the charts necessary to compare two groups of data. (Excel: Create Order, 2015)

The main research has been written with the help of Microsoft Word. Microsoft Word is an efficient document handling program. (Word: Write On, 2015)

Primary recording has been conducted with a ZOOM H1 field recorder. It is a handy microphone with functions like low cut and PCM lossless recording formats.

The fluency rates in discourse have been found by following the following set of processes:

1. Record the stories and 9 sentences from the participants.
2. Open the files in Praat, separately.
3. Play back the discourse recording.
4. Count the number of words spoken by the participants in the total discourse recording.

5. Find out the number of words spoken by all participants in one minute.
6. Calculate the amount of time taken by the participants to complete the recording.
7. Calculate the time taken to read out 9 sentences.
8. Note down the relevant fluency figures and times in MS Excel.
9. Create table and graph with the info.

3.7. The Stories

The following stories were narrated to the participants in Bangla.

The Hart and the Hunter

The Hart was once drinking from a pool and admiring the noble figure he made there. "Ah," said he, "where can you see such noble horns as these, with such antlers! I wish I had legs more worthy to bear such a noble crown; it is a pity they are so slim and slight."

At that moment a Hunter approached and sent an arrow whistling after him.

Away bounded the Hart, and soon, by the aid of his nimble legs, was nearly out of sight of the Hunter; but not noticing where he was going, he passed under some trees with branches growing low down in which his antlers were caught, so that the Hunter had time to come up. "Alas! Alas!" cried the Hart: "We often despise what is most useful to us"

The Frogs Desiring a King

A few frogs lived happily in a marshy swamp that was perfect but then they started to look for a king who would rule them. They prayed to God to give them a king. God sent them a big block of wood and it fell right into the marsh. At first, they were afraid of its size but then they slowly got used to it and realized it was not moving. They finally, climbed to the top of it and conquered their king. They prayed to God again, this time asking for a live king who would actually rule over them. Now this made Jove angry, so he sent among them a big Stork that soon set to work gobbling them all up.

Then the Frogs repented when too late.

4. Case Study

This section displays important information about every RHD participant. It primarily provides primary information about the female RHD participants. This section primarily begins with the codified name, followed by the control participant the RHD participant is being compared with. It also includes the MMSE and GCS scores, the time post incidence and a short description of the condition of the participant. The area of damage in the brain follows the above-mentioned sections.

4.1. CASE STUDY 1

PRIMARY INFO

Codified Name: 22CS62FR

Female, 62 years of age, at the time of recording and case study.

Age and gender matched control: 03NS64FC

Time since incidence: 1 months post incidence, at the time of recording.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Condition of participant: The participant was fully conscious, having scored more than 11 on the GCS. She also scored 27 on the MMSE.

The speech of the participant was slightly slurred but was understandable. The total loudness of her speech went down, according to her family members.

The doctor also performed a test in which he held both her hands in his hands and then asked her to keep them where he is holding them, after he lets her hands go. She could maintain the position, but her left hand fell a fair bit, before she regained control. According to the doctor, these are subtle signs of the stroke to the right hemisphere.

Observations made by doctor: The doctor mentions that she has no agraphia, no dementia, as well as no alexia. Participant is not hypertensive.

Region of damage: A small sub-acute ischemic infarct at right capsule-thalamic region.

4.2. CASE STUDY 2

PRIMARY INFO

Codified Name: 23GD65FR

Female, 65 years of age, at the time of recording and case study.

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Age and gender matched control: 03NS64FC

Time since incidence: approximately 6 months post incidence, at the time of recording.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Condition of participant: The participant was fully conscious, having scored more than 11 on the GCS. She also scored 28 on the MMSE.

The speech of the participant was not slurred and was completely understandable. The total loudness of her speech went down, according to her family members and could be noticed while making conversations with her, as well as the recording sessions.

The family of the participant assured that she was facing no problems in eating.

The doctor also performed a test in which he held both her hands in his hands and then asked her to keep them where he is holding them, after he lets her hands go. She could maintain the position, but her left hand fell a fair bit, before she regained control. According to the doctor, these are subtle signs of the stroke to the right hemisphere.

Observations made by doctor: The doctor mentions that she has no agraphia, no dementia, as well as no alexia. Participant is hypertensive.

Region of damage: An acute lacunar infarct at the right parietal lobe.

4.3. CASE STUDY 3

PRIMARY INFO

Codified Name: 24NB50FR

Female, 50 years of age, at the time of recording and case study.

Age and gender matched control: 06RB56FC

Time since incidence: approximately 4 months post incidence, at the time of recording.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Condition of participant: The participant was fully conscious, having scored more than 11 on the GCS. She also scored 26 on the MMSE.

The speech of the participant was slightly slurred, due to left hemiparesis, but was understandable.

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On being asked to name colors, she could name them correctly.

The doctor also performed a test in which he held both her hands in his hands and then asked her to keep them where he is holding them, after he lets her hands go. She could maintain the position of the right hand, but her left hand fell down. She kept trying, but she could barely move her left hand.

Observations made by doctor: The doctor mentions that she has no agraphia, no dementia, as well as no alexia. Participant is hypertensive.

Region of damage: Haemorrhage in the right basal ganglia.

4.4. CASE STUDY 4

PRIMARY INFO

Codified Name: 25UG58FR.

Female, 58 years of age, at the time of recording and case study.

Age and gender matched control: 07SB60FC

Time since incidence: approximately 1 year post incidence, at the time of recording.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Condition of participant: The participant was fully conscious, having scored a perfect 15 on the GCS. She also scored 29 on the MMSE.

The speech of the participant was not slurred, and was completely understandable.

She mentioned that she has no problems in eating.

The doctor also performed a test in which he held both her hands in his hands and then asked her to keep them where he is holding them, after he lets her hands go. She could maintain the position of both the hands.

Observations made by doctor: The doctor mentions that she has no agraphia, no dementia, as well as no alexia. Participant is not hypertensive. Participant does not have enough loudness in speech and has minimal expressions while conversing.

Region of damage: Massive infarct at the right basal ganglia.

Analysis and Discussion

In this section, we will take a look at the fluency rates of the participants in the discourse recordings and then compare the time they took to complete reading out 9 sentences. We shall do the comparisons in a tabulated form, followed by graphical representations. We shall compare the following variables (along with their abbreviations) in the following tables and graphs:

1. S1 TW – Total number of words spoken by a participant in the whole discourse recording in story 1
2. S2 TW – Total number of words spoken by a participant in the whole discourse recording in story 1
3. S1 WPM – The number of words spoken per minute in story 1
4. S2 WPM – The number of words spoken per minute in story 2
5. COM TW – Total words spoken by participants in combined mean of two stories –
Combined mean of the two stories
6. COM WPM – The number of words spoken in a minute by participants in the combined mean of two stories
7. MEAN TIME – The total amount of time taken to complete the discourse recording

22CS62FR	22CS62FR						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	98	66	81	60	89	63	85
07SB60FC	07SB60FC						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	163	102	102	120	136	111	74
23GD65FR	23GD65FR						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	104	156	70	162	87	159	33
03NS64FC	03NS64FC						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	178	144	118	120	146	132	67
24NB50FR	24NB50FR						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	104	156	106	168	105	162	39
04ND51FC	04ND51FC						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	208	150	161	156	185	153	73
25UG58FR	25UG58FR						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	74	96	82	120	78	108	44
06RB56FC	06RB56FC						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	118	120	135	114	127	117	65
MEANFR	MEANFR						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	95	119	85	128	90	123	50
MEANFC	MEANFC						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	167	129	129	128	148	128	70
NARRATOR	NARRATOR						
	S1TW	S1WPM	S2TW	S2WPM	COMTW	COMWPM	MEANTIME
	182	156	157	168	174	166	63

Table 1: A table comparing the fluency rates of the participants along with the total time taken for the narration of the stories

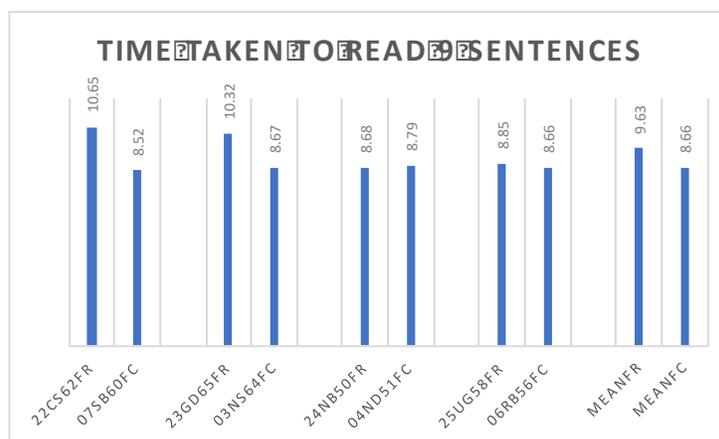


Fig 1: Figure showing the time taken to read all the 9 sentences; comparing RHD participants and control participants.

We can discern the following from table 1 and figure 1 above:

1. The original story 1 had 182 words and the original story 2 had 168 words. The NARRATOR read out the stories to all the participants, hence used exactly the same number of words every time while narrating the stories.
2. MEANFR has narrated the first story in 95 words compared to MEANFC, who used 167 words. The original story 1 contained 182 words in comparison. MEANFR has a fluency rate of 119 wpm in the first story while MEANFC has a fluency rate of 129 words per minute.
3. MEANFR has narrated the second story in 85 words compared to MEANFC, who used 129 words. The original story 2 contained 157 words in comparison. MEANFR has a fluency rate of 128 wpm in the second story, while MEANFC has a fluency rate of 128 words per minute.
4. MEANFR has used a total of 90 words in the mean of the two stories in comparison with MEANFC, who used 148 words. The mean of the original two stories contained 174 words in comparison. MEANFR has a fluency rate of 123 wpm in the mean of the two stories and took 50 seconds to complete narrating, while MEANFC has a fluency rate of 128 words per minute and took 70 seconds to complete narrating.
5. MEANFR took 9.63 seconds to complete reading out 9 sentences while MEANFC took 8.66 seconds to read out the 9 sentences.
6. 22CS62FR has narrated the first story in 98 words compared to 07SB60FC, who used 163 words. The original story 1 contained 182 words in comparison. 22CS62FR has a fluency rate of 66 wpm in the first story while 07SB60FC has a fluency rate of 102 words per minute.
7. 22CS62FR has narrated the second story in 81 words compared to 07SB60FC, who used 102 words. The original story 2 contained 157 words in comparison. 22CS62FR has a fluency rate of 60 wpm in the second story, while 07SB60FC has a fluency rate of 120 words per minute.
8. 22CS62FR has used a total of 89 words in the mean of the two stories in comparison with 07SB60FC, who used 136 words. The mean of the original two stories contained 174 words in comparison. 22CS62FR has a fluency rate of 63 wpm in the mean of the two stories and took 85 seconds to complete narrating, while 07SB60FC has a fluency rate of 111 words per minute and took 74 seconds to complete narrating.
9. 22CS62FR took 10.65 seconds to complete reading out 9 sentences while 07SB60FC took 8.52 seconds to read out the 9 sentences.

10. We can notice slower and shorter speech in 22CS62FR in comparison with the 07SB60FC.
11. 23GD65FR has narrated the first story in 104 words compared to 03NS64FC, who used 178 words. The original story 1 contained 182 words in comparison. 23GD65FR has a fluency rate of 156 wpm in the first story while 03NS64FC has a fluency rate of 144 words per minute. It's important to notice that in spite of having a higher fluency rate in the RHD participants' recording, the control participant has a higher number of total words used in the discourse.
12. 23GD65FR has narrated the second story in 70 words compared to 03NS64FC, who used 118 words. The original story 2 contained 157 words in comparison. 23GD65FR has a fluency rate of 162 wpm in the second story, while 03NS64FC has a fluency rate of 120 words per minute. Again, it should be noted that the RHD participant has used less number of total words in the narration of the second story.
13. 23GD65FR has used a total of 87 words in the mean of the two stories in comparison with 03NS64FC, who used 146 words. The mean of the original two stories contained 174 words in comparison. 23GD65FR has a fluency rate of 159 wpm in the mean of the two stories and took 33 seconds to complete narrating, while 03NS64FC has a fluency rate of 132 words per minute and took 67 seconds to complete narrating.
14. 23GD65FR took 10.32 seconds to complete reading out 9 sentences while 03NS64FC took 8.67 seconds to read out the 9 sentences.
15. We can notice much slower speech in 23GD65FR in comparison with the 03NS64FC, even though the average number of words spoken in the discourse recordings by the RHD participant is higher, because of much shorter length of the recordings.
16. 24NB50FR has narrated the first story in 104 words compared to 04ND51FC, who used 208 words. The original story 1 contained 182 words in comparison. 24NB50FR has a fluency rate of 156 wpm in the first story while 04ND51FC has a fluency rate of 150 words per minute. It's important to notice that in spite of having a marginally higher fluency rate in the RHD participant, the control participant has a higher number of total words used in the discourse.
17. 24NB50FR has narrated the second story in 106 words compared to 04ND51FC, who used 161 words. The original story 2 contained 157 words in comparison. 24NB50FR has a fluency rate of 168 wpm in the second story, while 04ND51FC has a fluency rate of 156 words

per minute. Again, it should be noted that the RHD participant has used less number of total words in the narration of the second story, in spite of having a higher fluency rate.

18. 24NB50FR has used a total of 105 words in the mean of the two stories in comparison with 04ND51FC, who used 185 words. The mean of the original two stories contained 174 words in comparison. 24NB50FR has a fluency rate of 162 wpm in the mean of the two stories and took 39 seconds to complete narrating, while 04ND51FC has a fluency rate of 153 words per minute and took 73 seconds to complete narrating.

19. 24NB50FR took 8.68 seconds to complete reading out 9 sentences while 04ND51FC took 8.79 seconds to read out the 9 sentences.

20. We can notice much slower speech in 24NB50FR, in comparison with 04ND51FC, even though the average number of words spoken in the discourse recordings by the RHD participant is higher, because of much shorter length of the recordings.

21. 25UG58FR has narrated the first story in 74 words compared to 04ND51FC, who used 118 words. The original story 1 contained 182 words in comparison. 25UG58FR has a fluency rate of 96 wpm in the first story while 04ND51FC has a fluency rate of 120 words per minute.

22. 25UG58FR has narrated the second story in 82 words compared to 06RB56FC, who used 135 words. The original story 2 contained 157 words in comparison. 25UG58FR has a fluency rate of 120 wpm in the second story, while 06RB56FC has a fluency rate of 114 words per minute. It should be noted that the RHD participant has used less number of total words in the narration of the second story, in spite of having a higher fluency rate.

23. 25UG58FR has used a total of 78 words in the mean of the two stories in comparison with 06RB56FC, who used 127 words. The mean of the original two stories contained 174 words in comparison. 25UG58FR has a fluency rate of 108 wpm in the mean of the two stories and took 44 seconds to complete narrating, while 06RB56FC has a fluency rate of 117 words per minute and took 65 seconds to complete narrating.

24. 25UG58FR took 8.85 seconds to complete reading out 9 sentences while 06RB56FC took 8.66 seconds to read out the 9 sentences.

25. 25UG58FR has lesser number of total words in both the stories in spite of having a higher fluency rate in story 2. The RHD participant also completed the stories much faster than 06RB56FC.

26. In story 1, 25UG58FR, has the minimum number of total words at 74, whereas 23GD65FR and 24NB50FR have the maximum number of total words at 104.
27. In story 2, 23GD65FR, has the minimum number of total words at 70, whereas 24NB50FR has the maximum number of total words at 106.
28. 23GD65FR has a mean time of 33 seconds in the discourse recordings, which is the minimum time, and the maximum time belongs to 22CS62FR at 85 seconds.

After comparing the actual values, based on the table displayed previously, we can see a marked difference in the total number of words used in a discourse by the RHD group in comparison with the control group and the amount of times needed to narrate the stories. The RHD group takes much lesser time to narrate the stories and has a fluency rate which is almost equal to that of the control group. It is spoken for much lesser times in comparison with the control group and have much lesser total word counts.

The following chart compares MEANFR and MEANFC to NARRATOR in terms of percentage. The chart marks the percentage MEANFR and MEANFC have scored out of the scores of the NARRATOR.

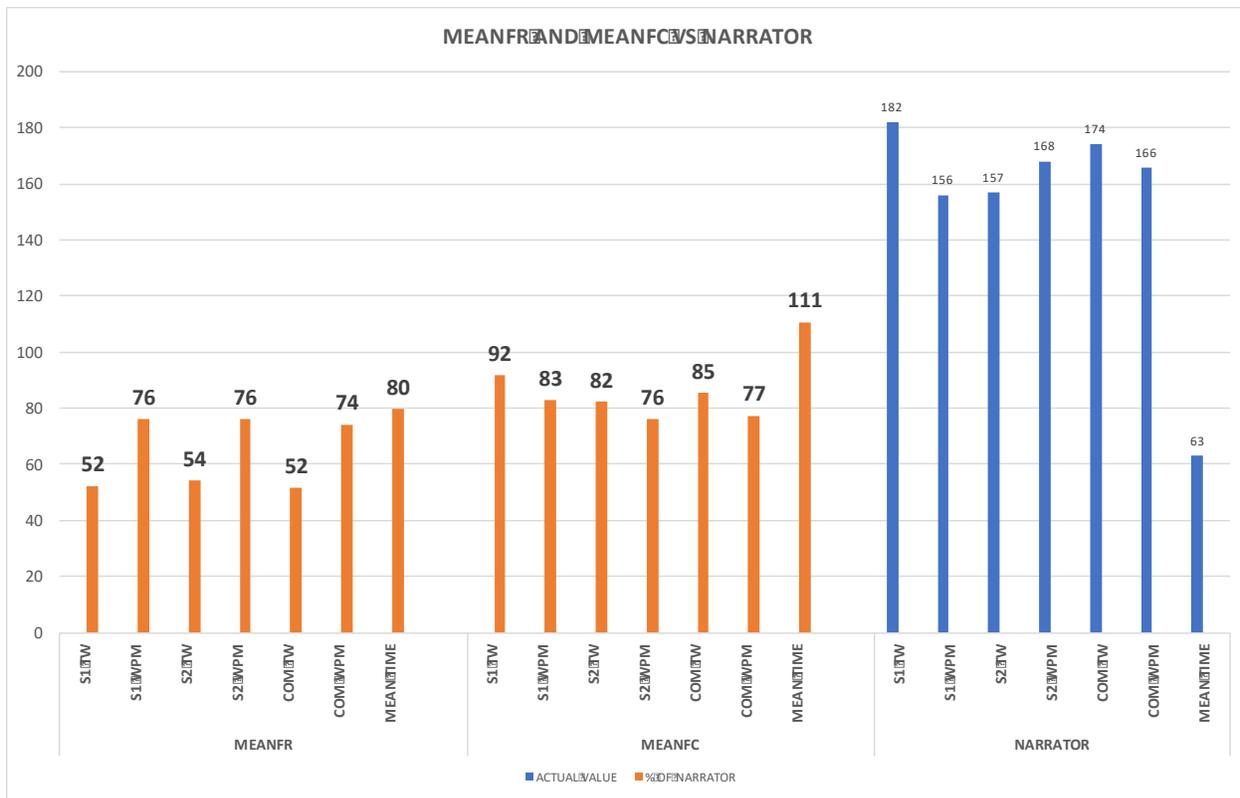


Fig 2: A bar graph comparing MEANFR with MEANFC and NARRATOR.

We can discern the following from the graph above:

1. The NARRATOR has a total word count of 182 in story 1 and MEANFR has fulfilled only 52% of that while MEANFC has fulfilled 92% of that, which is very close to the original.
2. The NARRATOR has a total word count of 157 in story 2 and MEANFR has fulfilled only 54% of that while MEANFC has fulfilled 82% of that, which is close to the original, but closer than story 1.
3. The NARRATOR has a total word count of 174 in the mean of the two stories and MEANFR has fulfilled only 52% of that while MEANFC has fulfilled 85% of that, which is very close to the original. We can note that the RHD group has scored a bit over half of the total word count of the NARRATOR, while the control group mean has scored 85% which is pretty near to the word count of the NARRATOR.
4. In the combined mean of the time taken to narrate the two stories, the NARRATOR took 63 seconds and MEANFR has fulfilled only 80% of that while MEANFC has fulfilled 111% of that.

To know the whole extent of damage of the individual RHD case studies, we also need to compare the total words and words per minute figures of the individual RHD participants with the mean of the control group and the narrator. The following bar graph compares the same:

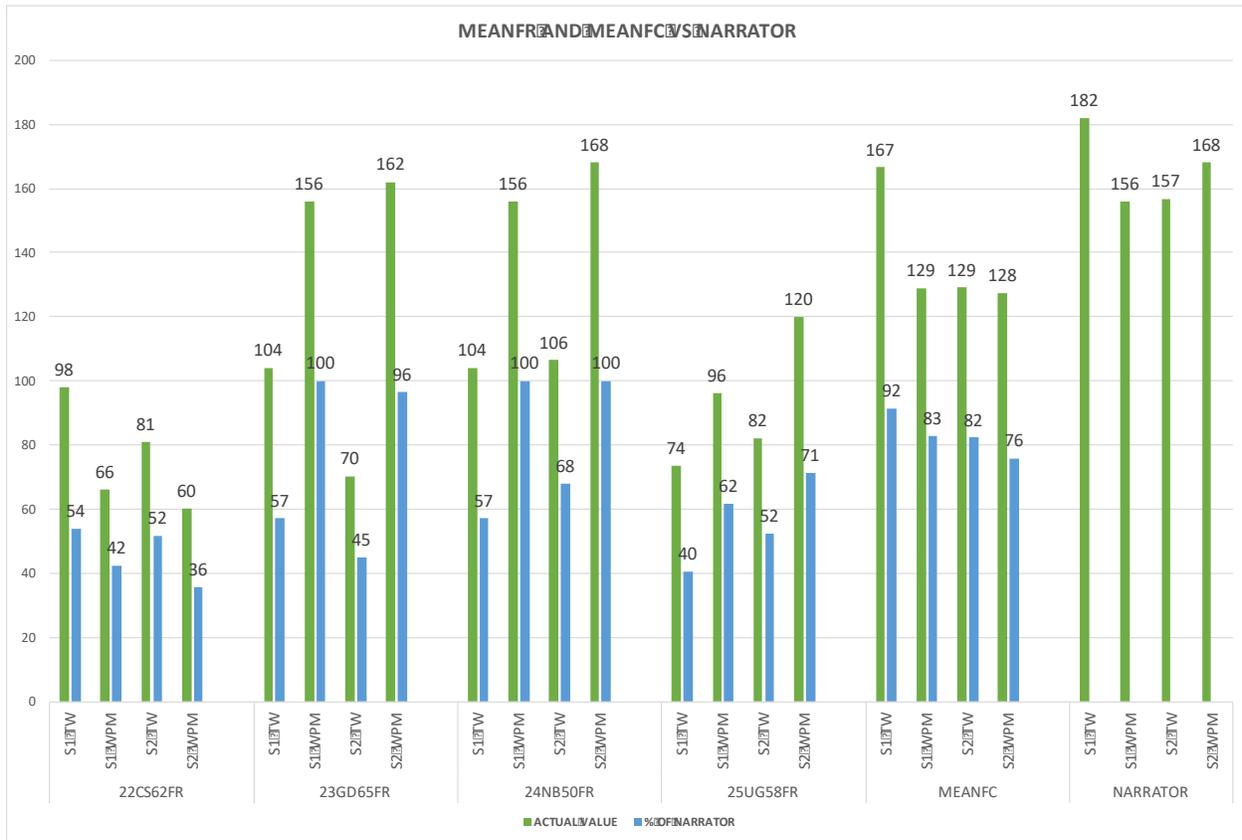


Fig 3: A bar chart comparing the individual RHD participants to MEANFC and NARRATOR.

In reference with the damage mentioned in the individual case studies mentioned previously, we can discern the following from figure 3:

1. 22CS62FR spoke 98 words in the first story, which is only 54% of what the narrator spoke, and is only a bit higher than half of what the narrator spoke. 22CS62FR spoke 81 words in the second story, which is 52% of what the narrator spoke. 22CS62FR has a consistently low total word rate. She also has low ‘words per minute’ figures at 42% of the narrator in story 1 and 36% of the narrator in story 2. 22CS62FR suffered a stroke 1 month back from when she was recorded. She has a small subacute ischemic infarct at the right capsule-thalamic region. Her case

study also mentions that she has slightly slurred speech and is not very loud to the ears.

According to the graph, she is the one with the minimum total words and words per minute rate.

2. 23GD65FR spoke 104 words in the first story, which is only 57% of what the narrator spoke. 23GD65FR spoke 70 words in the second story, which is 45% of what the narrator spoke and is lesser than half. But 23GD65FR has a consistently high rate of 'words per minute' at 100% of the narrator in story 1 and 96% of the narrator in story 2. 23GD65FR suffered a stroke 6 month back from when she was recorded. She has a lacunar infarct at the right parietal lobe. Her speech was not slurred but she was less loud than normal participants. According to the graph, she seems closer to the narrator than 22CS62FR and 25UG58FR.

3. 24NB50FR spoke 104 words in the first story, which is only 57% of what the narrator spoke. 24NB50FR spoke 106 words in the second story, which is 68% of what the narrator spoke. But 24NB50FR has a very consistently high rate of 'words per minute' at 100% of the narrator in story 1 and 100% of the narrator in story 2. 24NB50FR suffered a stroke 4 month back from when she was recorded. She has a haemorrhage in the right basal ganglia. The participant was under left hemiparesis and had slight slurring but was easily understandable and was loud enough to be heard normally. According to the graph, she seems closer to the narrator than 22CS62FR and 25UG58FR.

4. 25UG58FR spoke 74 words in the first story, which is only 40% of what the narrator spoke. 25UG58FR spoke 82 words in the second story, which is 52% of what the narrator spoke. Both the figures are very low. 25UG58FR has a 'words per minute' figure which is at 62% of the narrator in story 1 and 71% of the narrator in story 2. 25UG58FR suffered a stroke 1 year back from when she was recorded. She has an infarct at the right basal ganglia. The participant could walk and talk normally without any sort of slurring but was not very loud.

Conclusion

22CS62FR who was recorded 1 month post incidence has been noted to be the most severe case. Perhaps being recorded 1 month post incidence took a toll on both the total words and words per minute figures. In comparison to her, 24NB50FR, who was recorded 4 months post incidence, has a fluency rate of 156 wpm in story 1 and 168 wpm in story 2, which is exactly the same as the NARRATOR. Even though 24NB50FR was affected with hemiparesis in the first one month, she has healed faster and it is also possible that her level of damage was less

severe. 23GD65FR also has similar figures as 24NB50FR and has fluency rates, which are almost the same as that of the NARRATOR. She was recorded 6 months post incidence and we can, hence, notice the time factor and that she has healed. 25UG58FR on the other hand, was recorded 1 year post incidence but still has a low total word count. It is also mentioned in the case study that the loudness in her voice was too low. Here, it should be noted that she suffered two strokes in a time of one week, at the time of incidence. It is probable that in spite of getting a year time to heal, she has not considerably healed because of massive damage. It can also be possible that she has acquired a style of speaking in which she uses less words and speaks less loudly. If we have to place the cases on a scale of severity we can say that the most severe case among the abovementioned case is 22CS62FR, followed by 25UG58FR, followed by 23GD65FR and finally 24NB50FR.

We can hence see that RHD participants in spite of having normal rates of speaking, actually speak much lesser number of words as compared to the normal controls at the level of discourse. If an RHD participant and a normal individual have to explain something, it has been noted that the RHD participant uses lesser words and takes much lesser time to explain the concept while a normal individual would take their time to explain the thing properly, using more words. A general trend here is that RHD participants hurry to finish speaking, as fast as they can, using lesser number of words to complete speaking.

Here, it should also be noted that the reason for the narrator having a much higher fluency figure than the RHD group and the control group is that the narrator conveniently read the stories out from a paper and did not have to remember the stories, like the other participants.

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Can You Give a Constructive Feedback?

Dr. N. Pratheeba

Abstract

Over the past several decades, language teaching in India has drastically evolved from a mere chalk and talk, grammar-driven approach to one that focuses on computer aided language learning and task based approach. Gone are the days of rigorous drill exercises. The learners are taught or rather facilitated to learn the target language on their own. Under these circumstances, the teacher has receded to the backseat and the learners are given prime importance. The way in which the performance of the students is assessed has also undergone massive changes. Oral assessments are also given credit in addition to written assignments. Accordingly, learners learn the communicative and functional use of language and develop the ability to converse the target language in real-life situations. The focus of the present paper is to demonstrate that feedback is an integral part of the assessment process - be it oral or written assignment.

Keywords: constructive feedback, oral assessments, written assessments

Introduction

Over the past several decades, language teaching in India has drastically evolved from a mere chalk and talk, grammar-driven approach to one that focuses on computer aided language learning and task based approach. Gone are the days of rigorous drill exercises. The learners are taught or rather facilitated to learn the target language on their own. Under these circumstances, the teacher has receded to the back-seat and the learners are given prime importance. The way in which the performance of the students is assessed has also undergone changes. Oral assessments are also given credit in addition to written assignments. Accordingly, learners learn the communicative and functional use of language and develop the ability to converse the target language in real-life situations.

Significance of Constructive Feedback in the Current Scenario

Constructive Feedback is an integral part of the assessment process and it has a powerful effect on student learning. Teaching and learning without giving and receiving feedback respectively makes the entire process of implementing total quality education futile. Same is the case with English Language Teaching. Race says, “We can’t plug a knowledgometer to our learners and measure how much they know – we can only measure what they show of what they know. We can’t directly measure the learning which has happened inside learners’ heads. We can only measure what they produce as evidence that they have learned successfully” (66). In such a situation, feedback to students’ assignments is very essential and indispensable.

Definition of Feedback

The Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (1992) defines feedback as: “Comment or information learners receive on the success of a learning task, either from the teacher or from other learners” (p.137). Chastain (1971) echoes this idea. He believes that feedback is equal to correction. The correction can be done by teachers or other students (peer-correction) or students themselves (self-correction). Ur (1996) says that feedback is the “information that is given to the learner about his or her performance of a learning task, usually with the objective of improving this performance”. Keshavarz (1997) believes “feedback is the response to efforts by the learners to communicate” (p.283).

Different Types of Feedback

There are different types of feedback. According to Ur (1996), applied linguists divide feedback into three types: Feedback on language ,Feedback on content and Feedback on organization. But Hammerly (1982) states “teacher should divide feedback into three classes according to their importance: 1) affective, 2) communicative, 3) linguistic” (qtd .in Chastain, 1971, p.139). Lyster and Ranta (1997) investigate corrective feedback and they have classified the various teachers’ responses to learners’ incorrect turns into six categories: explicit correction, recast, clarification request, metalinguistic feedback, elicitation, and repetition.

Feedback to Written Assignments

When it is a written task like hints development, seminar paper, paragraph writing or essay writing, teachers need not give instant feedback; instead they can record their feedback in writing. They can notify the errors committed by the students in the margins. Another thing they can do is to insist that the students write their seminar paper and to give hints only on the even pages of their notebooks. In that way, they can use the free space on the odd pages for noting the correction done. Students can also be guided to do a composition exercise on the topic in which they have the maximum errors, and this will definitely help to train up the students in that particular usage.

Feedback to Oral Assignments

Feedback to oral assignments is different from feedback on written assignments in several ways. Verbal or face to face feedback for oral assessments can be made on the spot, that too in the presence of the learners or presenters. If it is a recorded version, then one can follow the written mode.

As far as the oral assessments are considered, if the teacher is ready to correct the students then and there during the presentation, the students may struggle for coherence and fluency. In that case, they have to track if the mistake was major or minor. For major mistakes and glaring ones, the teachers can correct the students during the presentation itself. For this purpose, out of the six ways of corrective feedback listed by Lyster and Ranta, importance may be given to the ones other than explicit correction, i.e., Recasts - that is teacher's reformulation of all or part of students' utterance, or Implicit correction which means that the feedback must be given rather indirectly and not directly or clarification requests. They can also go for meta linguistic feedback by giving extra comments and information without explicitly providing the correct form. The teacher has to be very judicious in timing his feedback.

While assessing oral assessments, the teacher needs to be specific in judging the content, style and language usage. If the oral assignment is on any scientific theme or concept, feedback should inevitably record the extent or degree to which concrete conceptualization of the scientific theme is reached. Specific feedback regarding the apt usage of technical terms for the

elaborate orality of the scientific concepts if given will help the students rectify their usage regarding the clarification of the various scientific concepts.

Conclusion

Constructive feedback, if given in a neutral manner will enrich the positive ambiance of the classroom very much and it will certainly help in tuning the students to the acquisition of the overall course objectives. Feedback thus emerges as a vital weapon and one of the most powerful influences on the entire process of learning and teaching. Its power is frequently mentioned in articles about learning and teaching. A conceptual analysis of feedback and its impact on the overall process of education is deemed to be a less trodden area in the realm of research. Such an analysis will help teachers to find the way in which feedback can be used further to enhance its effectiveness in language classrooms.

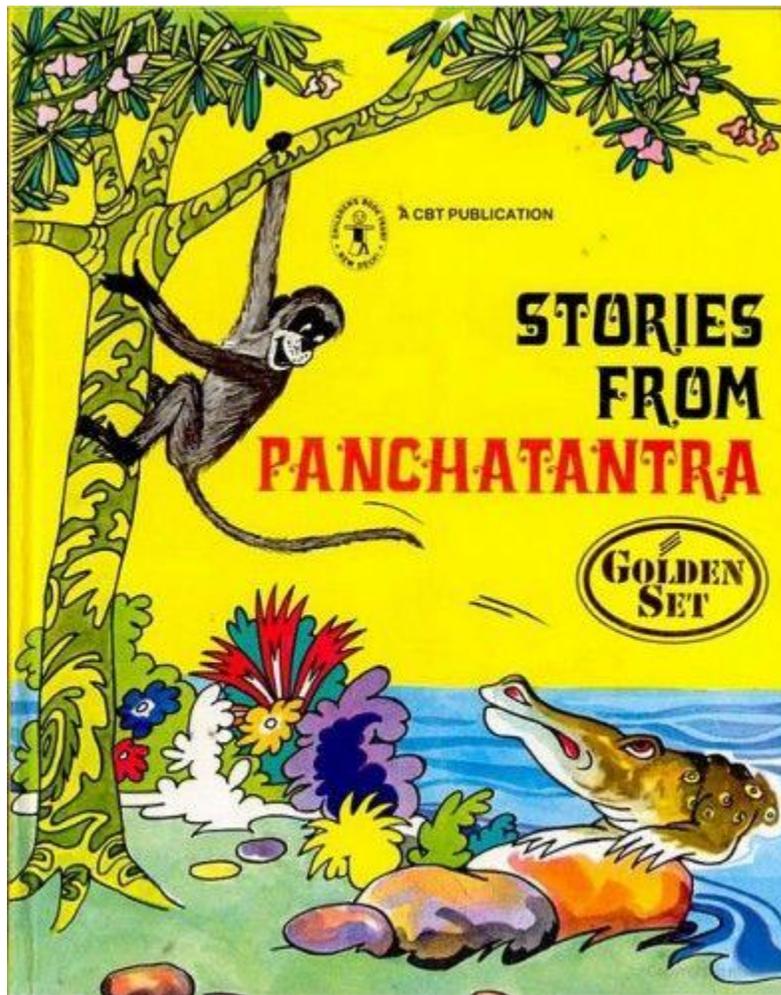
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**From Oral Tales to Percy Jackson
A Bird's Eye View of Children's Literature**

S. S. Saranya, M.A., M.Phil., M.B.A., Ph.D. Candidate



Encyclopaedia Britannica describes Children's literature as,

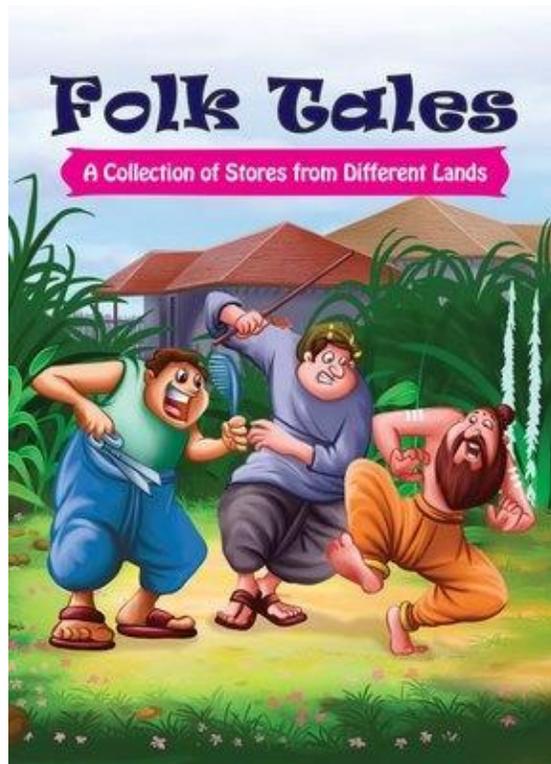
the body of written works and accompanying illustrations produced in order to entertain or instruct young people. The genre encompasses a wide

range of works, including acknowledged classics of world **literature**,(sic) picture books and easy-to-read stories written exclusively for children, and fairy tales, lullabies, fables, folk songs, and other primarily orally transmitted materials.

Origin of Children's Literature

Children's literature began as adult-child story-telling. Inside a home, it was generally the mother or the grandmother who narrated the tales. Especially women who stayed at home with children spun wonderful tales to keep children occupied and entertained. The tales were fraught with beasts, monsters and ethereal heroines. Children cuddled with their mother while they told fantastic stories mostly with a moral at heart. This story-telling also strengthened the bond between the mother and the child. These tales were mostly home-made, clever inventions of the mothers themselves with morals according to individual child's need. But some were oral tales which were handed down from generation to generation through word of mouth.

Fables and Folktales



Beast fables and fairy tales were the earliest form of children's literature which has survived through oral mode. Fables were a rich source of moral which the children accepted as they were woven into stories. Well-known Fables are *Aesop's Fables* in Greece and *Panchatantra Tales* from India. Aesop who is believed to have been living around 5th or 6th century BC in Greece was a freed slave from Thrace. His fables were clever tales and were transmitted orally. Many of Aesop's fables were rewritten in Greek verse by the poet Babrius and in Latin verse by the Roman poet Phaedrus in the 1st century AD. Aesop's fables were accepted as the core of childhood reading and instruction since the time of Plato.

Panchatantra is the oldest collection of fables in Sanskrit dating around 3rd century BC to 4th century AD. It is attributed to Indian writer Vishnusharman and considered to be based on earlier oral traditions. The fables, primarily about animals, are organized into five books on various topics. They were said to be originally compiled for three young princes to gain n̄ti or knowledge in "the wise conduct of life" and to help them in the administration. These tales travelled around the world and were translated into various languages, as Edgerton says,

...there are recorded over two hundred different versions known to exist in more than fifty languages, and three-quarters of these languages are extra-Indian. As early as the eleventh century this work reached Europe, and before 1600 it existed in Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, English, Old Slavonic, Czech, and perhaps other Slavonic languages. Its range has extended from Java to Iceland. . . [In India,] it has been worked over and over again, expanded, abstracted, turned into verse, retold in prose, translated into medieval and modern vernaculars, and retranslated into Sanskrit. And most of the stories contained in it have "gone down" into the folklore of the story-loving Hindus, whence they reappear in the collections of oral tales gathered by modern students of folk-stories.(5)

Western Trends

During the late 13th century Primers that contained just a collection of prayers were given for children to memorize and use. Later on they were printed with beautiful and elaborate alphabets followed by simple prayers. For children, creativity attracted them. With the advent of

printing press more and more books were available for children. Among the first published books were William Caxton's *Book of Curtesye* (1477) and translation of *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* (1484) providing instruction on how to behave in a noble household for both girls and boys respectively. Caxton also issued the beast fable *Reynard the Fox* (1481) and *Aesop's Fables* translated into English. This sort of moral writing for children continued through Renaissance and Reformation period. During the 15th century children were considered to be born morally corrupt. The parents and elders strictly supervised and disciplined them. This attitude became even more pronounced with Puritanism at its rise during 16th and 17th century. The puritans thought that moral education to be the only salvation of the children and took to it seriously. They prepared the children for the grim reality of death and afterlife. As a result the literature produced at the time was ascetic and austere. It spoke about sacrifice, about saintly deaths of various children. It was the time when the great classic *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) was published which was enjoyed by both the adults and children alike.

A Thin Strand of Imagination

In spite of the gloomy and sombre atmosphere, a thin strand of imagination survived in the form of hornbooks and chapbooks. A new type of children's book, called the hornbook, appeared during the 16th century. It consisted of a printed page covered by a transparent sheet of horn and mounted on a square of wood with a handle at one end for the child to hold. It was used for elementary instruction and contained the letters of the alphabet, Prayer, Roman numerals, numbers, and so on. The chapbook, which emerged during 17th century, was an unstitched pamphlet usually consisting of about seventy unstitched folded sheets. These were peddled from door to door in England and hence its name (as chapmen means peddlers). Its subject matter varied from rhymes, folktales and ballads to medieval romances. The book was made of rag paper and contained rough illustrations. These books were also called "penny histories" as they were cheap or "toy- books". The seventeenth and eighteenth century saw the flourishing of the chapbooks after which it lost its popularity.

Seventeenth Century Ideas

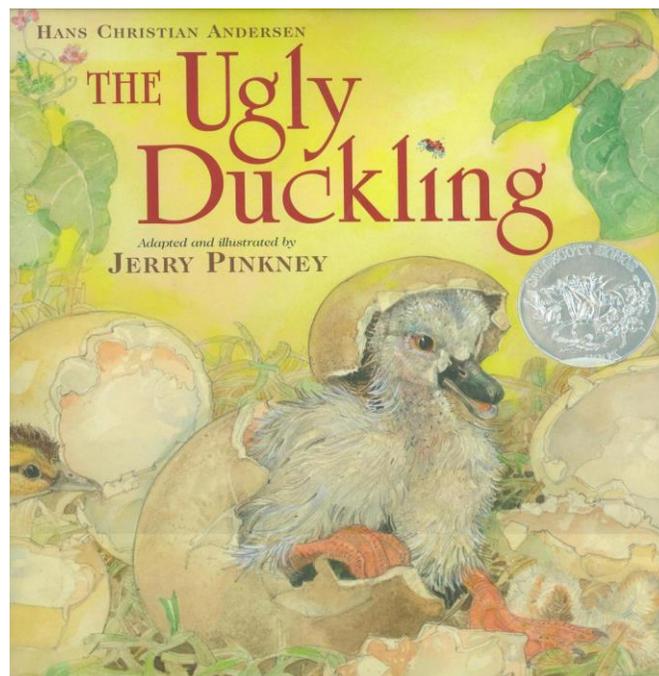
At the close of 17th century John Locke championed for the cause of education with pleasure through his work *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). He states that a child's mind is like *tabula rasa* i.e. 'clean slate' which could be impressed upon by setting an ideal example by the elders. He says that children cannot remember rules and they commit the same mistake again and again. This perspective made children's literature to break away from its narrow puritanical clutches. Locke supported education through pleasure. People realized for any children's book to serve its purpose, instruction and enjoyment should go hand in hand. The pop-up books and picture books achieved this goal. They formed an important part in the memory of childhood. Children adored these books. They were like treasures for a child in its quest for reading, "Telling tales through imagery is what storytellers have done through the ages" (Lerer 321). Reading these books involved almost all the senses of children. The beautiful and colourful pictures, the intoxicating smell of these books, the feel of its sheets and the crackling pages enchanted them. They made reading interactive to children. Two English manuscripts which date back to early 16th century show illustrated beasts and flowers. Thomas Borenan's *Description of Three Hundred Animals* and John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket – Book* were significant books produced around the early part of the 17th century for children. In late 18th century, publisher and bookseller Robert Sayer developed "Harlequinades" which he called Metamorphoses books. These books were really single sheets, folded into four sections. They used a series of illustrated flaps which when lifted revealed hidden scenes in the narrative. These books were used to teach morals. By early 19th century movable books that had pop-up pictures in every page became very famous. But it was Newbery who first successfully brought children books into commercial market. This commercialization of children's books and bringing it into open-market helped in its professionalization.

17th century also saw the resurrection and compilation of fairy tales. Fairy tales remained scattered and oral until Charles Perrault collected them in the 17th century AD. He is best remembered for such favourite tales such as "Cinderella", "Little Red Riding Hood" and "Sleeping Beauty". Perrault's principle was to use traditional tale as a tool to educate moral values to children. Following in his footsteps, a very serious and major work in this area was taken by two German Scholars and brothers, Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm and Wilhelm Karl Grimm, known popularly as the Grimm Brothers. Jacob Grimm originally began to collect the

fairy tales or ‘Marchen’ as a part of his study of philology and folklore. He found out that folklore was on the brink of extinction and he wanted to recover the sources of Germanic linguistic and literary culture. He along with his brother Wilhelm Grimm collected the oral fairy tales from various sources and published as three-volume Household Tales, *Kinder-und Hausmarchen* (1812-1813) in German which was later translated into English. The collection was later expanded as *Grimm’s Fairy Tales* which included such great tales like “Hansel and Gretel”, “Snow White” and “Rapunzel”.

Hans Christian Andersen

Following them, Hans Christian Andersen, a Danish writer acquired enduring fame through fairy tales. Several of his famous tales include “The Emperor’s New Clothes” (1837), “The Little Mermaid” (1837), “The Ugly Duckling” (1845) and “The Little March Girl” (1848). His influence could be felt in many of the modern writers and later fairy tales. In England, towards the end of the 19th century, Andrew Lang wrote one of the best – known collections of European fairy tales in a series of volumes titled by colour beginning with the *Blue Fairy Book* (1889) and ending with the *Lilac Fairy Book* (1910) which includes memorable tales like “Rumpelstiltskin”. He also wrote fantasy novels such as *The Gold of Fairnilee* (1888).



Industrialization – Lamb and Other Writers

Industrialization of the 18th and 19th century led to the emergence of working class population. This along with commercialisation of children's books led to the development of children's literature. Until the late 18th century no clear distinction was made between instruction and entertainment in children's literature. Most stories and poems written for children were designed to convey useful information or moral advice. Owing to the growth of religious freedom in England and in newly established America, children's literature became less didactic and more amusing. The egalitarian principles spread by French revolution also contributed to this. A major influence in this development was French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, who, in his novel *Emile* (1762) pointed out that the mind of a child is not merely the mind of an adult in miniature, and that it must be considered on its own terms.

Around this time many great writers turned their attention to writing for children. English essayist, Charles and his sister Mary Lamb adopted versions of Shakespeare's works into stories for children in their *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807). Nathaniel Hawthorne, a great American novelist retold Greek classical myths in *A Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys* (1851). It was written in the form of a frame story where a college student tells these tales to a group of children and the writer followed it with a sequel, *Tanglewood Tales for Girls and Boys* (1853). Even Oscar Wilde, the great British playwright and novelist wrote some short fantasies for children that were collected in *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* (1888) and *Lord Arthur Savile's Crime and Other Stories* (1891).

19th and 20th Centuries

19th and 20th centuries saw the development of children's literature all around the world. In contrast to the past didactic structure, 19th century romanticism saw the flowering of children literature. They were no more just adapted, collected or translated tales, it contained fantasy, adventure and fun. Writers took their young audience seriously and produced original stories with interesting and memorable characters. Moreover children's literature was no longer written for just very young children. It attracted children, youngsters and adults alike. There was an increasing awareness among the writers about the adolescent population. The problem for the

writer is to understand where children's literature stops and adult literature begins and what will adolescents who are neither children nor adults will be interested in reading. The consciousness of adolescence came during the nineteenth century, until then one is either a child or a grown-up, there is no in between. But as psychological science developed there was an increasing awareness of adolescent age – a cross-over period between childhood and adulthood. But it was some years before literature evolved to accommodate literature for teenagers. During the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century many works were written which can be termed as adolescent literature and these were later termed as young adult literature or coming-of-age literature. Works like *Little Women* (1868), *Anne of Green Gables* (1908), *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), *Kidnapped* (1886), *The Jungle Book* (1894) appeal to the teenage boys and girls.

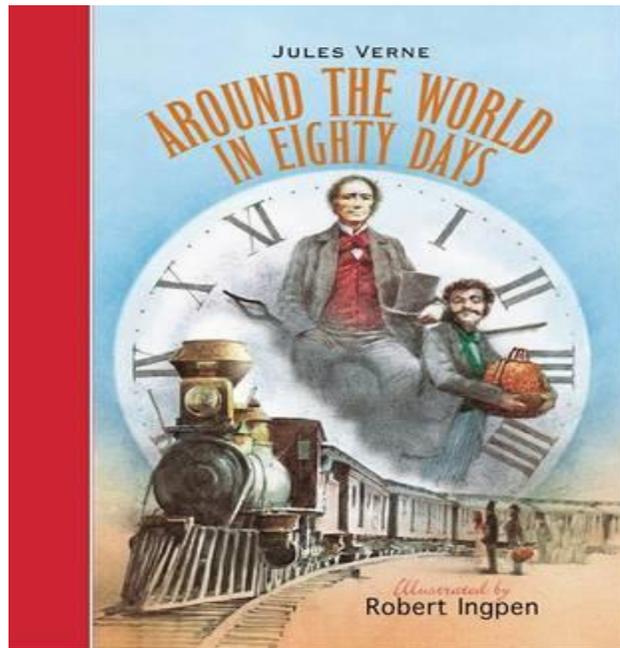
Young Adult Literature

Young Adult literature at the beginning was written from an adult's perspective reaching out to youngsters, to guide them as they entered into adulthood like Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868) which depicts realistic Victorian life where the writer shows the Victorian values expected of young girls. But later on there was an increasing awareness regarding the problems faced by teenagers. As a result the young adult writers started to write about coming to terms with adolescence, the confusing complexities of emotional and psychological changes, search for identity and alienation from the society. During the later part of the 20th century young adult literature became more comprehensive to include real life problems with themes like sexual awakening, drugs, racism and bullying.

Science and Technology Tales

With the development in science and technology the imagination of several writers were kindled to produce a new genre - Science Fiction. Now even the sky is not the limit when there are a lot of mysteries in this world and beyond it waiting to be discovered. Pioneer of this type of fiction is, Jules Verne, French author who is regarded as the father of science fiction. He wrote many popular books which were later translated into English like *Journey to the Centre of the Earth* (1874), *From the Earth to the Moon* (1873), *20,000 Leagues under the Sea* (1873),

Mysterious Island (1875) and *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873). Some of his works foresaw the development in science and technology of future. Time and again most of his works were adapted into movies. Another writer who is remembered along with Verne is England born H.G. Wells. His science-fantasy novels depict the future; sometimes they render a dystopian future of technology like in *The War of the Worlds* (1898). His all time classic is *The Time Machine* (1895) which was the inspiration to all later time related fantasies and movies. Including *The Invisible Man* (1897) and *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933) he wrote more than 80 works. His works were also made into hit movies.



American Children's Literature

American literary culture slowly overcame the British paternalistic past. They created their own niche in the field of children's literature. American writer, Samuel Langhorne Clemens, whose pseudonym is Mark Twain is well-known for his work *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and its sequel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884). *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* celebrates boyhood in a town on the Mississippi River, while *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is considered as Twain's masterpiece. The book follows the adventures of the title character, Huck, a boy who flees his father using a raft down the Mississippi River with a runaway slave, Jim. Twain's children's book *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) is based on

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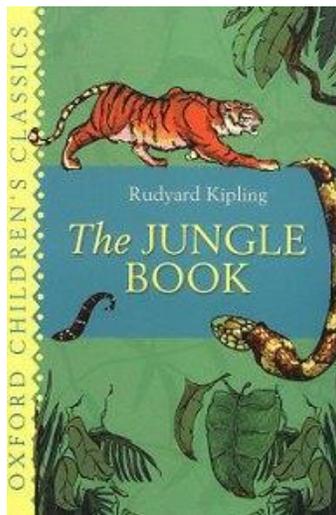
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switching identities. Twain's writing is notable for its realistic language and places and his biting satire of hypocrisy and feudal England.

Darwin's theory of evolution proposed in the later part of the 19th century gave new dimension to animal stories or rather animals in stories. They were not just walking and talking one dimensional stereotypical characters rather they were given complex thought process and emotions. Kenneth Grahame, an English writer wrote a classic, *The Wind in the Willows* (1908). The novel revolves around anthropomorphized animals like mole, rat and toad. The novel is believed to be an expansion of Grahame's bed time stories to his son.

British Colonies

British colonisation and discovering new places led to the introduction of exotic animals and birds like lions, tigers, elephant, kangaroo and peacock in children's tales. Rudyard Kipling's work is mostly set in imperial India and Burma. He was a prolific writer who wrote acclaimed novels, poems and short stories. He was the first English writer to be awarded Nobel Prize in literature. He wrote children's favourite work and one of the classics, *The Jungle Book* (1894) about a small boy Mowgli who grows up in the forest among the animals and followed it with a sequel, *The Second Jungle Book* (1895). He also wrote *Just So Stories for Little Children* (1902) where he humorously explains various natural phenomenon. *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) and *Rewards and Fairies* (1910) are his other works and many of his short stories are collected in *Kipling's Fantasy* (1992).



Fantasy and Children's Literature

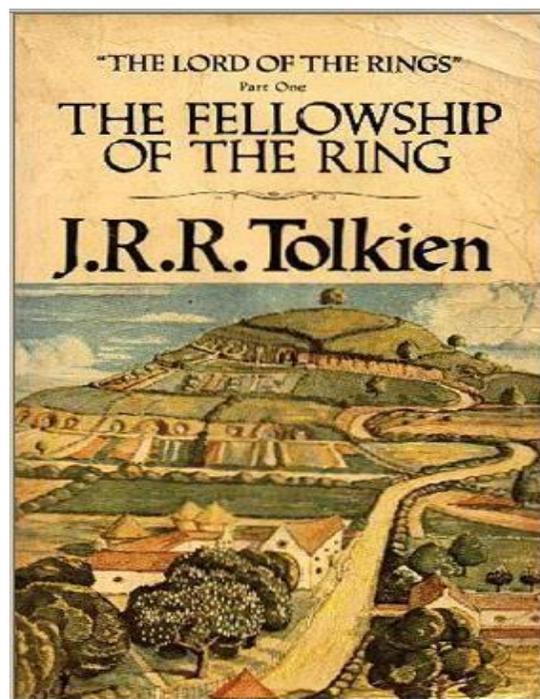
Within children's literature fantasy occupies an important place. The world of children and their literature is a world of reality and fantasy juxtaposed; a magic kingdom, completely devoid of the obvious control of adults. Fantasy's origin stretches far back into oral tales. Oral tales evolved into folk tales, fairy tales and myth. Fantasy denotes any prose that is not realistic. Woronoff in his foreword to *The A to Z of Fantasy Literature* traces fantasy's roots, "For fantasy literature, while rather young in terms of scholarly classification, is as old as they come in reality. Myths and folktales, fairy tales and fables were around even before there was much of a written literature..." (ix). At the beginning, fantasy was considered as the realm of only children with whom the adults can get away with any tales. But Sterritt thought otherwise, "Fantasy . . . is not just the domain of childhood. The desire to escape the limited confines of our mental and physical routines and explore other dimensions of existence fuels much of human life . . ." (80)

Fantasy as a form on its own developed in Britain in the later part of the 18th century. Though most of fantasy belongs to the sub-category of children literature, it is enjoyed by readers of all ages. Only a few writers dared to write full fantasies and among them only a select few succeeded in the attempt. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson also known as Lewis Carroll pioneered in this field. He wrote the most loved Alice stories, *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland* (1865) and its sequel *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There* (1871), through which created immortal characters like the Mad Hatter, the Cheshire cat and the Queen of Hearts. The works contain nonsensical poems and mathematical byplays which only adults can understand. Hence, his works appeals to both children and adults alike.

Fantasy gained popularity during 20th century through the efforts of "Inklings". The group was an informal literary discussion group which had several members associated with the University of Oxford who held in high regard the narrative in fiction and supported writing fantasy. This group helped young writers to share their writings and discuss. Fantasy drew new blood with two giants J.R.R. Tolkien and his friend and a fellow member of the group Inklings, C.S. Lewis. Another notable member of the Inklings group who wrote fantasy was Charles Williams. Charles Williams wrote theological thrillers like *War in Heaven* (1930) which is about a Grail hunt in modern England. Most of his works have an undercurrent of Christian morality,

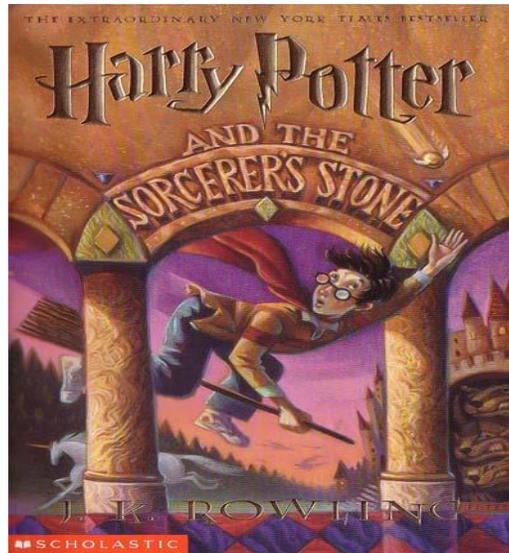
his work *The Place of the Lion* (1931), features Platonic archetypes, while *Many Dimensions* (1931) revolves around the misuse of King Solomon's Holy Stone. In his *The Greater Trumps* (1932) a pack of Tarots has disastrous power and *His Descent into Hell* (1937) features fantastical characters such as doppelgangers, ghosts and succubus. His work *All Hallows Eve* (1945) features a woman's ghost roaming around in the post-war London.

John Ronald Reuel Tolkien, a South African born British professor became a legend in the fantasy writers' realm with his Lord of the Rings series. He is sometimes referred to as the father of modern fantasy. Tolkien's first and best known fiction was *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* (1937). It is a story about a hobbit, Bilbo Baggins who goes in quest of a treasure guarded by a dragon. Tolkien's publisher was thrilled and asked him for a sequel which later developed into a multi-volume epic fantasy, *The Lord of the Rings* which was published seventeen years later in 1954-1955. It was published in three parts, *The Fellowship of the Ring*, *The Two Towers*, and *The Return of the King*. Nearly 50 years after its publication, Tolkien's epic tale has sold more than 100 million copies and been translated into more than 25 languages. *The Hobbit* and all the three parts of *Lord of the Rings* have been re-produced as successful movies.



A close friend of Tolkien and a fellow Inklings is C. S. Lewis. He wrote one of the greatest classical children fantasies of all times *The Chronicles of Narnia*, a series of seven books. He started writing the first book, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* as early as 1939 but abandoned it in between and resumed it again in 1948. *The Chronicles of Narnia* are a series of seven books in the order of publication, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950), *Prince Caspian* (1951), *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* (1952), *The Silver Chair* (1953), *The Horse and His Boy* (1954), *The Magician's Nephew* (1955) and *The Last Battle* (1956). Among them, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, *Prince Caspian* and *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* were adapted into movies.

Following the footsteps of Inklings, one of the best-selling authors of contemporary period is Joanne Kathleen Rowling who had achieved tremendous success with a boy wizard named Harry Potter. She was very much influenced by Lewis and Tolkien when she was growing up which helped her in writing the *Harry Potter* series. She has written a sequence of seven novels in the *Harry Potter* series which follows the adventures of the young boy named, Harry Potter who is also a wizard. The book has been translated into more than 70 languages and read by a worldwide audience irrespective of the age. All the seven parts have been adapted into blockbuster movies. Her first novel, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* was published by Bloomsbury Children's Books in June 1997. The same novel was published in America under a different title – *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* in the year 1998. This was followed by six other titles in the series, *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (1998), *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (1999), *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (2000), *Harry Potter and the Order of Phoenix* (2003), *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* (2005), and *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (2007).



Other Notable Writers of the Contemporary Period

A few other notable writers of the contemporary period are Suzanne Collins and Rick Riordan from America. Suzanne Collins published five volumes of epic fantasy, *The Underland Chronicles* which is set in a subterranean world under New York City. Similar to *Alice in the Wonderland*, a eleven year old boy Gregor and his younger sister fall down a hole in their basement and discover Underland. His quest and adventures is the series. But what really gained the author the recognition and popularity was *The Hunger Games* series. It is a trilogy – *The Hunger Games* (2008), *Catching Fire* (2009) and *Mocking Jay* (2010) set in the dystopian The Hunger Games universe. The story is set in a country called Panem with a wealthy Capitol surrounded by twelve states in various levels of poverty. Every year contestants are selected from all twelve states to participate in the Hunger Games in a television live death match. The winners District will be rewarded with food and other necessary supplies. The series follows young Katniss Everdeen and Peeta Mellark as they participate in the games representing District 12. After they win the game in the first series Katniss inadvertently sparks a rebellion in various districts which incites the Capitol and they are forced to participate in another game against former victors. But Katniss joins rebellions of District 13 who plan to overthrow Capitol and kill President Snow. In the end both Snow and Coin (the President of District 13) are killed. All the three parts were adapted into movies which became immediate hits.

Rick Riordan gained popularity with his Percy Jackson and the Olympians series. The book is a mythological fiction with the typical teenage protagonist. Riordan brings into contemporary life Greek mythical characters when Jackson realizes that he is a demigod. It is a pentalogy, written in five parts, *The Lightning Thief* (2005), *The Sea of Monsters* (2006), *The Titan's Curse* (2007), *The Battle of the Labyrinth* (2008) and *The Last Olympian* (2009). In each part the writer cleverly combines mythology with reality as Percy Jackson goes from one adventure in to another.

Change in the Views of Critics Regarding Children's Literature

Critics until recently were hesitant to consider children's literature as a separate genre on its own, it was either just fables or tales or stories for children. The success of *Harry Potter* series and *Percy Jackson* stories has inspired many writers to step into this rarely ventured area. From oral tales to fantasies of epic proportion children's literature has evolved into a full-fledged genre through the years. It has come across indifference but now is enjoying its share of limelight. It has evolved along with technology and metamorphosed into various forms like online graphic novels, digital comics, but still retaining its originality. In this 21st century a new era of children's literature has dawned.

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Expressive Language and Vocabulary Development of Tamil Speaking Children with Repaired Cleft Lip and Palate

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Abstract

The aim of the study was to explore the development of expressive language and expressive vocabulary in children with repaired cleft lip and palate at 30 months of age. A case control study design with longitudinal follow up of the subjects from 10 to 12 months of age till 30 months was employed for this purpose. For the purpose of this paper, the data on expressive language measures at 30 months of age have been analysed and reported. Fourteen children with non-syndromic repaired cleft lip and palate (both lip and palate operated before one year of age) and seven typically developing children along with their mothers participated in this study. All the children aged around 30 months had normal hearing sensitivity (pure tone average below 20dBHL) and intellectual development (based on Developmental Screening Test, Bharatraj, 1983). Size of expressive vocabulary was obtained using Tamil translation of MacArthur Bates Communication Inventory (Sethuraman, in progress). The expressive language age was obtained using the 3-Dimensional Language Acquisition Test (Herlekar & Karanth, 1995). Both the measures were compared between the two groups. Mann-Whitney test revealed significant differences between the two groups of children on expressive language age ($p=0.000$), with children with cleft showing lower scores than typically developing children. Though expressive language age differed significantly between the two groups, no significant differences were obtained in the size of expressive vocabulary ($p=0.412$). Children with repaired cleft lip and palate have deficits in development of expressive language. However, their vocabulary development appears to be in par with that of typically developing children.

Key Words: Expressive language age, expressive vocabulary, repaired cleft lip and palate

Introduction

The development of language in children is facilitated by a variety of innate characteristics and environmental factors (Chomsky, 1957; Skinner, 1957). Any deviations in the biological foundations or major deprivations in the environment could result in compromised development of language (Mogford & Bishop, 1993). One such condition is cleft lip and palate, a congenital problem that occurs due to lack of fusion of the embryonic processes during the first trimester. According to the Health Ministry of India, cleft lip and palate occurs approximately in 1.4 per 1000 live births (Azad, 2010). The anatomical and physiological deviations in cleft lip and palate present right from birth have a significant effect on the development of speech and language skills (Atkinson & Howard, 2011; Peterson-Falzone, Hardin-Jones, & Karnell, 2010; McWilliams, Morris, & Shelton, 1990).

When the biological foundations for speech and language development are compromised, there are qualitative and quantitative differences in speech and language development observed right from the stage of babbling. Children with unrepaired cleft of palate reveal delayed onset of canonical babbling compared to the age matched peers. Studies on early vocalizations in children with cleft conclude that those with unrepaired cleft of lip and palate show deficits in the nature of vocalizations without significant differences in the frequency of vocalizations (Sreedhanya, Hariharan, & Nagarajan, 2015; Jones, Chapman, & Hardin-Jones, 2003; Chapman, Hardin-Jones, Schulte, & Halter, 2001; O’Gara, & Logemann, 1988). Children with cleft palate exhibit smaller consonant inventories, with a tendency to use more nasal and glottal consonants in comparison with typically developing children who use a wide variety of anterior consonants during babbling (Scherer, Williams, & Proctor-Williams, 2008; Willadsen & Albrechtsen, 2006). The vocalization deficits noticed during prelinguistic period continue to persist even after surgical correction of the palate (Chapman, Hardin-Jones, & Halter, 2003; Hardin-Jones, Chapman, & Schulte, 2003; Jones, Chapman & Hardin-Jones, 2003). These limitations during early speech production influence the phonological and lexical development of children with cleft (Hardin-Jones & Chapman, 2014; Harding-Bell & Howard, 2011; Willadsen, 2007). Higher occurrence of expressive language delays have been reported among children with cleft lip and palate (Jocelyn, Penko,

& Rode, 1996; Scherer & D'Antonio, 1995; Fox, Lynch, & Brookshire, 1978; Philips & Harrison, 1969).

Over the years, research has focused on tracing the prelinguistic and early linguistic development in individuals with cleft lip and palate. Morris and Bardach (1989) reported analysing patterns of speech and language development as one of the priority issues in cleft palate research. Physical factors due to clefting and other social factors such as impaired/poor parent child interaction can lead to variations in patterns of early speech and language development among individuals with cleft (Russell & Harding, 2001). It is widely accepted that children with cleft tend to have delayed language development, especially in the domain of expression (Scherer, Williams, & Proctor-Williams, 2008; Konst, Rietveld, Peters, & Prah-Andersen, 2003; Scherer, & D'Antonio, 1995; Chapman, & Hardin, 1992). However, there are several variations in the aspects of language investigated, tools used for analysis and variables taken into consideration. Owing to the influence of social factors in language acquisition and differences of phonological and word structures of languages, it would be inappropriate to consider the same patterns of language acquisition across languages (Stoel-Gammon, 2011). Literature on typically developing population has also revealed that the rate of vocabulary acquisition varies across languages (Bleses et al., 2008). This finding also instigated/ encouraged the need to probe into early language development of children with cleft lip and palate speaking Tamil language. In Tamil language, phonetic repertoire in children with unrepaired clefts and the phonological processes in children with repaired cleft lip and palate have been described (Sreedhanya, Hariharan, & Nagarajan, 2015; Santhanam, Perumal, & Savitha, 2009). However, there are no published studies on language and vocabulary development in children with cleft lip and palate acquiring Tamil language. This study is part of a prospective, longitudinal study analysing aspects of speech sound and language development in individuals with cleft between 10 to 30 months of age. The objectives of this paper has been restricted to analysing expressive language development and expressive vocabulary of children with repaired cleft lip and palate at 30 months of age and compare them with typically developing children.

Method

This study was carried out after obtaining approval from the Institutional Ethics Committee of Sri Ramachandra University. The reference number is IEC-N1/10/AUG/18/25.

Participants

Fourteen children with repaired cleft lip and palate (clinical group) and seven typically developing children (control group), along with their primary caretakers participated in this study. These children were recruited as part of an ongoing longitudinal study that focussed on analysing the development of speech sounds and language development in children with CLP. All the participants were residing in and around Chennai city in Tamilnadu, India. The children in the clinical group had non-syndromic complete cleft lip and palate (unilateral or bilateral) that was surgically corrected using two-stage palatoplasty at or before 12 months of age. The surgeries (both lip and palate repair) were performed by the same surgeon, experienced in repair of CLP for all the children. The typically developing children were selected from amongst the well babies who reported to the immunisation clinic of a reputed hospital in Chennai. All the children were screened by a paediatrician to rule out the presence of any syndrome or any associated neurological impairments. Children with any high risk indicators associated with permanent congenital, delayed-onset, or progressive hearing loss in childhood specified by the American Academy of Pediatrics' Joint Committee on Infant Hearing (2007) were also excluded from the study. All children demonstrated age appropriate developmental levels, as indicated through Developmental Screening Test (Bharatraj, 1983), at the time of enrolment in the longitudinal study (between 10 – 12 months of age). All of them were exposed to Tamil as the primary language for communication; however those who had any minimal exposure to other languages (based on parental reports) were still included. All the participants passed the hearing screening procedure conducted using Visual Reinforcement Audiometry at two years of age. The data for this study was collected from all the participants when the children were 30 months of age.

Informed consent to participate in the study was obtained from parents/caretakers of all children at the time of enrolment. Kuppuswamy's socioeconomic status scale - Urban (Parashar, 2009), administered on all families indicated that all participants (both clinical and

control group) belonged to families of upper middle class status. A questionnaire was used to collect details regarding socioeconomic status, family structure, and developmental history of the child.

Procedure

All children were assessed for their language levels using the 3-Dimensional Language Assessment Test (Herlekar & Karanth, 1995). The expressive language age was arrived at using the expressive language subtest of 3-Dimensional Language Assessment Test (3DLAT). The investigator observed the child interacting with his/her mother in a free play session to observe the child's communication. If an item of the subtest could not be observed, the mother was questioned regarding it. The child's expressive language age was arrived at based on these two methods.

Mothers of children completed the Tamil translation of MacArthur Bates Communication Inventory (Sethuraman, in progress), a parent report inventory for analysing expressive vocabulary in children. This inventory has a list of 641 words arranged in twenty semantic categories and is being developed based on MacArthur-Bates Communication Development Inventory: Words and sentence (Fenson et al., 1993). The twenty semantic categories and their corresponding meanings are enclosed in Appendix 1. Mothers were instructed to mark the words from the inventory that was used by the child. The investigator was available to clarify any doubts the mothers had while filling up the inventory. The number of words marked by the mother represented the size of expressive vocabulary of the child.

Analysis

The data obtained on the two tests were tabulated and analysed using version 17 of Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Since the data was not distributed normally, non-parametric statistics was employed. Median was used as the measure of central tendency and interquartile range (IQR) was used as the measure of dispersion. The non-parametric Mann-Whitney U-test was used to analyse significance of differences on measures between the clinical and control groups (independent samples).

Results

Table 1 summarises the demographic and socioeconomic parameters, family structures of children in the two groups. This data was gathered through the questionnaire administered to the mothers at the beginning of the study.

Table 1

Summary of demographic and socioeconomic parameters, family structure of children in the two groups

Parameters	Clinical group	Control group
N	14	7
Number of males	11	3
Number of females	3	4
Maternal age at conception (n)		
Mean	22.64 years	27.29 years
SD	3.91	5.82
Mother's occupation (n)		
Unemployed	13	6
Semi – profession	1	1
Mother's education (n)		
High school	12	3
Diploma	2	2
Professional Degree	0	2
Paternal age at conception		
Mean	30.36 years	33.43 years
SD	5.38	6.13
Father's occupation (n)		

Semi-skilled	3	0
Semi profession	2	1
Clerical	4	0
Skilled worker	3	3
Professional	2	3
Father's education (n)		
High school	6	0
Diploma	2	2
Graduate	4	3
Post graduate	2	2
Birth order (n)		
1 st	9	2
2 nd	5	5
Family structure (n)		
Joint family	10	4
Nuclear	4	3
Kuppuswamy's socioeconomic class (n)		
Class II	14	7

Table 2 summarises the findings of expressive language age and size of expressive vocabulary of the two groups of children. Children with cleft lip and palate demonstrated significantly decreased scores on expressive language domain of 3DLAT, compared to the typically developing children. Children with cleft lip and palate, lagged behind by almost six months on the expressive language age, compared to their typically developing children. In spite of differences in the expressive language age, there was no significant difference in the size of expressive vocabulary reported by the mothers on the communication inventory.

Table 2

Summary of findings of expressive language age and vocabulary size

	Expressive Language Age (ELA)	Total Vocabulary Size
Clinical group		
Median	23.50	401.50
IQR	21.00- 25.25	374.50-433.25
Control group		
Median	30.00	433.00
IQR	29.00-31.00	368.00-447.00
Mann-Whitney <i>U</i>	1.5	38
Significance, <i>p</i>	0.000*	0.412

* $p \leq 0.01$

Figure 1 depicts the expressive language age of all participants of the study. The yellow line depicts the median age of children in the control group. It is evident from the plot that all children with cleft lip and palate scored below the median expressive language age of those in the control group. With the exception of one child with repaired cleft lip and palate, all others lagged behind by more than two months from the median expressive language age of the control group.

The semantic categories of the Tamil translation of MacArthur Bates Communication Inventory were combined into four groups – Onomatopoeic words, nouns, verbs, and function words (grammatical categories other than nouns and verbs). Figure 2 depicts the size of vocabulary of the participants across word classes. The distribution of vocabulary across groups was found to be similar in both the groups of children.

Figure 1

Expressive language age of all the participants

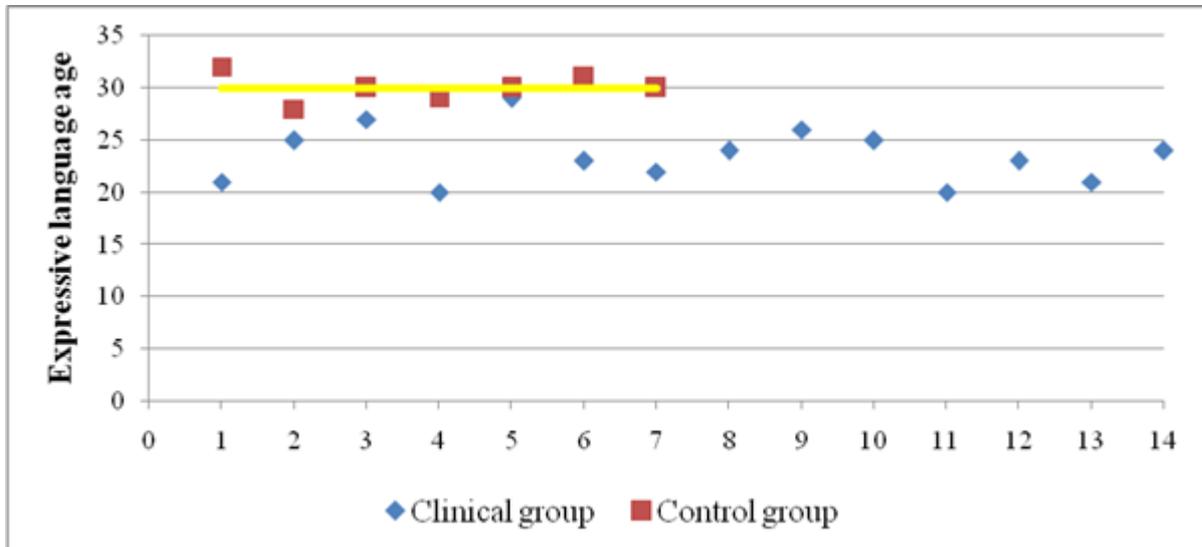
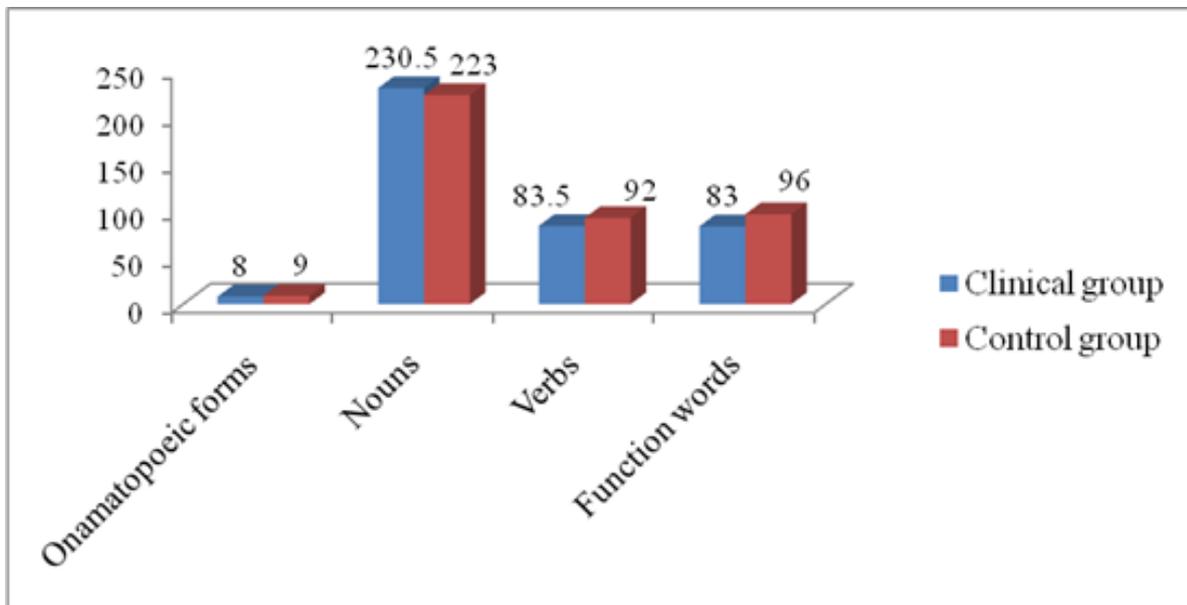


Figure 2

Size of vocabulary of children in both the groups



Discussion

The early structural deficits noticed in children with cleft lip and palate impacts the development of expressive language. This is evident from the findings of this study that children with repaired cleft lip and palate have decreased expressive language age compared to typically developing children at the age of 30 months. Studies in literature also report of expressive language delays in children with cleft lip and palate (Jocelyn, Penko, & Rode, 1996; Scherer & D'Antonio, 1995). In the past, studies on older children with cleft (in the age range of 36 to 72 months) have also reported of deficits in expressive language development in children with cleft (Philips & Harrison, 1969; Smith & McWilliams, 1968; Morris, 1962; Spiestersbach, Darley, & Morris, 1958). Reduced performance on the expressive domain in children with cleft have been attributed to their inadequate prespeech vocalisations, especially during the period of babbling (Scherer, Williams, & Proctor-Williams, 2008; Chapman, Hardin-Jones, & Halter, 2003). Children with cleft exhibit lesser variety and complexity of speech sounds during babbling (Stout, Hardin-Jones, & Chapman, 2011; Chapman, Hardin-Jones, Schulte, & Halter, 2001; Chapman, 1991).

Deficits in prespeech vocalisations have been noticed in children with cleft learning Tamil language too. Sreedhanya, Hariharan, and Nagarajan (2015) reported the presence of smaller consonant inventories, with more number of glottal (among place of articulation) and nasal (among manner of articulation) productions in children with cleft, learning Tamil language. These deficits continue to persist following surgical correction and impact the development of words and expressive language. Factors such as problems in middle ear functioning, hearing sensitivity, duration of hospitalisation, extent of cleft, and timing of palate repair have also been attributed to expressive language delays in children with cleft (Klinto, Svensson, Elander, & Lohmander 2014; Willadsen, 2012; Willadsen, & Enemark, 2000; Fox, Lynch, & Brookshire, 1978; Lamb, Wilson, & Leeper, 1972; Nation, 1970).

In spite of deficits in expressive language development, there was no significant difference in the size of expressive vocabulary reported by mothers of children with cleft in this study. This could imply that children with cleft do have the words in their vocabulary, but experience difficulty with respect to usage of words. Reduced phonetic inventory and

compromised understandability impact how the vocabulary is effectively used during communication, thereby affecting the overall expressive language. Expressive language is also dependent on aspects such as grammar. It is possible that children with cleft lip and palate might have difficulty in applying the syntactic rules, which along with their inability to articulate correctly, leads to deficits in expressive language. Analysing parameters such as mean length of utterance in morphemes could shed some light on the grammatical status of these children and their expressive competence. Scherer and D'Antonio (1995) reported of reduction in the mean length of utterance and use of bound morphemes in children with cleft.

Reports in literature on size of expressive vocabulary reveal mixed findings. Chapman, Hardin-Jones, and Halter (2003) observed no significant differences in size of expressive vocabulary reported by mothers of children with cleft compared to their peers. However, the number of different words used in a 10-minute conversation sample was significantly reduced in children with cleft compared to their peers. Several studies in literature have also reported of reduced size of vocabulary in children with cleft (Hardin-Jones, & Chapman, 2014; Lu, Ma, Luo, & Fletcher, 2010; Broen, Devers, Doyle, Prouty, & Moller, 1998; Scherer, & D'Antonio, 1995). These studies have included children from the early ages of 12 to 16 months itself indicating that size of expressive vocabulary could be impacted in the early stages of development (beyond 15 months of age). In the current study, size of vocabulary development has been analysed only at the age of 30 months using parent reported inventory. Parent reported measures of language development are a valid and effective tool for early language screening in children with cleft (Scherer, & D'Antonio, 1995). Analysing vocabulary development using longitudinal designs would throw more light on the development of vocabulary.

Conclusion

Children with cleft lip and palate are at risk for early language delays in expressive language that continues to persist till the age of 30 months. In spite of delay in expressive language development, children with repaired cleft speaking Tamil language reveal development of expressive vocabulary in par with that of typically developing children at 30 months of age. Further research considering other aspects of language such as mean

morphemic length of utterance, syntax, etc. could throw more light on understanding language development in children with cleft. The assessment protocol for children with cleft should include periodic monitoring of language development in the early stages. Speech language pathologists should consider early intervention modules focussing on language development too beyond articulation and speech intelligibility.

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Appendix 1

Semantic categories in the inventory used and their corresponding meaning

S.No	Semantic category	Corresponding meaning	Grammatical constituents
1.	sa:da:raṅasaptaṅga / mirugaṅga insaptaṅga	Environmental sounds	Onomatopoeic words
2.	mirugaṅga aikurikumva:rtaiga	Animals	Nouns
3.	vaṅḍivise:faṅga aikurikumva:rtaiga	Vehicals	
4.	vi aija:tʃisa:ma:ngal	Toys	
5.	sa:ppa:d̪i	Food and Drink	
6.	tun̪ivagaiga	Clothing	
7.	uḍamb̪iba:gaṅga	Body parts	
8.	vi:tʃisa:ma:ngal	Household items	
9.	vi:t̪iliruppavai		
10.	ve itʃfa:ma:ngal	Nature	
11.	poṭutipo:kkumid̪aṅga	Recreational places	
12.	d̪zanaṅga	People	
13.	vi aija:tʃi/ vaṅakkaṅga	Games	Verbs
14.	vi aija:tʃive:laiga	Action words	
15.	vi akkamtarumva:rtaiga	Descriptive words	Other grammatical
17.	ne:ramka:t̪umva:rtaiga	Time	constituents

18.	dʒanaŋga[aiKurikkumva:rttaiga]	Pronouns
19.	ke:[ɪiva:rttaiga]	Questions
20.	iɖamkurikkumva:rttaiga]	Preposition
21.	a[avika:tʃumva:rttaiga]	Demonstratives

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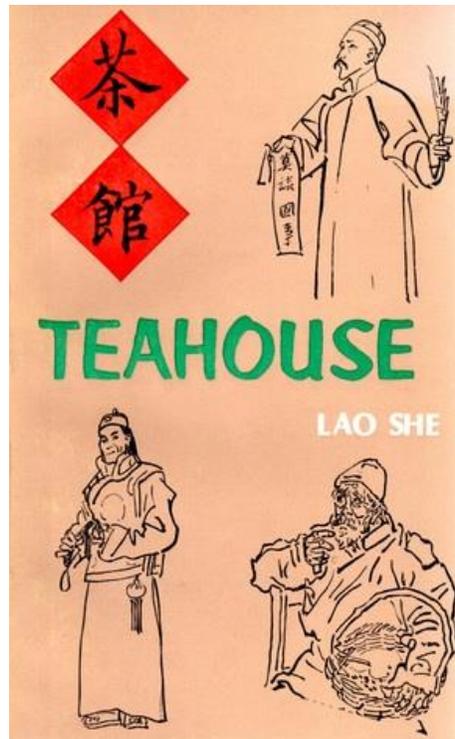
Savitha Vadakkanthara Hariharan, Vaidyanathan Raghunathan, N. Sreedevi and

Padmasani Venkat Ramanan

Expressive Language and Vocabulary Development of Tamil Speaking Children with
Repaired Cleft Lip and Palate

**Lao She's *Teahouse Act 3* and *Rickshaw Boy*:
The Role of Women**

Selvi Bunce



Lao She

Lao She was born and raised in a time of great change and turmoil in China. Born to a poor Manchu family at the end of the Qing dynasty, and losing his father in battle, Lao She experienced many hardships as a child. Growing up as the Qing were falling down, one of the greatest threats to Lao She's livelihood were the "foreigners"- the European, American, and Japanese armies that confiscated Chinese land, goods, and terrorized its people. This ultimately embedded negative feelings towards foreign forces in Lao She, which come out in his writing.



Lao She 1899-1966

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

Life in Beijing

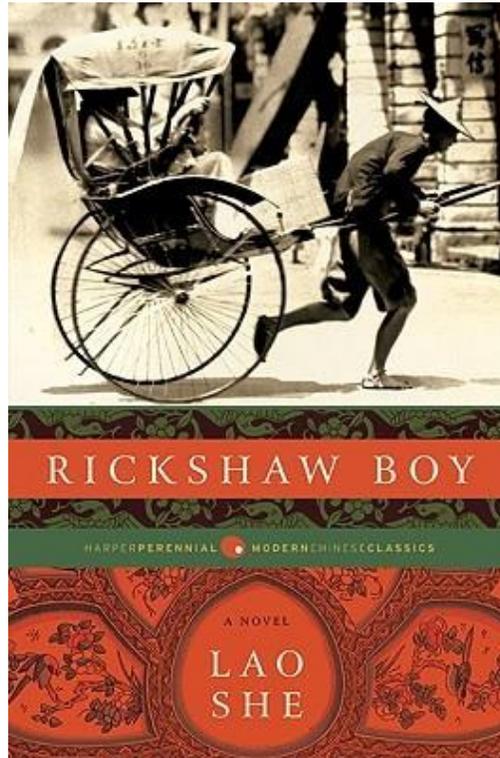
Furthermore, Lao She lived and worked in Beijing during the May Fourth Movement and was highly influenced by it. After growing up in poverty and overcoming numerous barriers to obtain an education, Lao She finally found a movement he could get behind – one that targeted China’s greatest problems: individualism and lack of attention to the poor. The spirit of the May Fourth Movement can be detected throughout Lao She’s prose and his writing would not be the same without it.

The Possibilities and Limitations in the Lives of Urban Chinese Women

Since his father died when he was just a toddler, Lao She grew up in a single-mother household. Not only did this provide him with the ability to more fully comprehend the challenges women faced at the time, but as a child, those challenges were also his challenges. Just as easily as he saw the fruit of his mother’s work translate into food on the table, he saw the opportunities she lacked translate to many a hungry night. Because of his relationship to the struggle of the poor urban woman, Lao She vividly describes the possibilities and limitations in the lives of urban Chinese women in the 1920’s-1940’s in both *Rickshaw Boy* and *Teahouse* (Act 3).

Rickshaw Boy

The novel, *Rickshaw Boy*, was first published in China in 1937. As the title suggests, the book centers on the trials and tribulations of a rickshaw man in Beijing. However, while the protagonist, Xiangzi, is male, there are two key female characters that help to illuminate the strife of the urban Chinese woman in the 1920's.



The first woman to appear in the plot of *Rickshaw Boy* is Huniu. The daughter of Fourth Master Liu, the Harmony Shed rickshaw owner and former racketeer, Huniu is un-affectionately known as “Tiger Girl” (Rickshaw 43). We are first introduced to Huniu when Xiangzi returns to Harmony Shed after his escape from the soldiers. Huniu is ugly, masculine, and mean – but extremely adept in matters of business, and ensures that Harmony Shed runs smoothly.

Although Huniu remains a minor character for most of the novel, she eventually becomes a focal point. While Xiangzi is living at Harmony Shed and attempting to save money to buy a new rickshaw, Huniu manages to seduce him. They sleep together a few times, but he feels guilty and decides to leave. In order to get him back she creates a false pregnancy and they marry,

without the blessing of Fourth Master Liu – thus rendering them penniless. Xiangzi despises Huniu but does not see himself having any other option, so while she cooks and cleans all day, he pulls a rickshaw. Eventually she does become pregnant, but due to her unhealthy lifestyle the child is born dead and Huniu dies in childbirth.

The tragic story of Huniu illustrates numerous things about the lives of women in 20th century China. First, Huniu was deeply afraid of being a spinster, causing her to go to such great lengths to marry Xiangzi, whom she knew her father would not approve of. There was intense pressure for women to marry in order to feel that they had lived any kind of worthwhile life. Although Huniu was a highly capable woman and ran Harmony Shed on a day to day basis, Fourth Master Liu constantly lamented his lack of sons and son in law to take over once he was gone. This even bothers him at his own birthday celebration. For example, he thinks about how “Huniu looked more like a man than a woman. If she’d been a man, by now she’d have been married with children.... No matter how much he’d accomplished, with no one to carry on the business, it was all for nothing” (Rickshaw 160). Her ability is completely disregarded since she is a woman, and her only use is to carry on his legacy by marrying a man.

Furthermore, Huniu’s graphic death was as painful as it was common. Child mortality rates were high, especially with the urban poor. For example, in the compound where Xiangzi and Huniu lived “it had become customary to talk about the birth of a child and the death of a mother in the same breath” (Rickshaw 233). She had finally gotten what she had longed for, and it killed her.

Fuzi, Second Important Female Character

The reader meets the second important female character in the compound where Huniu and Xiangzi live. This is Fuzi, a young girl from a poor family composed of a widowed, alcoholic father and two younger brothers. Her father had sold her into marriage to a soldier, who left her without a second thought when it was time for him to move on. With nowhere else to go, Fuzi returned home to take care of her younger brothers. But no longer pure after her first marriage and lacking in skills, she was unable to marry or find a job and was therefore left to

prostituting herself. Before she comes to this decision, her and Huniu become friends. So, when Huniu hears of this predicament, the businesswoman she is awakens and allows Fuzi to use her apartment to do her business for a share of the profits. After Huniu's death, Fuzi offers to be Xiangzi's wife, but he is not ready and leaves. When he finally gets a job and returns for her, it is too late and he learns that she has gone to a brothel and committed suicide.

A Contrast between Huniu and Fuzi

While Huniu's experiences illustrate a life run by societal pressures, many of the decisions she makes are still her own. Fuzi, on the other hand, is not able to make any of her own decisions. The combination of her poverty and youth make her entirely powerless. Yet, she is still the main breadwinner in her household. Her only hope for escape was through marriage, but marriage had failed her, so she was left to her own resources - her body. This highlights just how powerless poor women were and how much society forced them to depend on marriage for life itself.

Teahouse

While *Rickshaw Boy* illustrates the universal plight of women in 1920's China through two complimentary characters, *Teahouse* (Act 3) illustrates the changing, yet not altogether different situation of women in 1940's China.

We first see the changing standard of life for the everyday urban Chinese woman, with Wang Xiaohua, the granddaughter of the teahouse owner. The act opens with Wang Xiaohua heading off to school. This is significant because the Wang family is not a prosperous one, and the fact that their daughter is able to go to school, without being a burden on the family, signifies how the importance of girls has grown – beyond their ability to marry out.

China Has Not Completely Changed

However, the next female character we meet, Ding Bao, shows that China has not completely changed. Ding Bao works as a hostess and states that “I am traitor's property too. I have to wait on whoever has power and influence... I'm only seventeen but I often wish I was

dead. At least my corpse would be my own. But this kind of work – I’m slowly rotting away” (Teahouse 70). This shows that although some new opportunities have arisen for urban women, many are still stuck in the same roles as before – those that only require a pretty face and sweet aura, and render women completely powerless in their own lives.

Fourth Aunt Pang, the Up and Coming “Empress”

To add even more contrast, the audience is then introduced to Fourth Aunt Pang, the up and coming “Empress”. Wealthy and haughty, wherever she goes she takes control of the situation. When things do not go her way at the teahouse she threatens to come back and “have the old place smashed up” (Teahouse 87), therefore displaying her power and her control of others. This scene clarifies that it was not always biological sex that provided or rescinded power, but wealth played a large role. This idea echoes the contrast of Huniu and Fuzi in *Rickshaw Boy*.

***Rickshaw Boy* and *Teahouse* (Act 3)**

In both *Rickshaw Boy* and *Teahouse* (Act 3), Lao She makes it painfully clear that life in 20th century China was not easy for anyone, and women were no exception. The life of the urban woman was quite bleak - society did not provide her with many possibilities, nor did it provide her the space or power to create possibilities herself. Money could improve her situation, but this money was rarely her own, and much of her life revolved around her husband, or lack thereof. The 20th century was a time of great change in China, but this change did not occur evenly, raising some and leaving others to choke on their dust. Although Lao She does not make women a central focus of his novels, he does not forget them and adequately shows the awesome strength they had to withstand such trying times.

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Lao She’s *Teahouse Act 3* and *Rickshaw Boy*: The Role of Women

Sanskrit Elements in Panchali (Poguli/Khah) Language

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Abstract

The Pir panchal area of Jammu and Kashmir has linguistic diversity where different languages/dialects are spoken together. No linguistically-oriented research has been undertaken to study these languages, especially Panchali. *Panchali* is the name given to an Indo Aryan language - Poguli/Khah language, which is the major language of Pir Panchal range and has been classified as regional dialect of Kashmiri spoken outside the valley of Kashmir. It has various alternate names as Poguli, Khashali, Banihali, Paristani, Pogali, Khah, Pogli, Makerkoti, Pugij, Pahari, Khasha and Kohistani. It has 2lac (approx.) number of speakers. It is bordered in the east by Kishtwari and Bholderwahi, in the west by Pahari and Gojri, in the south by Dogri and in the north by Kashmiri language. This paper is based on the detailed comparative analysis of Sanskrit and Panchali languages. There exists a closer relation between Panchali than between Sanskrit than Kashmiri. From the semantic, lexical and morphological analysis it becomes clear that Panchali's basic word stock has been retained longer than Kashmiri. Comparative analysis of various words relating to parts of the body, physical states and condition, names of close relations, animals and birds, edibles, minerals, objects of common use, adverbs, pronouns and numerals are discussed. The Panchali has preserved even some of the archaic forms that can be traced back to Old Indo Aryan.

Keywords: Linguistic, research, Panchali, Indo Aryan, comparative, Sanskrit, relation, lexical, morphological, parts of the body, birds, archaic.

It is not possible to say that at what point of time exactly Panchali started taking shape as a distinct language because much of its literary output having been lost or have been passed down for centuries in oral tradition. But through the words of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kashmiri we can trace its origin. It has retained some of the archaic word forms that can be traced to the old Indo Aryan Speech.

Phonology

There exists a very strong evidence to support the claim that Panchali has preserved large number of lexical and phonetic elements that can be directly or through intermediary Prakrit –

Apabhramsha transform process traced to Vedic sources. These include several words most commonly used in everyday speech in Panchali(SS Toshkhani). For instance, we have the word ‘Baht’ which in Panchali means skin, hide, bellows is hardly different from the Vedic ‘Bastijn/basti’ which means goat’s skin. The Vedic word ‘Sin’ occurs as ‘syūn’ in Panchali, meaning ‘a cooked vegetable’ while the Vedic ‘Sanna’ appears in Panchali as ‘son’ meaning deep. Similarly we have the Vedic word ‘Addha’ which is hardly distinguished from the Panchali ‘Addeh’ meaning (So, then there upon, yes).

The Vedic ‘Prastar’ from which the Hindi/Urdu word ‘Pather’ (Stone) is derived changes through the intermediary Prakrit from ‘Pathero’ to ‘Pothur’ or ‘Pehtar’ in Panchali retaining the original sense of ‘on the ground or floor’.

Panchali has preserved even some pre-Vedic phonetic elements(SK Toshkhani-1967). For instance ‘Rahit’ and ‘Sahit’ becomes ‘Roht’ (excluding) and ‘Sēt/sēñt’ (including). The Vedic word ‘Kulal’ becomes ‘Krāl’ (Potter) in Panchali. ‘Pov’ in Vedic Sanskrit is used in the sense of power. In Panchali, it is used in the same way with same meaning. Again Vedic word ‘Sankarna’ becomes Panchali ‘Sakhronu’ (to get ready). ‘Tuma’ from Vedic Sanskrit becomes ‘Tam’ meaning ‘Breath’ in Panchali. The initial ‘ta’ of Sanskrit ‘tandulam’ is retained in Panchali ‘tañv van’ (Rice) while other modern Indo-Aryan languages have ‘cha’.

Sanskrit words in Panchali undergo some phonetic changes which are discussed below.

Sanskrit ‘kṣ’ invariably changes to ‘ḥh’ in Panchali language:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Takṣa	taḥh	To scratch, To peel
Lakṣ	Laḥh	Lakh
Pakṣ	Paḥh	To scrape, To plane
Drakṣ	daḥh	Grapes
Akṣi	Aḥh	Eye
Makṣa	Maḥh	Housefly
Dakṣina	daḥhnu/dashnu	Right
Bubhukṣa	Buḥh	Hunger
Rakṣa	Raḥh	Keep
Śikṣa	Hēñḥh	Learn
Mandakṣi	Mandaḥh	Shame

Kṣalava	ḡhal	Wash
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Sanskrit /dʒ/ becomes /Z/' in Panchali as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
dʒala	Zāl	Net
dʒana	Zan	Man
dʒangha	Zaṅg	Leg
dʒardʒar	Zizhur	Bush
Udʒwala	Uzlu	Red
radʒa	Raz	Rope
dʒear	Zēr	To insist
Kadʒla	Kazleh	Collyrium
Wadʒa	Vazeh	Wazah
dʒirakah	Zyūr	Cumin seed
Khadʒurah	Khazur	Date Palm
dʒiva	Ziv	Tongue
dʒama	Zām	Husbans's sister
dʒamatr	Zāmatru	Son-in-Law

Sanskrit 'ṣ/s' changes to /h/\` in Panchali as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Daṣa	Dah	Ten
Poṣa	Poh	Month name
Ṣata	Hath	Hundred
Ṣuska	Hukh	Dry
Ṣakam	Haakh	Pot herb
Ṣimbi	Heemeh	Beans
Sari	Haar	Starling, Mynah
Basti	Baht	Skin
Eka daṣa	Kah	Eleven
ḡaturdaṣa	Tsodah	Fourteen
Krisna	Krihnu	Black
Mansya	Mahun	Man
Ṣun	Hun	Dog

Maškah	Munh	Fly
Vimša	Vih	Twenty
Trimša	Trih	Thirst
Sahasra	Šah	Mother-in-Law
Našya	Nuh	Daughter-in-Law
Šot	Hot	Throat
Šarad	Harad	Autumn
Šrnkhalla	Hankul	Aeral
Šakti	Hyakat	Power
Šiki/šuyanta	Hae:g/hun nu	Can/to listen

But this rule does not apply for all items. In many cases ‘š/S’ does not change to ‘h’ as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
šobha	Šob	Look
Šurpa	Šyūp	Dustpan
Pušpa	Poaš	Flower
Aša	Oš	Tear
Prakaš	Pragaš	Light

Sanskrit ‘ṭ/ṭh’ changes to ‘Ts/tsh’ in Panchali as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
ṭusanam	Tsahnu	Feel
ṭīram	Tsēr	Late
ṭāndra	Tsandar	Moon
Karṭforah	Katsor	Brown
Vrsṭīkah	Byuts	A Scorpion
ṭatrah	Tsae:ṛ	A Sparrow
ṭhagalah	Tshyūl/tshagal	A He Goat
ṭukra	Tsuk	Soar
ṭarma	Tsam	Skin
Gatṭfa	Gatshi	Go
Naṭna	Natsnu	Dance
ṭak	Tsavar	Four
Iṭh	Otsh	Short

Prig̃ha	Prutshnu	Ta ask
ƒandravarah	Tsandervār	Monday

Sanskrit ‘v’ changes to ‘b’ in Panchali as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Vakṣa	Bāli	See
Vrs̃ƒīkah	Byuts	A Scorpion
Vapanam	Bovnu	To sow
Vekṣanam	Bālnu	To see
Varsarituh	Barsāt	Rain
Varsant	Band	Winter
Vrikatvata	Bokvae:T	Kidney
Vartika	Bae:T	Wick
Vankri	Bangri	Bangle
Vasta	Votsh	Calf
Vina	Bēn/Bhānts	Lute
Vivah	Byāh	Marriage

It is because of these phonetic changes that Banihal’s old name mentioned in history as Van shala becomes /Ban hala/. /Van/ becomes /Ban/ and /Shala/ becomes /Hala/. So every speaker of Panchali (Poguli/Khah) says Ban hala not Banihal or Bah nal as Margūb Banihali has talked of Bah (twelve) Nal (rivers). These phonetic changes apply to place names also as Vatro becomes Batro, vajeshvari becomes Bijbehara and varamula and Vikram becomes Bikram, etc.

Sanskrit final letter ‘a’ is lost in Panchali as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Sikta	Sik	Sand
Nama	Nām	Name
Nagna	Nongoi	Naked
Mamsa	Māz	Meat
Oṣtha	OaTh	Lip
Patra	Patar	Leaf
Hasta	Āhth	Hand
Drakṣa	daƒh	Grapes

Swarna	Svan	Gold
Pakṣa	Paṭṭh	Peel
Ṣushka	Hukh	Dry
Madhya	Manz	Between
Nila	Nyūl	Blue
Danshtrika	daiṭṭh	Beard
ḡukra	Tsuk	Soar
Nova	Nov	New
Karma	Kār	Work
Utiṣṭna	Uthnu	Rise
Dhuma	Dūm	Smoke
Adya	Āz	Today
ḡivha	Ziv	Tongue
Rikta	Rat	Blood
Bhakta	Bat	Cooked Rice
Saktum	Sot	Parched Rice
Sapta	Sat	Seven
Tapta	Tot	Hot

Ending 'ṣṭa/ṣoṭha' changes to 'ṭh' in Panchali:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Aṣṭa	Oaṭh	Lip
Maṣṭa	Mohit	Fist
Bhraṣṭa	Boṭh	Field
Roṣṭa	roṭh	Pimples

These words are hardly different from Panchali words and share the same meaning:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Antar	Antri	Inner
Ganṭh	Ganṭh	Bind/Khot
Dant	Dant	Tooth
Hasna	Hasnu	To laugh
Sutra	Sutreh	Thread
Prakāṣ	Pragaṣ	Light

Kane	Kaon	Blind
Sadr	Sadeh	Seventeen

Initial /h/ changes to /a/ In Panchali as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Hardar	Adli	Bone
Hafta	Anz	Swan
Hasta	Āht	Hand
Hola	Aleh	Pumpkin

/Kṣ/ changes to /tsh/ in Panchali as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Yakṣa	Yatshnu	To Desire
Kakṣa	Katsh	Arm pit
Kṣut	Tshvot	Short

Morphology

Verbal nouns are formed in Panchali by adding the suffix – nu to the base which can be easily traced to Sanskrit ‘- anam’ changes to ‘-nu’ as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Maranam	Mar nu	To die
Tar-anam	tar nu	To cross
Vapanam	Bov nu	To sow
Pis anam	Pih nu	To grind
ṭṣus anam	tsah nu	To sip
Khan anam	Ghaṭ-nu	To dig
takṣ anam	taṭṭh nu	To scrape
Sthap anam	raṭṭh nu	To have
Vekṣ anam	Bāl nu	To see
Vest anam	Vat nu	To fold

Panchali imperative verbs can hardly be distinguished from their corresponding Sanskrit forms. The final letter /a/ is changed to /i/ in Panchali as:

Sanskrit	Panchali	English
Gaṭha	Gatshi	Go
Likha	Likhi	Write
Anaya	Āni	Bring
Dhava	Dhanvi	Run
Kura	Kari	Do
Varnaya	Vani	Tell
Kṣalara	ḡhali	Wash
Patha	Paṛhi	Read

These sentences can hardly be differentiated (Badri Nath Kala 1977):

Sanskrit: Mya ma dehe \ tatam ma kadeh

Panchali: Me ma de \ tot ma khe

English: Do not give me \ do not eat hot

Sanskrit: Dūram ma gaṭha

Panchali: Dūr me gatshi

English: Do not go far away

Panchali pronouns have presented many old forms which occur in Sanskrit but are not found in Prakrit. e.g., The personal pronoun (third person) Su (He) and Sah (She) are quite akin to Sanskrit Sah and Sa and their plural forms tyañv (They) to Sanskrit te and tah retaining the initial 't'. First person pronoun plural (we) has developed from the Sanskrit root asmad Panchali. Interrogative pronoun kas/kam (who) reveals a close relationship with Sanskrit Kah and Kas. The relative pronoun yu/ye come from Sanskrit 'yo' and 'ye'. Panchali auxiliary verbs 'ḡhe' and 'āhteh' which are derived from the Sanskrit roots 'Kṣi' (to be). some Panchali adverbs too point to their old Indo-Aryan origin quite transparently.

Adverbs of Time

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Yalah	Yarhi	When
Tyalah	Tarhi	Then
Kār	Karhi	When
Āz	Adya/Prakrit adza	Today
Saklai	Sakae	Early
Tsēr	ḡiram	Late

Pateh	Pašcat	Afterwards
Adeh	Ada	After that
Har-dūs	Prati/divase	Every day
Har-rit	Prati-rituh	Every month
Har-vehri	Prati-varse	Every year
Ghae:ṛai	Ghati ka	Every now and then
Yuhnoi	Yathapi	As soon as
Tehnoi	Tathapi	At that very moment
tāmāth/tāñyeth	Tavat	Till then

Adverbs of Place

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Yuhur	Yatra	Here, wherever
Iteh	Tati	At this place
Tair	Tatra	There
Aeteh	Atri	At that place
Koreh	Kutra	At which place
Manz	Madhya/Prakrit Majjhe	In, inside
Manz-bakh	Madhya-bhage	In the middle
Dūr	Dura	far

Adverb of Manner

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Yenair	Yatha	In which/the manner
Tenair	Tatha	In that manner
Kenair	Katham	In what manner
Yenair tenair	Yatha Tatha	Some how

Lexical

The strong affinity Panchali has for this family is revealed by its basic word stock that have been retained longer than in any other language of the family. Several words relating to parts of the body, Physical states and conditions, names of close relatives, animals and birds, edibles, minerals, objects of common use, etc. can be described as such words show that their etymology can be unmistakably traced to Sanskrit(SS Toshkhani).

Parts of the body

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Vāl	Vala	Hair
Moi/buth	Mukh	Face
Aeš	Asya	Mouth
Dik	Dhika	Forehead
Gal	Galla	Cheek
Aḡh	Akši	Eye
Naht	Nast	Nose
OaTh	Oštha	Lip
Dant	Danta	Teeth
Bhum	Bhru	Eyebrow
Kan	Karna	Ear
Ziv	ḍjivha	Tongue
Tāl	Talu	Palate
Katsh	Kakšah	Armpit
Mundul	Mandalah	Buttocks
Nāi	Nabhi	Navel
Khani-vot	Kaphoni Vatah	Elbow
Angli	Anguli	Finger
Zang	ḍjangha	Leg
Khur	Khurah	Feet
Nam	Nakham	Nails
Tsam	ḡarma	Skin
Rat	Rokta	Blood
Adli	Adda	Bone
Māz	Mamsah	Flesh
Andram	Antram	Intestines
Buk Vaet	Vrikkavata	Kidney
Rūm	Roma	Hair of Body

Physical states and Condition

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Hasnu	Hasanam	To laugh
Mandaṭḥ	Manderakṣi	Shyness
Buṭḥ	Bubhukṣa	Hunger
Ṣungnu	Ṣayanam	To sleep
Nindreh	Nidra	Sleep
Trih	Trisa	Thirst
Nām	Nama	Name
Nongoi	Nagna	Naked
Nov	Nava	New
Pron	Puranam	Old
Khe	Khad	Eat
De	Dada	Give

Names of close relatives

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Putur	Putrah	Son
Gobur	Garbharupah	Son
Ku:eṭ	Kumari/Karimari	Daughter
Bāron	Bhrataka	Brother
Bain	Bhagini	Sister
Piṭḥav	Pitrauya	Uncle (Father's Brother)
Mae:ṣ	Matuṣvasa	Aunt (Mother's Sister)
Pupḥ	Pituṣvasa	Aunt (Father's Sister)
Mām	Mamakah	Maternal Uncle
Māmen	Mamikṣa	Wife of Maternal Uncle
Zāmatru	ḍḥamatr	Son-in-Law
Ṣuhur	Ṣvasur	Father-in-Law
Bemah	Bhama	Brother-in-Law
Zām	ḍḥama	Sister-in-Law
Muhun	Mamuṣya	Man

Common animals, birds and even worms and insects have names which are derived from Sanskrit.

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Ganv	Gau (Gava)	A cow
Votsh	Vatsah	A calf
Hun	švanah/šun	A dog
Vaundur	Vanarah	A monkey
Ghūṛ	Ghotakh	A horse
tshyūl/Tshāāgel	ḡhagalah	A he goat
Šauput	Švapadah	A bear
Mae:š	Mahisah	A buffalo
Novleh pūt	Nakulah	Mongoose
Saraph	Saraph	A snake
tsae:ṛ	ḡṛatkah	A sparrow
Kāv	Kakah	A crow
Kukuṛ	Kukkutah	A rooster, cock
Anz	Hamsah	A swan
Hār	Sari	Starling/Mynah
Kakav	ḡṛakravakah	The muddy goose
Griz	Gradrah	A vulture
Titar	Titirah	A partridge
Byuts	Vrstḡṛikah	A scorpion
Maḡḡh	Makṣika	A housefly
Kyum	Krmi	A worm
Pyuh	Phuši	A flea

Colours

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
ḡḡhyut	Švet	White
Krihnu	Krišan	Black
Nyūl	Nilah	Blue
Lidru	Haridra	Yellow
Uzlu	Udḡvalah	Red
Katsru	Kasḡḡurah	Brown

Names of days of the week

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Tsandarvār	ṭfandra varah	Monday
Bhumvār	Bhauma varah	Tuesday
Budhvār	Budh varah	Wednesday
Brastvār	Brhaspati varah	Thursday
Batvār	Bhatraka varah	Saturday
Aetvār	Aditya varah	Sunday

Names of Edibles

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Tail	Tailam	Oil
Tanvan	Tandulam	Rice
Dān	Dhanyam	Paddy
Bat	Bhaktam	Cooked Rice
Dud	Dugdham	Milk
Giv	Ghrtarn	Ghee
Pany	Panyam	Water
Hākh	Śakam	Pot-herb
Vangun	Vangan	Brinjal
Oalu	Alukah	Potato
Molyeh	Mulika	Radish
Gazir	Garjaram	Carrot
Palak	Palankah	Spinach
Mehtraī	Methika	Fenugreek
Karaileh	Karvellakah	Bitter goyrd
Byoal	Bidḡam	Seed
Al	Alabu	Bottle Gourd
Hēmah	Śimbi	Beans
Nimu	Nimbukah	Lime/Lemon
Kaileh	Kadali	Banana
dae ṛim	Dadim	Pomegranate
daṭḥ	Drakṣa	Grapes
Tang	Tanka	Pear

Khazur	Khajurah	Date Palm
Marats	Mariṭṭ	Black Pepper
Mung	Mudgah	Pulse
ḡaneh	ḡanakah	Gram Chickpea
Mah	Maša	A Bean
Makai	Markaka	Corn/Maize
Maetḡh	Makša	Honey
Ras	Rasah	Juice
Šund	Šunthi	Dried Ginger
Zyūr	džirakah	Cumin seed

rvaṬ	Rotah	A sweet cake offered to god
Patar	Patra	A leaf

Names of minerals also show the same tendency.

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Svan	Svarna	Gold
Tram	Tamra	Copper
Šaht rah	Šastrakah	Iron
Kats	Kansya	Brass/Bellmetal

Name of objects of common use are mostly of Sanskrit derivation:

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Kapṭeh	Kalpatah	Cloth
Raz	radžu	Rope
Sutreh	Sutrah	Cotton thread
trakṭi	Tarkari	Balance
Paramāneh	Parimana	Weights
Vakhul	Ulukhalah	Mortar
Kazleh	Kadžalam	Collyrium
KaTheh	Kasthan	Wood
Kamal	Kambalam	Blanket
Mvakteh	Mukhta	Pearls
Nāv	Nava	Boat

Šyop	Šurpa	Winnower
Thaal	Sthalam	A large plate
Gās	Ghasam	Grass
Zāl	ḍžalam	A net
Vael	Valaya	A ring
Kafūr	Karpuram	Carnphor
Gaṛbi	Gadukah	Water vessel
GhanTi	Ghanta	Bell
Sindūr	Sindurah	Vermilion
Bēn/bhants	Vina	Lute
Māl	Mala	Garland
Bangṛi	Vankri	Bangle
Albaein	Hala	Plough
Dašnu	Dakšina	Right
Dūm	Dhuma	Smoke
Mudru	Madhuram	Sweet
Gām	Gramah	Village
Avah	Ava	Yes
Doiyeh	Dvitya	Again/more
Mukul	Mukti	Escape

Names of different seasons are peculiarly Sanskritic.

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Svant	Vasanta	Spring
Harad	Šarad	Autumn
Band	Varsant	Winter

Etymology of words relating to physical, natural and environmental phenomenon is quite interesting.

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Tsandreh	ṭṣandra	Moon
Tārgon	Tarakah	Stars
Tāp	Atepah	Sunlight
Pragaš	Prakaš	Light

Anigot	Andha Ghata	Darkness
Abur	Abhva	Cloud
Uzmuli	Vidyut mala	Lightening
Gagṛāi	Gar gara	Thunder/Rumbling
Samundar	Samudrah	Sea/Ocean
Kul	Kulya	Stream
Van	Van	Forest
Bunyul	Bhufāla	Earthquake
Dūs	Divas	Day
Rāt	Ratri	night

Numerals

Panchali numerals are of particular interest in this context – cardinals as well as ordinals which are amazingly Indo-Aryan retaining old Sanskritic elements as hardly any other modern Indo-Aryan languages do. Panchali with Kashmiri retains the Sanskrit ‘dvi’ in the form of ‘doi’ Panchali follows this pattern but except twelve and after sixty Panchali follows Hindi-Urdu pattern. In ordinals except first, in all other numerals Sanskrit /ma/ is changed to /mu/ in Panchali in Singular Masculine and in plural masculine /meh/. In feminine singular /mi/ and in feminine plural /meh/ are used. The following table will make the position of Panchali numerals more clear.

Cardinals

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Yakh	Eka	One
Di	Dvi	Two
ḡai	Tri	Three
Tsavar	ḡatur	Four
Pānts	Panḡan	Five
Ṣeh	Sas	Six
Sat	Saptan	Seven
āhTh	Asan	Eight
Nav	Navan	Nine
Dah	Daśan	Ten
Kah	Eka daśan	Eleven
Bāh	Dvadaśan	Twelve

Troh	trayo daśan	Thirteen
Tsodah	ṭaturdaśa	Fourteen
Pastah	Pan ṭadaśan	Fifteen
šoṛah	Soaśan	Sixteen
Sadah	Sapta daśan	Seventeen
Aṛdah	Asoadaśan	Eighteen
Kunvih	Navadaśan/Univiśati	Nineteen
Vih	Viośati	Twenty
Yakvih	Ekavi śati	Twenty One
Dvavih	dva viśati	Twenty Two
Truvih	trayo śati	Twenty Three
Tsūvih	ṭatur śati	Twenty Four
Pañtsvih	Panṭṭa śati	Twenty Five
Šūvih	Saośati	Twenty Six
Satvih	Sapta śati	Twenty Seven
AhTh vih	Asoa śati	Twenty Eight
Kun trih	Novaviśati/Unatriśati	Twenty Nine
Trih	Triśat	Thirty
Yak trih	Ekatriśat	Thirty One
doi trih	Dvatriśat	Thirty Two
Taitrih	trayastri śat	Thirty Three
Tsoitrih	ṭatustriśat	Thirty Four
Pantstrih	Panṭṭa śat	Thirty Five
Šai trih	Sa śat	Thirty Six
Sat trih	Sapta śat	Thirty Seven
AhTh trih	Asoa śat	Thirty Eight
Kun trih	Navatriśat/Unatṭatvariśat	Thirty Nine
Tsālih	ṭatvariśat	Forty
Yak talih	Ekatṭatvariśat	Forty One
doi talih	dvatṭatvasiśat	Forty Two
tai talih	trayastṭatvariśat	Forty Three
Tsoi talih	Traya ṭatvariśat	Forty Four
Pants talih	ṭatus catvariśat	Forty Five
Shai talih	Panṭṭa ṭatvariśat	Forty Six

Sat talih	Sau ųatvariųat	Forty Seven
AhTh talih	Asau ųatvariųat	Forty Eight
Kun vanzah	Navaųatvarishat/Unapanųaųat	Forty Nine
Pantsah	Panųaųat	Fifty
Yak vanzah	Eka panųaųat	Fifty One
do vanzah	dva panųaųat	Fifty Two
tro vanzah	Tripanųatųat	Fifty Three
Tso vanzah	ųatu panųatųat	Fifty Four
Pants vanzah	Panųapanųaųat	Fifty Five
ųo vanzah	Sao panųaųat	Fifty Six
Sat vanzah	Sapta panųaųat	Fifty Seven
AhTh vanzah	Asa panųaųat	Fifty Eight
UnhāTh	Nava panųaųat/una sousi	Fifty Nine
ųahTh	Sasi	Sixty

Ordinals

Panchali	Sanskrit	English
Pehle	Prathama/Agrima	1 st
de mu	Dvitiya	2 nd
ųe mu	Totiya	3 rd
Tsavaru mu	ųaturtha	4 th
Pants mu	Panų ama	5 th
ųe mu	Saųa	6 th
Sat mu	Saptama	7 th
AhTh mu	Asama	8 th
Nav mu	Navima	9 th
dāh mu	Daųama	10 th
Vih mu	Viųatiamama	20 th
Hat mu	ųatatama	100 th
nabay mu	Navatitma	90 th

Conclusion

These are part of the numerous examples that show how Panchali has preserved phonetic, semantic and morphological elements of Sanskrit. This is not to suggest that Panchali agrees with

Sanskrit in every respect. As a language it has its own peculiarities and distinguishing features, but its basic word-stock does come from Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan and its grammatical forms too have developed without doubt from Sanskrit to a considerable extent. True, a great number of Persian, Urdu, Dogri and Kashmiri lexical items have found their way into Panchali and have become a part of its vocabulary. These, however are later-day additions made much after Panchali had evolved as a distinct language. Surely there is wide area that has still to be explored.

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Shakespeare's King Henry V as a Skillful Rhetor

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Henry V

Courtesy: <http://www.history.com/topics/british-history/henry-v-england>

Abstract

Public Speaking is the art of making a speech before an audience, irrespective of the place. There are certain key elements to be followed in the art of speaking as propounded by the Greek philosopher, Aristotle. Such techniques when adopted in one's speech enhance the power and success in one's rhetoric. Shakespeare, the Great English dramatist, has shown his expertise in the use of rhetoric in his writings in all his plays. This paper tries to prove King Henry the Fifth, one of the historical characters of Shakespeare, as a man of rhetoric through the analysis of a heroic speech made by him to his soldiers, cleverly following the nuances of Public Speaking.

Key Words: Public speaking, rhetoric, Aristotle, Shakespeare, Henry V.

Introduction

Public speeches can be informative like lectures, to persuade as sermons and political speeches. They can be delivered during special occasions such as award ceremonies, memorial speeches, introduction of people, commemoration and acceptance of honors (Lucas, 2007). The art of Public Speaking can be traced to the ancient Greek orators and Aristotle was one of the first recorded teachers of Oratory to have set down definitive rules and models. There are five basic elements of Public Speaking according to Lasswell's model of communication (Berg and Carnegie, <http://manybooks.net>) such as the communicator, message, medium, audience and effect. It answers to the questions -- who communicates, what is communicated, through what channel, to whom and with what effect.

The Art of Rhetoric

Rhetoric was defined by the Greek philosopher Aristotle as the faculty of observing in any given case of persuasion, in his work, *The Art of Rhetoric*. Expression of one's thoughts and information to the audience alone does not matter in a Public Speaking event but how the listeners are moved by the words and their meanings by altering their emotions, and attitudes and actions of the speaker matter a lot. Aristotle has categorized three appeals under three basic parts of Persuasion as Ethos (credibility of the speaker), Logos (logic behind any conclusions drawn by a speaker) and Pathos (emotional appeal or ability to create connection between the speaker and his audience). These make a man a great rhetor or a speaker (Nikitina, 2011).

Shakespeare, the Master of Rhetoric

Chronicle plays in the Elizabethan period were written as an appeal to the mass of people to promote patriotism. William Shakespeare, belonging to this period, was no less skillful in projecting his characters especially the warriors as masters of rhetoric. Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in 1863, Sojourner Truth's Identification of racial issues in "Ain't I a woman?", Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a dream" speech at the Washington Monument in 1963 inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's message of Non-Violence, and Churchill's speech on sinews of Peace prove to be great public speeches. In Shakespeare's plays, speech of his every character stands as a testimony to a complete example of rhetoric. In the array of Shakespeare's

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unparalleled creations of Pericles' Funeral oration on the Peloponnesian war, Mark Antony's Oration on the death of Julius Caesar and the Bishop of Carlisle's Prophetic speech, comes the great speeches of King Henry the Fifth that highlights not only the chivalry of the king but the genius of Shakespeare in the use of rhetoric.

Background of King Henry V

Shakespeare's historical plays *Henry IV Parts I and II* and *Henry V* are grouped under the Trilogy. These three plays deal with the fortunes of the house of Lancaster. The history of Henry IV's reign is taken up and continued in two parts of the play, named after him. As it is not a peaceful reign, he has to abandon his penitential pilgrimage and has to face the rising of Henry Persey, otherwise called Hotspur, aided by the Scots and Welsh rebels. Prince Hal, the son of Henry IV, associates himself with the unrestrained companions, headed by Falstaff who robs the travelers and plays pranks. Hal is called by his father for the amendment of his character and is entrusted with a wing of troops against Hotspur. To everybody's astonishment, Hal emerges victorious in the battle by slaying Hotspur. Henry IV on his death-bed, advises Hal to begin a war abroad to distract the attention of his subjects. It's where Hal incarnates himself as the brave Henry V by casting off his old associates.

King Henry V as an Able Rhetor

The chivalrous and enchanting speech of King Henry V occurs in Act III Scene I of the play *King Henry V* addressing the young English soldiers who are marching towards France with him. England is left in the charge of men, women and children. They siege Harfluer. He declines the French king's offer of his daughter Katherine's hand and some dukedoms. Henry summons his men to the breach made in the walls of Harfluer as,

Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;
Or close the wall up with our English dead.
In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility:
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the tiger;

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Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage;
Then lend the eye a terrible aspect;
Let pry through the portage of the head
Like the brass cannon; let the brow o'erwhelm it
As fearfully as doth a galled rock
O'erhang and jutty his confounded base,
Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean.
Now set the teeth and stretch the nostril wide,
Hold hard the breath and bend up every spirit
To his full height. On, on, you noblest English.
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof!
Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,
Have in these parts from morn till even fought
And sheathed their swords for lack of argument:
Dishonour not your mothers; now attest
That those whom you call'd fathers did beget you.
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
And teach them how to war. And you, good yeoman,
Whose limbs were made in England, show us here
The mettle of your pasture; let us swear
That you are worth your breeding; which I doubt not;
For there is none of you so mean and base,
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.
I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,
Straining upon the start. The game's afoot:
Follow your spirit, and upon this charge
Cry 'God for Harry, England, and Saint George!' (Lines 1-34)

Employment of Three Appeals

Henry V gives the motivational speech with three appeals Ethos, Logos and Pathos when some of the soldiers are ready to abandon war. He inspires them to take charge once more and win the battle. He stirs up their courage with fiery words kindling them to “imitate the action of the tiger”. He wants them to replace kindness with rage and put on the grimmest looks. He reminds them of the heroic tradition and heroic example of their ancestors. He appeals to them to prove as worthy sons of their fathers. He proclaims to the yeomen that they should show them as the worthy sons of England.

Ethos

Ethos forms the possession of certain level of authority and knowledge about the chosen topic by a speaker. In other words, it is the knowledge of the topic or subject by the speaker. Henry V, knowing well the temperament of the soldiers, conducts the siege operations himself. He opens his speech with a demand to either advance to the breach or close it with a heap of dead. He is very clear that as a king, he has to be authoritative to his kinsmen. He instills their ferocity like a tiger when the blow of wars is heard keeping aside humility and modesty that are not befitting that time. Their fair countenance should have rage with which the enemies can be made to flee from the spot. He refers to the brows, eye sockets, nostrils and teeth to be as tempestuous as ocean that makes the rock tremble. He appeals to the active part to be played by each human part of the soldiers, thus serving well the purpose of employing the appeal of Ethos.

Logos

Logos constitutes the logical, informative and clean manner of the speech to bring home correctly the message intended to the audience. It is the knowledge of the audience about the subject. Henry V is very wary in submitting his speech with logical canons so that the message he has intended can be brought home. He brings in the logical evidence of the victory of their ancestors referring them as “Alexanders” and their belonging to such a heroic tradition. It is an indirect instruction to the soldiers that they are the descendants of heroic battle and their defeat in the battle would be the highest disgrace to the heroic tradition. He excellently appeals to the

Logos also through the metaphor of drawing a bow comparing to the drawing up of the spirits of the soldiers.

Pathos

Pathos encompasses the emotional appeal to the listeners by the speaker even at the outset to hold the interest and attention of them throughout the speech. It is the arousal of the emotions of the audience by the speaker. A King is more a kith and a kin to his subjects than a normal comrade. Henry V never falls short of such compassion and benevolence towards his subjects. He touches upon the emotions of the soldiers emphasizing that they should prove themselves to be the worthy sons of his fathers. He insists that they should not bring dishonor to their mothers. He knows well that any reference to the blood relations arouses the emotions of the soldiers. He emphasizes that their victory would assert their heroic blood and earn a great name to his forefathers. He calls forth an emotional patriotism among the soldiers towards England.

Conclusion

Henry V has, thus, emerged as an efficient Rhetor by his exuberant appeal to the Ethos, Logos and Pathos through his upraising speech. He could create a rising tide among the soldiers and bring them triumphant with their martial fight in the battle with the Dauphin of France. He is very stabilized in his disposition of ideas as haste shows lack of control. His mastery over audience vitalizes the speech. Thus, through the oratory skill of Henry V, Shakespeare has endorsed himself as the eminent playwright wielding over the English language for centuries.

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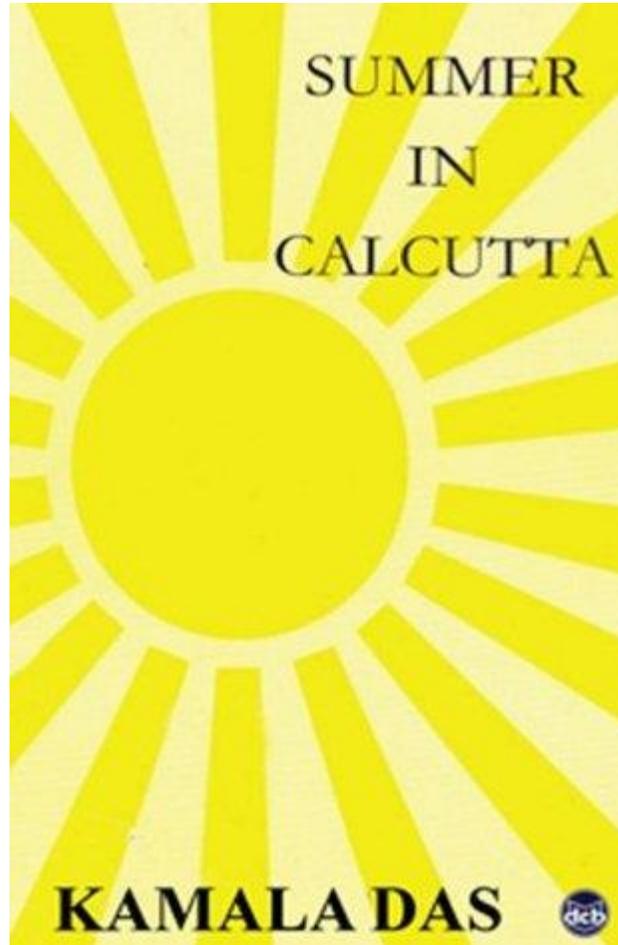
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**A Critical Appreciation of the Poem *My Grandmother's House* by
Kamala Das**

**Dr. P Sreenivasulu Reddy
Dr. Ramanadham Ramesh Babu**

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Kamala Das, the most prominent feminist voice in the postcolonial era, has created a permanent place for herself in Indian Writing in English. The poem *My Grand Mother's House*

is a lyric that reveals her nostalgic yearning for her family home in Malabar where she had spent some of the happiest days of her life with her grandmother. The poem first appeared in Kamala Das's first anthology of verses titled *Summer Time in Calcutta*.

Kamala Das then lived in a city, far away from her grandmother's place. Here she suffered from an acute sense of alienation after having left grandmother's place after her marriage. She remembered the days she spent in her grandmother's house and the love and affection showed by her. The memory makes her sad and she says ...

“There is a house now far away where once

I received love..... that woman died.”

She was reminded of her grandmother's house where she spent her memorable childhood. It was the only place where she could receive love from her grandmother. She became emotional and suffered intense agony. After the death of her grandmother, the poet says that even the House was filled with grief, and she accepted the seclusion with resignation. Only dead silence haunted the House, feeling of desolation wandering throughout. Kamala Das was too young to read the books at that time. The books in the house seemed to her as horrible as snakes and her blood turned cold like the moon.

“The house withdrew into silence, snakes moved

Among books, I was then too young

To read, and my blood turned cold like the moon”

Since then the poetess was thinking of going to her grandmother's house again. She had a strong desire to be in there and wanted to look through the windows of the house. She called the windows blind because there was no one in the house to look through the windows. She wanted to sit there alone and listened to the blowing of the cold winter wind. Her heart was itself like a dark window where the fresh air did not blow.

“How often I think of going

There, to peer through blind eyes of windows or

Just listen to the frozen air.”

Kamala Das told her darling that it would be difficult for him to believe that she had lived in such a wonderful house. She loved it so much that she was proud of it. Now the love shown by her grandmother was not there for her. So she had been requesting even the strangers to show at least some of their love on her. But her wish remained unfulfilled. The failure of love and the birth of poetry were related to each other in Kamala Das. Her intimacy with her husband was purely physical. Under such circumstances love degraded into lust and savage condition. So she had been begging strangers to show true love to her like her grandmother who shared her love and affection for Kamala Das.

“You cannot believe, darling,

Can you, that I lived in such a house and

Was proud, and loved... I who have lost

My way and beg now at strangers' doors to

Receive love, at least in small change?”

Kamala Das sums up the poem saying that it is, to some extent, difficult for anyone to believe that she once lived in such a house filled with love and affection and was so loved by all and she lived her life with full pride. It is also to hard believe for every one that her world once filled with happiness is a sharp contrast to her present situation where she is completely devoid of love and pride. She says that in her desperate quest for love, she has lost her way. Since she didn't receive any feelings of love from the people whom she called her own, she now has to knock “at strangers' doors” and beg them for love, if not in substantial amounts, then at least in small measure.

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**Inequality in Education:
Journalistic Descriptions from Ayyothidhasa Pandithar's
Oru Paisa Tamilan and *Tamilan* Magazines**

M. Balasubramaniyan, M.A. and R. Subramani, Ph.D.

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Ayyothidhasapandithar (1845 – 1914)

Courtesy: <http://ayyothidhasapandithar.blogspot.com/2010/10/>

Introduction

Concomitant to the evolution of the human species, the philosophy of teaching and learning has been formulating itself. Both members of ethnic groups and a number of communities have given serious thinking to this issue. Evidences could be unearthed in relation to this line of thinking among Vedic Brahmins and Jain monks. Through Tamil literature, we understand that poets have been knowledgeable and were operating in this area of education. As in the Greek and Celtic societies and as what prevailed in the Dravidian tradition, Tamil culture was impregnated with noble thinking in education. Though kings had explicit plans to take education to common man across the spectrum, it was the British who implemented equity in access to education, when division in every name existed. Ayyothidhasa pandithar was a doyen among who supported the cause of the subaltern people for their holistic development.

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Ayyothidhasa pandithar as a Reformer, Educationist, Supporter of the Oppressed and Buddhist Revivalist

Researchers identify Ayyothidhasa pandithar as a revivalist of Bhuddhist philosophy after Asoka, by starting *Oru Paisa Tamilan* in 1907 and providing a Tamil identity. Although he juggled subjects like Politics, Culture and Tamil medicine, he handled education with great zeal and assurance. He stressed the significance of both western and modern education. By imparting education through the mother tongue, literature and epics, he argued, progressive ideas could be easily disseminated. Dogmatic beliefs against mother tongue education were regressive, he argued. The oppressed, he insisted, should seek modern education. As an example he allowed his children to study go through modern education. He implemented modern education in the schools he started with the help of Col. Olcott. He stressed vocational education for women and believed that education was for the overall development of the society and not aimed at self-perpetuation (Gowtham Channa, 2007).



Oru Paisa Tamilan, 3 July 1907

Courtesy: <http://ayyothidhasapandithar.blogspot.com/2009/03/102.html>

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There should be reservation for the downtrodden in schools and colleges, as well as in employment. He argued for monetary help to the downtrodden through scholars when they go to schools and colleges. These were among the ten resolutions or demands of Ayyothidhasa pandithar sent to Ragavachari in the year 1891 during the Nilgris conclave (*ibid*). *Oru Paisa Tamilan* and *Tamilan* journals reveal Ayyothidhasa pandithar's social, political, religious, historical and literary discourses apart from his demand for education for the downtrodden.

Ayyothidhasar's Contribution to Early Educational Ventures

Dalit leaders and the missionaries opined that the emancipation of the oppressed would happen only through education. Adopting similar line of thinking, the British drafted plans and formed the Education Commission in 1882 and undertook a survey of social status of the *Panchamas*. This identified the reasons for their economic stagnation. Changes were brought about in education policy in February 1893 and a two-rupee scholarship to those from oppressed community was awarded. Special schools for them were opened in areas where their population was high.

Ayyothidhasar convened a Nilgiri conference in 1891 to integrate the Dalits into Dravida Mahajana Sabha. He passed ten resolutions stressing the need for education to Dalits and the related rights and subsidies. There should be separate schools for Dalits and teachers from among them; half fee concession for untouchables; scholarships for those students who are successful in matriculation examination; for those who completed schooling, employment should be given in each of the government departments based on their educational qualifications and good conduct without any hindrance.

Demand for Temple Entry

In April 1892, Chennai Mahajana Sabha meeting was held in Victoria Mahal. Participating as a representative of the Nilgiri Mahajana Sabha, Ayyothidhasar demanded entry of Dalits in Saiva and Vaishnava temples but this was strongly rebutted by caste Hindus. Retaliating to this, he demanded schools in every village to provide free education to Dalits and rejected caste. Swiftly heeding to the demands, the British government ordered setting up of Dalit schools in villages and directed the Local Fund Board to provide assistance in the process. Many Dalit children benefited from this and schools came up in Chennai, Chengalpattu and Travancore.

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Opposing the *Panchama* Nomenclature

Theosophical Society started by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Col. H.S.Olcott in 1894 started *Panchama* free schools, possible because of the acquaintance of Rev. John Ratnam, Rettamalai Sreenivasan with Lord Olcott. But, Ayyothidhasar did not relish this nomenclature. The name carried the stigma of caste Hindus and desired a more egalitarian name like secular free school. Seeking the opinions of the caste Hindus to name the schools for the downtrodden was like feeding the Brahmin's fire with ghee and adding spice to their curry (Venkatachalam, 2015). Aided by the British government, and assisted by missionaries, Ayyothidhasar carried forward Dalit education as his mission towards development.

Ayyothidhasar's Educational Philosophy

Ayyothidhasar's educational philosophy was intended not only to provide Dalits education but it was also a comprehensive discourse on the modalities of how to move forward from oppression to freedom and equality of castes. Though his *Oru Paisa Tamilan* and *Tamilian* volumes he had persistently carried on a campaign for Dalit education. Only education could lead the individual and the society to social emancipation, and this reason was upper most in Ayyothidhasar's program (Anbu Ponnaiyam, 2010). Education leads to social development. Ayyothidhasar was steadfast in obtaining free education to the economically deprived labouring poor (Vijayakumar, 2015). His alliance with Col. Olcott enabled him to travel to Sri Lanka and embrace Bhuddism. Besides education for the downtrodden, he also worked for midday meals, scholarship assistance and employment to the students from Dalit communities (*ibid*).

While noting his contribution to education, Venkatachalam (2015) mentions that Ayyothidhasar desired uniform curriculum through mother tongue and vocational education which would contribute to both individual and societal development. Through such arrangements, scientific advancement would hasten overall growth and prosperity and the educational system would bring in a congenial atmosphere. All his writings pointed to this possible realization of development through education. Education should be streamlined for enabling industrial and agricultural development (*ibid*).

Methodology

Content analysis is an unobtrusive tool to bring out the meaning behind the text and situate them to the context in which it was generated. Hence, qualitative content analysis was performed to understand the multi dimensional writings on education by Ayyothidhasar through the columns of the magazines he edited and published. Since Ayyothidhasar's writing on education was the focal area, only those articles that spoke about the discriminatory practices inside the classroom were taken up for the study.

Journalistic Descriptions in *Oru Paisa Tamilan* and *Tamilan*

Indian society reveals caste fissures in several ways. Caste is seen entangled with politics, arts, culture, food, clothing, avocation, living focus and spirituality. It is no wonder that we have historical evidence from classrooms on the presence of caste discrimination. During Vedic age, Dalits and Sudras were proscribed from learning which persisted for centuries without being subjected to closer scrutiny. In the name of norms and values, discrimination was justified and this percolated down to teachers as well. This was evident even in the appointment of education commissioners appointed by government to oversee educational administration. This was published in an article, titled 'Primary schools and supervisors' in *Tamilian* (1909) issue. The article read like this: "Supervisors who should visit village schools and examine the students, never undertake such visits. Instead they bring children to a place like a farmhouse of a caste Hindu and file a report that they have examined the students. This act shows how discriminatory they have been in keeping Dalit children at a distance and completes the examination process for namesake".

The supervisors have avoided undertaking visits to such places and did not go anyway near the Dalit children. In order to end this practice those who treat children as children should occupy such offices. The rest of the article goes like this: "The very purpose of appointing such officers is defeated and incurring additional expenditure is like precious resources being flushed away down the drain. Those who treat human beings empathetically, those who are equanimous and are selfless without avarice should be appointed supervisors in order to educate the downtrodden and carry forward the government mission of educating the oppressed (*Tamilian*, January 1909). This news item clearly brings to the fore the prevalent caste discrimination among government officers in those days.

There was one more news item that discussed how caste Hindus indulged in such nefarious practices. They have cut across religion to join hands with them to retain caste structure. Dravidians with lesser or no caste affiliations were progressing well. They were accused by the divisive caste forces that these people were enjoying the benefits by the benevolence of missionaries. Hence, they entered into Lutheran mission and brought in caste division in Christianity (Tamilan, 27 January 1909).

When education was denied to Dalits, missionaries came to their rescue and attempted to provide equitable education by establishing educational institutions and appointing teachers for that purpose. As Dalits were admitted in these schools, caste Hindus cited this as a reason to stop sending their children to learn sitting side by side with Dalits. To record this phenomenon, Ayyothidhasar, in March 17th edition of *Tamilan* in 1909, published a story of the missionaries' mercy thus:

The missionaries have mercifully opened schools wherein children from all hues will be admitted. Hence caste Hindus did not send their children to those schools. In public places like schools, they were particular that their children should not be sitting equal to Dalits. The missionaries did not pay any heed to this and the news was published as below "Even if one Dalit student wants to join school, we will throw open all the gates for him/ her, even it entails stopping 100 caste Hindu students from entering school. This reply forced Hindu students to sit and study with *Pariahs* (Tamilan, 17 March 1909).

The way British implemented education policy without discrimination to include Dalits and later provide them employment opportunity was published in *Tamilan* as follows: "Although oppressed at the hands of caste Hindus, the secular administration ensured that children of Dravidians were able to secure BA, MA degrees like that of the upper caste. Recognising these attainments, the British government appointed them in *sereusadar*, *Ajirserusadar*, *honorary surgeon*, *honorary magistrate* and *school magistrate* posts and after discharging the duties with great commitment, they earned the titles of Star of India, Rao Bahadur." Even during English administration of schools, discriminatory practices were in full swing as depicted by news items in *Tamilan's* issues.

Conclusion

Ayyothidhasar carried forward a mission for secular, equitable and emancipatory education based on scientific thinking when there was no possibility for education for all and right to equal opportunity was not yet campaigned by civil societies. It is very insightful of Ayyothidhasar to have propagated individual education for the larger social development. Ayyothidhasar pitched also for women education, education through one's mother tongue, vocational training and modern education. There was no scope for Dalits to sit next to caste Hindus in school. There were orchestrated attempts to deny employment opportunities for the Dalits. All these and how casteism was prevalent in the classrooms were evident from the articles published by Ayyothidhasar in *Tamilan's* issues. This paper documented how historically inequality persisted.

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**Gender Reflection in Number Markers:
A Case of Hindi Disyllabic Words and their Gendered Behavior**

Sweta Sinha, Ph.D.

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Abstract

The concept of gender is much more complex than what it appears to be and when it is investigated through the lens of language the interrelationship appears to be both implicit as well as explicit. The present research is an attempt to reinstate the profound agreement between gender and number in Hindi (an Indo- Aryan) language with an aim to highlight the gendered behavior of numbers in this language. The investigational framework was based on three-hypotheses: (a) gender bias in Hindi being both implicit as well as explicit; (b) gender bias is observed in gender and number interaction and (c) nouns with (+ Male attribute) do not take on as many overt affixes as nouns with (+ Female attributes). Around fifty disyllabic words were chosen as part of the first phase of study in this area and they were categorized based on (+Male/ +Female), (+Human/ -Human) and (+Countable/ -Countable) attributes. Nouns with (-Human) attribute were further categorized on the basis of (+/- Animacy). Analysis of data not only established the validity of the hypotheses but it has also opened up new area of research where more studies can be carried out to investigate gender influenced morphological behavior in languages.

Keywords: Pluralization; Number Markers; Hindi; Gender and Language; Hindi Words; Disyllabic

1. Introduction

Sex is the biological characteristic of human and animals. Except for the hermaphrodites, all the living organisms (humans and animals) have distinct sexual classification of male and

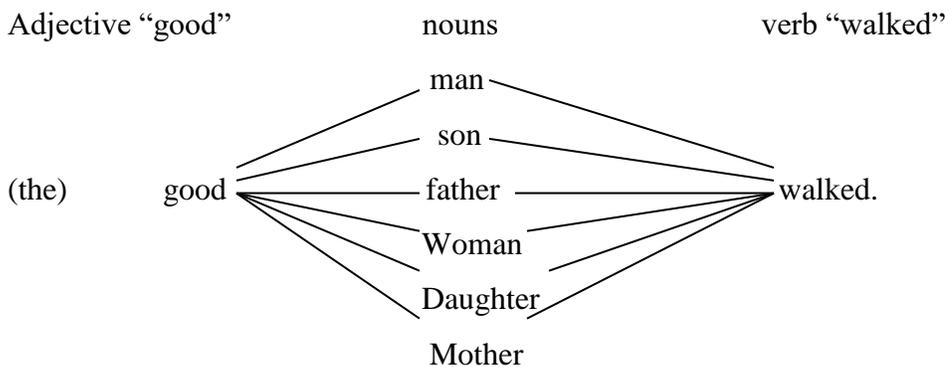
female. Non- living objects, therefore, are asexual. The concept of gender is much more complex than this because the culture has a lot of impact on gender assignment to almost all possible living/ non- living things under the sky. In languages with gender all nouns are categorized into either three groups (as in Sanskrit) or two (as in Hindi). The two genders that exist in all languages are “masculine” and “feminine”. The third gender is called “neuter”. In languages like English gender agreement is not manifested on verbs and adjectives but in Hindi the agreement is more profound. The present research is an attempt to reinstate the profound agreement between gender and number in Hindi with an aim to highlight the gendered behavior of numbers in this language.

This investigation is undertaken on the basis of the following three hypotheses.

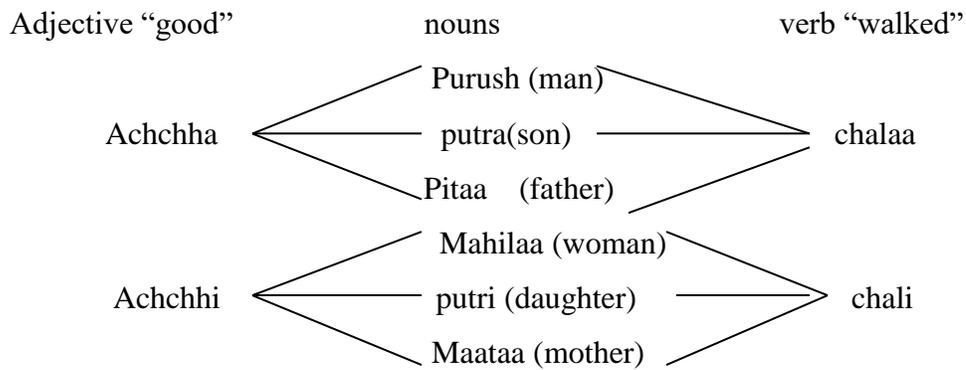
- (a) Hindi not only manifests its gendered bias explicitly but implicitly as well.
- (b) Gender bias is observed in the interaction between gender and number.
- (c) The affixation for pluralization is the maximum for nouns with + Female attribute compared to nouns with + Male attribute.

But before proceeding with the investigation let us first understand the dichotomy between noun- verb- adjective agreement in English and Hindi with the help of the following examples.

a. English



b. Hindi



In (a) the adjective and verb are free from gender agreement. However, in (b) the adjective and the verb have to agree with the gender of the noun for permissible syntactic framework.

Linguists use existence of agreement as a criterion to judge whether a language has gender. Although a language shows that there is some categorization of nouns into groups, but there is no agreement according to the groups of nouns, the language is considered as a language without gender (Zubin, 1992; Dixon, 1986; Corbett, 1991). Categorization of nouns into genders is a phenomenon found in some languages, Hindi being one of them. According to (Charoonrojn, 1997) gender in grammar seems to be more important for Hindi speakers than sex in reality.

1.1 Literature Review

Corbett (1991) distinguished between languages with *semantic gender system* and languages with a *formal gender system*. In the first category are languages such as English and Chinese where gender is encoded in the linguistic elements only for the referents having biological sex. In the second category are Romance languages including Hindi. In these languages, according to (Vigliocco and Franck 1999) all nouns are marked for gender, either masculine or feminine. If the nouns refer to an entity with biological sex, then the gender feature of the noun will depend on whether the speaker wants to talk about a male or female entity in a manner analogous to number features. However, for nouns referring to objects, for which gender is not a semantic property, the gender of the noun is not assigned on the basis of the speaker’s

intention but stored in the lexicon as an inherent property of the lemma (Vigliocco, Antonini & Garrett, 1997).

Gumperz (1958) argued for the consideration of various variables in his study of Hindi dialects like caste, place of residence, religion, informal contacts and occupation. He also brought the notion of “context” but gender took a backseat. The field of language and gender did not really emerge until after the publication Lakoff’s “Language and the Woman’s Place” in 1973. In the feminist analysis of sexist language (e.g. Valentine, 1987) and the pragmatic analysis of terms of address, pronoun choice, greetings, and kinship terminology (e.g. Jain 1969, 1973; Khubchandani 1978; Mehrotra 1977, 1985a, 1985b; Vatuk 1969a, 1969b; Misra 1977), we do find a few discussions of gender as a grammatical and as a social category.

Standard Hindi exhibits two way gender system (Hall & Bucholtz, 1995) and the alternation between feminine and masculine reference in standard Hindi is quite easy to discern linguistically. Nominals exhibit both a two gender system of masculine and feminine as well as two-way number system of singular and plural. Hindi nominal forms are classified as either direct (nominative) or oblique (non-nominative), with the latter normally signaled by the presence of a postposition.

Studies on Hindi noun phrases (NP’s) have revealed that they are generic, definite and indefinite as noted by (Verma 1966; Potterfield & Srivastav 1988 and Mohanan 1990). Hindi marks number morphologically but there is a lacuna when one tries to establish the agreement between number and gender to the extent that the gendered behavior of the language gets reflected in the number markings.

1.2 Gender Markers in Hindi - An Overview

Just like Hindi, Italian nouns are also always marked for gender (either masculine or feminine). However, in Italian the masculine words end in *-o*, while feminine words end in *-a*. In Hindi, for those masculine words that end in *-a* their feminine forms end in *-i*.

Hindi masculine	Gloss	Hindi feminine	Gloss
a. larka	boy	larki	girl
b. gadhaa	donkey	gadhi	female donkey
c. maamaa	maternal uncle	maami	maternal aunty
d. daadaa	paternal grandfather	daadi	paternal grandmother
e. burhaa	old	burhi	old

However, apart from *-i* inflectional suffix, *-in*, *-nior* *-aaniare* also used to represent female entity as in

Hindi masculine	Gloss	Hindi feminine	Gloss
f. baagh	tiger	baaghin	tigress
g. haathi	elephant	hathni	female elephant
h. sher	lion	sherni	lioness
i. naukara	servant	naukaraani	maid servant
j. mahaaraaj	emperor	mahaaraani	empress

It must be brought to light at this point that the *-i* marker is not only used as the female gender marker but is also used to denote the diminutives or the inferior/ smaller entities as in

k. dabbaa	big box	dabbi	small box
l. rassa	thick rope	rassi	thin rope
m. chaar	rod	chhari	stick
n. lath	thick stick	laathi	thin stick
o. patta	leaf	patti	leaflet

A look at the data presented above clearly indicates that gender is a complex phenomenon in Hindi and seems to be very intrinsic and implicit in relation to morphology and subsequent agreement.

1.3 Hindi Disyllabic Words

All the nouns in the language are assigned either of the two genders. The nouns belong to various categories having binary attributes like +/- Human/ +Male or +Female/ +/- countable and the following analysis tries to investigate the relation between the singularity or plurality of nouns of each of these categories through the lens of gender for Hindi disyllabic words. The – Human category is further subdivided into +/- animate. Plural formation for oblique cases is not considered in this investigation as obliqueness is quite uniform across all categories.

A. +Human/ +Masculine/ +Countable

Singular	Plural	Gloss for singular
1. pati	pati	husband
2. maalik	maalik	master
3. dhobi	dhobi	washer
4. purush	purush	man
5. sakha	sakha	friend

In A (1-5) there is no change or no overt difference between the singular and plural forms of this category of nouns except for oblique markers which is not being investigated for present study.

B. –Human/ +Masculine/ +Countable/+ Animate

Singular	Plural	Gloss for singular
1. bandar	Bandar	monkey
2. haathi	haathi	elephant
3. bhaalu	bhaalu	bear

4. chitaa	chite	leopard
5. ghoraa	ghore	horse

In B (1-3) again there is no separate marker for plurality, however, for B (4-5) there is a systematic change where the word final [a] changes to [e].

C. -Human/ + Masculine/ +Countable/ -Animate

Singular	Plural	Gloss for singular
1. paudhaa	paudhe	plant
2. jhumkaa	jhumke	ear ring
3. chaaku	chaaku	knife
4. kangan	kangan	bangle
5. dholak	dholak	an Indian musical instrument

In C (1-2) the word final [a] changes to [e] but for other vowel/ consonant endings there is no difference at all.

D. -Human/ +Masculine/ - Countable/ -Animate

Singular	Plural	Gloss for singular
1. paani	paani	water
2. baadal	baadal	cloud
3. kaagaz	kaagaz	paper
4. jangal	jangal	forest
5. taaraa	tare	star

In D(1-4) there is no morphological difference between the singular and the plural forms, however, for (5) the word- final [a] changes to [e].

E. +Human/ +Feminine/ +Countable

Singular	Plural	Gloss for singular
1. maami	maamiyaaN	maternal aunt
2. patni	patniyaaN	wife
3. dhobin	dhobineN	washerwoman
4. aurat	aurateN	woman
5. sakhi	sakhiyaaN	female friend

All [i] ending words take on [yaaN] suffix while in elsewhere condition the word take [eN] suffix.

F. +Human/ +Feminine/ +Countable +Animate

Singular	Plural	Gloss for singular
1. bandariyaa	bandariyaaN	female monkey
2. hathni	hathniyaaN	female elephant
3. ghorī	ghoriyaaN	mare
4. titli	titaliyaaN	female butterfly
5. machhli	machhaliyaaN	female fish

In F(1-5) the [yaaN] suffix marks the pluralization. Interestingly, the feminine counterpart of A (3-4) does not occur except for the following forms:

6. bhaalu	nar bhaalu	maadaa bhaalu
Male bear	male bear	female bear
7. chitaa	nar chitaa	maadaa chitaa

Male leopard male leopard female leopard

In order to depict the females of these animals, mere suffixation does not suffice. The generic nomenclature points out the male species while an overt female marker added to the generic terms represents the female species.

G. –Human/ +Feminine/ +Countable/ - Animate

Singular	Plural	Gloss for singular
1. churi	churiyaaN	bangle
2. murti	murtiyaaN	statue
3. kalam	kalameN	pen
4. kitaab	kitaabeN	book
5. saaikal	saaikaleN	bicycle

One can see that in G (1-2) [yaaN] suffix is added while elsewhere [eN] suffix is added to the stem.

H. –Human/ +Feminine/ - Countable/ -Animate

Singular	Plural	Gloss for singular
1. aawaaz	awaazeN	voice
2. kalaa	kalaaeN	art
3. duaa	duaaeN	prayer
4. raushni	raushniyaaN	light

In H(1-3) the suffix that has been added is [eN] and in H(4) [yaaN] has been used as the suffix.

1.4 Inference

A close look at the data from A to F indicates the various types of suffixes that are used to make plurals in various categories of nouns. Interestingly, Hindi not only shows gendered behavior in gender- number interaction but this preliminary study also supports a patriarchal touch to the language. The very fact that nouns of category A (+Human/ + Masculine/ + Countable) do not take on any overt marker for pluralization in disyllabic words is not surprising in isolation but the nouns of category E (+Human/ +Feminine/+Countable) are always suffixed in their plural derivation gives the entire study a very sociological dimension. The interplay of language and gender is so profound and implicit that new angles of study need to be devised to account for the phenomenon holistically. The research began based on three hypotheses. The data and its analysis support and validate the hypotheses.

1.5 Conclusion

Language is one of the most powerful tools that can influence human mind and culture. Society's distinction between men and women is reflected in its language. It is realized that there are distinct "languages" that are used by men and women separately. Consequently, the society's perceptions and stereotypes are reflected through the language associated with men and women, and in the varied ways the two genders use language. Gender differences in Hindi language use and perception is so wide that it affects the self- identity of the genders (Sinha & Sharma 2015). Every language reflects the prejudices of the society in which it evolved and as the patriarchal control over the society prevailed for a long time, the language has been organized with male-centric views. Gender neutral language has gained support from most major textbook publisher and from professional and academic groups like American Psychological Association and the Associated Press. (Romaine, 1999) At present, many law journals, psychology journals and literature journals do not print articles that use gendered language. India has still not fully awakened to this issue. Primarily, a lack of gender discrimination consciousness and awareness plays a sinister role in this case.

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A Female against Autonomy: A Study of Meerabai's Poetry

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Meerabai

Courtesy:

<https://www.dollsofindia.com/search.php?oldsite=1&q=meerabai&searchcats=allitems&sold=1&headname=Mirabai&perpage=99>

Abstract

What is reasonably certain is that Meerabai is not only regarded as a staunch devotee, at least in the post-independent *Bharatiya* process of evolution, but as an ideal for the subjugated class, especially women, with a great affirmativeness, who stood against the prevailing social vices. The role of a true devotee is not limited only to the occult search of any spiritual path or performing rites and following ritualism, but as a revolutionary it is to sustain and uphold the society. All one can discover which is the aim of present study, is to find how Meerabai through

her poems challenged the dominant canonical traditions and sought for liberation. The immersion in divine gives her courage and strength to pose a challenge to the established norms of society.

Keywords: Meerabai, freedom, divine, love, assimilation, devotion

I began working on Meerabai purely by the love of Lord Krishna. No doubt, I had taught and enjoyed the poems of Meera almost a decade ago in one of the degree colleges. When the poems of Meerabai were later deleted from the university syllabus, I was dismayed by proselytizing gloom. For what reason it happened, I had no clue; but an avid interest in reading Meera helped me to understand her sacrament, lassitude, jubilation and her passion for freedom.

Meerabai

Meera is perhaps the most prominent women of *bhakti* movement in India. As a staunch devotee of Lord Krishna, she was born in a royal family in 1498 at Kurki, Rajasthan. She was the daughter of Ratan Singh, the then Rajput ruler. She had a great passion and fascination for spirituality and therefore she was dedicated to Krishna from childhood. Most of the time, she remained busy in singing songs, plucking flowers and offering them to her Lord. She identified herself as the wife of Krishna; ¹ the fact was that her love has mitigated her mundane pains and perennial sufferings. In 1516 Meera was married to Prince Bhoj Raj of the Rajput kingdom of Mewar, considered as the most powerful Rajput state in the early 16th century. The conservative Rajput chiefs expected that Meera would follow traditional rules of family for preserving the dignity and honour of their clan. But Meera showed her soul-bound passion for Krishna; although she emerged as a transgressor who categorically denounced the set orthodox rules and refusing all marital treasures, she did not abandon her husband altogether despite saying “*mere to girdhar nagar dusra na koi.*” (I belong to no one except the Lord)

Meera challenges the appropriation of dominant canonical traditions, especially when after the demise of her husband the family members shoved her to perform *sati* as an honour of a widow. She humbly claimed that she was only betrothed to immortal *Krishna* and thus she

abandoned the palace and left for Brindaban, as if she was an aficionado of dancing on His tunes. She offered her body and soul “as a sacrifice to Giridhara forever.”

Gandhi recognized Meera as a true *satyagrahi*.

Mirabai is said to have offended her husband by following her own conscience, was content to live in separation from him and bore with quiet dignity and resignation all the injuries that are said to have been done to her in order to bend her to husband's will. Both Prahlad and Mirabai practised Satyagraha. It must be remembered, that neither Daniel nor Socrates, neither Prahlad nor Mirabai had any ill will towards their persecutors.²

Pining for Heavenly Immersion: Drink the Nectar

Meera's affection to Krishna is not only a projection of her emotional lyricism; what is perhaps most important is that when the human heart pines for heavenly immersion with the Supreme of the Universe, then all objects seem insignificant and seem to be of minor importance. Meera's significant poem “Drink the Nectar” shows the sublime layering of her orientation to the mundane crisis. The conscious alliteration and deep message in “Drink the Nectar of the Divine Name, O human! Drink the nectar of the Divine Name! Leave the bad company,” makes a demand, in this regard, to transform our mindset and behavior. Following this call, one can attain eternal bliss and seek liberation.

Meera refused to behave as a woman of her caste and class. Contrary to it, she practiced dancing and singing fearlessly for her Lord in the public space of the temple and kept company with holy men and people. Thus, beneath these descriptions, Meera emerges as a courageous, and fervent woman.

Detached from Family and Luxury

Meera takes a very slow journey from a theoretical religion of romantic dreaming in books and statues, to the fully embodied beliefs of a *satyagrahi*. She discards her “inherited

jewels” and prefers to wear plain attire, unlike the red saris. Later it takes the form of an ascetic white.

She feels completely detached from her “family body” and does not accept the authority because she found it extremely difficult to prepare the sacrifice, the meat and so forth. Her defiance is a symbol of self-assertiveness and independence. She does not seem much perturbed after finding a temple of Krishna shut; on the contrary, she prefers to go on indefinite fast, a self-suffering protest as practised by Gandhiji on and on.

A Free Bird, Love for Her Taskmaster

Meera’s poetry presents a vivid picture of her love for her Taskmaster and disregard for world. Shortly after the death of her husband, after only three short years of their marriage, Meera sought for ultimate self-assimilation. For the first time in her life, Meera found herself as a free bird; she felt more content with the jagged alterations in life. Perhaps this is what she was waiting for: now she spent most of her time in the love and meditation towards Krishna. Her only relationship has been with Him; with the idol of Krishna. Her practices became more and more intense. She often sang and danced herself into ecstasies, even in public places like temples.³

Poetry of Love

In her poetry of love, Krishna is talked about as being her bridegroom. She would spend nights and days with Him, thinking of Him day and night. Love granted her the peace and courage to remain steadfast in her devotion. She bore all taunts and maltreatment but never gave up her love for her Lord. The society labeled her as a licentious woman under the suspicion that love was meant only for humans and *Girdhar* was someone Meera secretly met. She, however, endured all the rough treatment and ignored the world altogether focusing on her Lord. She became a *yogini* in search of him, doing away with all the oppositions and restrictions. Bahadur mentions that “Krishna came to her as a bridegroom and she fancied she was wedded to him with all the ceremonies attending marriage. Ever since that moment she considered herself to be Krishna’s bride and used to weep for him night and day till her eyes became red with lack of sleep”⁴

Her Religion was Only Devotion to the Lord

Meera asserts that her religion was only devotion to the Lord, emphasizing on her right to a direct relationship. The charge “by interacting with people of low-caste, she persecuted the royal honor” reveals her opposition to the injustice of the caste system, in the name of religion and society’s norms. Meera was asked to accept that her “duties to her husband” were to produce a child. Meera replied, “I’m the soul, not the body. I’m an emotion, not a statue of society norms,” demonstrating that she had fully renounced the “social body” in favor of her spiritual self.

Meera is considered as an embodiment of the fierce spirit of devotional rebellion for she dared to raise her voice against the injustice which was executed in the society at multiple levels. Her poetry carried more weight owing to the aristocratic background and the powerful position she held in spite of the fact that she denounced the elite status. In a poem, she says:

*taatmaatbandhubhraatapnana koi chanddaikulkokaan, kakarega he koi
ansuanjalseenchseenchprem bel boyidasimiraprabhu lagan lagi ab mohin*

(I have no father, no mother, no relatives or brothers. I have broken family ties; who can do anything? I have spoken of my love through my tears. Servant Meera has fallen in love with the lord)⁵

The *rana*, the then ruler of Mewar tried his best to stop her; in fact, on many occasions he tried to punctuate her voice by killing her because of those social transgressions. In his entire attempts, rana’s blasphemous behavior cut far deeper, the most gruesome was when he sent a cup of poison and Meera drank it as holy water or *prasadam* of His master. Meera asserts:

visakapyalaranajibhejya,
pivitamirahansi re mirakeprabhugirdharanagara,
sahajamilaavinasi re

(The Rana sent me a cup of poison I drank it off
And laughed and laughed! My lord is Girdhara,

I am his slave;
I have won effortlessly that eternal beings grace.⁶

Protection from Above

Meera was 'divine,' circled and protected by the grace of Heaven and so not only *rana*, but all others were surprised when she remained completely unaffected. Ultimately, she makes Brindhavan, the most loved place of Krishna, as her abode and merges herself with other devotees.

A Role Model for Today's Women

The theoretical bottom line of this paper indicates, in fact, a shift to see Meera and her poetry; what little maybe I draw here is that Meera – through a radical transformation in a woman's behavior, especially when the society was too crass and bellicose – emerges as a role model for today's women. Apparently not caring for what others might assume, Meera points out, "Some blame me, some praise me, but I'll only sing the praise of Govind." She did offer her resistance against the hegemonic social structures and she challenged the status quo. In her heart, Meera had a deep affection and devotion to the Supreme, who perhaps altered her role remarkably. Through her determined resolution, she proved the power of 'devotion' and 'strength.'

¹jake sir more mukut, meropatisoye -- One who wears the peacock crown is my husband
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Poetic Creation and Recreation: The Magic Spell and the Cloud Syndrome

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“Poetry composes itself. Authors are its victims. Readers, its target. But it does not kill, it rejuvenates”. –Dr. Anand.

Abstract

Poetic Creation and its Recreation or Interpretation are two major issues which have always challenged poets and critics alike. When and how poetry is created is a debatable point, at which unanimity is nearly impossible. And, how it is subjected to the tortures of interpretation, dissection, deconstruction etc., when it is put into the concentration camp of criticism, yet the conclusions remain variable and elusive. Creation is a highly individualized process. It is perhaps not possible to show how the mind of a poet works at that time, which I call the **MAGIC MOMENT**. What can be said in general, and accepted too, is that, it is a personalized experience, varies from poet to poet, although same can be said less in case of criticism, which has its accepted tools anyone can apply to a piece of poetry, with almost same, if not entirely identical results, though unanimity here too, is entirely absent. The reason is the same, poetry writing and re-writing of poetry are individualized experiences. And what mostly works in both cases are two major factors: the time, the split second at which the stimulus strikes the poet; and in the case of re-writing of poetry too, the moment at which the poet accesses the poem. Apart from this moment, another major issue is the mental state of the poet, or the critic's, which inheres not only how he is feeling at that time, but also what lies in his conscious, sub-conscious and unconscious mind. Just as stimulus in case of the poet stirs up a part of his memories, his submerged impressions, a part of his consciousness, in the same way, the poem, stirs up a set of memories, impressions submerged in the consciousness of the critics. Wolfgang Iser is concerned not with what poetry means, but what poetry does. These two aspects determine the **MAGIC MOMENT** in both cases: how the poetry is written; and how it is interpreted. To be

more precise, time reality and biotextual reality force the meaning to remain in a dynamic state, and on both sides of the bridge, the poet, and the re-creator are deeply affected by the politico-historical element, which is also included in the idea of time.

The Cloud Syndrome

A cloud is the mental turbulence that takes place in the mind of an author, after he receives a stimulus. The cloud is formed of various impressions, readings, memories, suppressed desires, which are lying buried, conscious and unconscious, and even the subconscious of the author. So many things are stirred by the stimulus. But, some portions are lying dormant. The others are working. That is the formation of the cloud. When, some other stimulant stirs up poet's emotions, then other memories, impressions, etc. come into light. The formation of the cloud, then, is different.

What is Cloud Syndrome?

The **Magic Moment** or more precisely, the **POETIC MOMENT** comes into being with different people in different ways. But, as a poet, I think, the process of creation can be discussed as follows:

1. Stimulus
2. Turbulence in the poet's mind
3. A cloud is formed.
4. Saturation point
5. The trickle-down begins.
6. The formations just render themselves through the pen.
7. The poet is unaware of what is happening. Like a drugged patient, he is etherized on the table. He knows some activity is going on, but what is exactly happening, he is unaware.
8. THE MAGIC MOMENT: THE CREATION OF THE POEM
9. FAX IMAGE, AND while you are writing, you see the catchment area of the subject expanding or contracting, and there is somebody, some invisible body, supplying you with the right images, right words and right expressions to CREATE what has been in the ideas/ thought.

10. TITLE: AT THE END. Because in the beginning, you may have some vague idea of something, but nothing is certain. Whatever has come; you read it again, and then, affix a title.

The Idea of Time

A SNAP FROM A MOVING CAR. This is what a poem can be compared to. A snap from a moving car. The image that you get, is a fleeting image, firmed up in a split second, while there has been a whole hog of images rushing by. Thus, creation is a by-product of time. All that is written is in the virtual state because, it is ONE MOMENT which has been firmed out, out of hundreds which were just passing. The camera picks up just a second's sight, while there is a whole hog of the others, left unpicked. If he had used the next moment, the matter that is firmed up, will be different. So, it is all different. As time changes, mind changes, mood changes, words change, meanings change. All is virtual, all a flux.

The Other Side: Poetic Recreation

1. READING OF POETRY
2. RISES TO THE HEAD, AND FORMS INTO A CLOUD.
3. Now, the cloud's composition is entirely different. It has something of what has come from behind, but most of the matter that constitutes this cloud, is from within the mind of the reader.
4. His reactions to the poem depend on what he knows, how he feels, and MORE IMPORTANTLY, HOW HE FEELS AT THAT MOMENT.
5. Now again, the question of biotextuality comes in. The poem belongs to the poet's biotextuality, because, he cannot be ruled out from the pattern of the poetry. And, the reader, creates his own pattern, to study it. Here, is the PROCESS OF RECREATING.
6. POETRY IS NOT INTERPRETTED, IT IS RECREATED.
7. Now, again, the same biotextual process starts.
8. THE POEM COMES INTO THE MIND.
9. The author's work is challenged by the ideas of the reader.
10. All depends on the time, the MAGIC MOMENT at which the poem strikes him.

11. The meaning that he derives from it, is only VIRTUAL, because, if he approaches the poem, after twenty minutes, his own world inside would have changed. He would not write the same explanation which he had written twenty minutes back. Thus, the reader is not the final arbiter. His is only a trial.
12. Another reader, who reads the same poem, has in his own head, a different cloud. When, the poem and the cloud mix up, there is turmoil, and they come up with a different kind of interpretation. Surely, this also depends on the split moment of time. In the second moment, the scenery would change, as I mentioned about the snap from a running car.
13. Nothing can be said with finality. Because, the poetry, once written, is out of the grip of the poet. Now, it is in the virtual space. Everybody can lap it up, any time, and come up with his own interpretation. The meaning is not postponed. It is fluid like, changing according the mental constitution of the reader at the time he approaches it.
14. Cloud syndrome shows how biotextuality works. No poem can get rid of its creator, unless it is destroyed in a terminator. Or put into a concentration camp. And, its re-writing of recreation, too is an uncertain affair, because of changing perceptions of its readers, as they approach it at different moments, with a different set of mindscape.
15. UNCERTAINTY, INFIXITY, FLUIDITY is the essential aspect of poetry.
16. WORDS ARE RADIO-ACTIVE, you don't know what meaning they can start giving out. Depending on the grip, grasp, and intelligence of the reader.
17. WORDS in a poem are not silent, fixed, focused and spelled up; they are lying there, ready to be charged with meaning, and then, ready for use in the way, the reader likes.

Two Things Become Obvious

1. Poetry is the actualization of a mental turbulence, on paper, which happens after high drama in the creative crevices of human mind, heart, body, ... all the factors of emotional production.
2. Poetry is written for Progeny. The author is always present in his works. But, the reader tries to overlay it with his own personality.

3. But the final meaning of the poem, which depends on the biotextuality of the poem, remains in the virtual sphere, always dynamic, which depends upon every factor of meaning production.
4. IT IS ACTUALLY TRANSFER OF CLOUD FROM ONE CHAMBER TO THE OTHER, where the ACTUAL TRANSFER is AFFECTED by the IMPRESSIONS forming the other CLOUD, and the FLUID FORMATION of the Cloud due to the VIRTUALITY of the whole Process. The RECREATED TEXT remains in the VIRTUAL FIELD, and its meaning depends on the factors of time and human mental state. As all these things are fluid, nothing can be stated with finality. And whatever comes up, is in a state of fluidity, captured like a PHOTO from a FLEETING CAR.

LiterariaBiographia: The Biotextual Reality

S.T. Coleridge wrote *Biographia Literaria*. By that time, the critical analysis was mostly author based. But after the modernist and post-modern approaches have come into play, the authorial voice has been relegated into the background, and the reader's voice has taken the foreground. As pointed out above, we cannot ignore the biographical elements that play their own part in the CREATION of the poem, as well as the RECREATION of the poem. In fact, every poem has a *Unique Literaria Biographia [ULB]*. The same poet produces so many poems. But each poem has a different ULB i.e. *unique literaria biographia*, for we are now dealing with the biography of the literary product. When the idea was born, in which mind it was born, what was happening around at them time, how that idea sneaked into the mind, and then, as I have said earlier, a whole host of impressions, thoughts, memories, are stirred up and get into action. *In other words, on one hand, it is the biography of the product, at the same time it also refers to the biographical elements that go into the creation of a poem.* What was happening to the poet, where he was sitting, who was talking to him, what he was seeing... and what was the time? A poem, which is the externalization of an idea, is always circumscribed by that specific moment of time, which once passed, could not be brought back, with that same set of thoughts attending it. In the second moment, the words, patterns, verbs, nouns, everything changes, and what comes up, too is an entirely different product.

The same theory can now be applied to its RECREATION. The recreated text two has its literary biography. When it was accessed, how it was accessed, by whom it was accessed, and what was the time? Now, the same theory extends to the RECREATOR too. What stimulus the poem creates in his mind, which parts of his being are stirred, what he has already experienced, how he feels about it..and what of his personality he can related it. The meaning that he recreates will be an amalgam of all these emotions. This is again impacted by the moment of time at which he approaches it. In next moment, the thoughts and impressions attending the stimulus would be different, and he can come up with a different text.

If the recreated text can be different as the moments change, we can only surmise how many texts will be available, if the same text is approached at different times of the day. Each time, it will be a different text. And if different people access it, can there be any unanimity? If the experience of two persons, or we can say, two moments be not same, how can the interpretation of the text by two different persons be the same?

Flying Object in Virtual Space

It goes to mean that the created text is a flying object in the third space, always dynamic, and whenever it is approached, it gives out different meanings to different people at the different moments of time. Thus, biotext is a creed of the incertitude, the dynamicity, the fluidity, and the text, whose meaning is neither eternally postponed, nor put into a jar and preserved for posterity. It grows as the experience of the reader expands, and remains in a flux.

Conclusion

Poetry Composes Itself: Poets are Its Victims, Readers Its Target. It Does Not Destroy, It Reinvigorates.

Poetry is like an act in which the senses work or stop working as in case of an etherized patient, lying on a table. He can see, hear, and respond but only very slowly. While the poetic impulse is at work, working its patterns, choosing its words, images, and its own rhyme of rhythmic speech, poet is in a quasi-passive state. The directives come from above. It works like

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Poetic Creation and Recreation: The Magic Spell and the Cloud Syndrome

a FAX MESSAGE. You cannot change it. If poetry arrives like this, like a caravan of ideas, words, phrases and sentences, poet is only a victim. A poor messenger. He can only read out the royal diktat which is aimed at its readers. One thing is certain; its diktats are not subject to change or modification. Poet is the oracle. And he must convey divine truth. And, his poetry is meant for the uplift of society, and elevation of human soul.



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