LANGUAGE IN INDIA

Strength for Today and Bright Hope for Tomorrow

Volume 23:9 September 2023
ISSN 1930-2940

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The next issue (the issue of October 2023) will be uploaded by the fourth week of October 2023 or earlier.

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ICT and Teaching English Language in Higher Educational Institutions: A Study on Its Prospects for Enhancing Proficiency

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Abstract

Information and communication technology (ICT)is an integral part of almost all organizations and institutions including higher educational institutions. As such, the use of ICT in the classrooms is very important for providing opportunities for effective communication between teachers and students. Language teachers nowadays have the opportunity of combining a variety of materials to help them in the process of developing the language skills of the learners. Use of multimedia and the integration of computer skills in language teaching is the need of hour to prepare the students to face the challenges in the modern world. Computer skills should be acquired and utilized both by the teachers and the students if they really desire to attain a good command over the language in order to use it effectively in classroom transactions.

Keywords & Abbreviations: Multimedia, Stress, Intonation, Consultative, Pedagogy, ICT, CALL, ELT, ELS, ELL

Introduction

In today's world, English as an international language has gained wide currency for professionals, teachers and the taught. Keeping in mind the radical change in the pedagogy of English teaching, the educational institutions now require addressing these changes and use

innovative teaching methods and materials. Just as books have served as a traditional tool of instruction, computers have become an enhancement to the teaching learning process. Computer enriched instruction has matured during the last few decades to the point where its instructional benefits can be tested and compared with components of traditional instruction.

Adaptive computer-based instruction is interactive and includes initial diagnosis, re-diagnosis, and arrangement of instruction. Computers can anticipate student errors, categorize them by type and provide appropriate remediation. Computers not only provide corrective and constructive feedback based on individual input but ensure that learners receive only those instructions which aremost needed. Another advantage of ICT is that it can help to develop abstract and conceptual skills. Moreover, computers can be linked with a variety of electronic media to further enhance their merit as educational tools. For those who enjoy a consultative approach, using a computer as a resource can be rewarding both for the teacher and the learner.

Objective

An effort has been made in this paper to discuss the following objectives:

a. To assess the use of information and Computer technology in teaching English in Higher educational Institutions.
b. To bring awareness and make optimum use of ICT in the form of computer, Internet, Blogs, SMSs, e-mails, E-dictionaries, E-encyclopedia etc. to enhance proficiency of teachers and students.
c. To facilitate the sharing and exchange of information among teachers through networking.

Hypothesis

a. Teaching English language and literature effectively is a challenging task. Even the teachers with higher qualifications may face some problems in classroom transactions.
b. Use of ICT tools can help the teachers of English to acquire a higher level of proficiency.

Methodology

In this paper, a text-based reading methodology is mainly used. books, research journals and other research articles written on ICT and its use in educational institutions have been used as sources of study.

Analysis

If we observe the present scenario of language teaching in higher educational institutions, we have to confess that it is somewhat discouraging. On one hand, we have highly motivated students and on the other hand, we have misguided and unwilling students. A language teacher has to develop the receptive as well as productive skills of these mixed groups of learners. Teaching English language in an organized way has been a major challenge in India and therefore, the language teachers should try to make the best use of the modern technological methods like CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning). Thus, a teacher who has technological expertise can set tasks that extend far beyond the curriculum and make the lessons interdisciplinary, and interesting. Syllabus designers, language teachers, and evaluators must consider the integration of Computer Assisted Language Learning methods to prepare the students in this competitive world of electronic revolution.

Multimedia is an integration of sound, animation, stall images, hyperextend, and video through a computer programme. With multimedia a wide variety of media options can be packed together to make language learning more interesting. Multimedia networking also provides the ability to disperse information to a extended audience in office, educational institutions or home in order to entertain, inform and train large numbers of people in a uniform manner. In contrast to the single medium approach to instruction, an integrated CALL system is one in which several different presentational chambers are used to implement a particular instructional strategy.

In a large class, the relation between the time allotted for teaching English curriculum and busy examination schedule makes it impossible for the teacher to pay attention to individual learners. It also fails to give each learner sufficient time to learn the skills of language in an effective manner. Moreover, our education system is so rigid that a slow learner sits along with more competent learners and in such a situation he feels neglected and gets demotivated. Besides, this classroom set up does not encourage the slow learners to test their capabilities.

On the other hand, if the lessons are computerized and each learner is allowed to learn independently, he feels no anxious urgency to learn mechanically along with the quick learners. Through the use of CALL the individual learner can perform acts like working, recalling, self-testing and redoing at his own suitable pace.

There are two types of Multimedia instructional materials used in language classes namely 'reference' and language learning packages. The references include Encyclopedias and Dictionaries. Encyclopedias are a vast collection of hypertext, scanned photographs, animations, graphics, human voice, music and video clips. *Encarta, Microsoft Bookshelf, Crompton's Encyclopedia* are some examples of electronic encyclopedias. *The Longman's Interactive English Dictionary. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, and Cobbled Dictionary* are a few examples of electronic dictionaries.

Besides, there are two types of language learning CD ROMs viz. general English and English for specific purposes. General English programmes help the user practice English by providing models of the language in context. Moreover, there is a record option, which allows a learner to record his/her voice and compare it to that of the model. *Longman's English Work 1&2*, Desktop editions like Vector and Libra are the few examples of General English Language CDROMs. *Small Talk* and *Business English* are the examples of ESP CD-ROMS. It is felt that if used properly and judiciously, CALL programmes can supplement textbooks. Therefore, computers must be integrated effectively in the language classrooms, and this must be made a part of the regular course. In CALL system, language is taught in attractive ways through games, animated graphics, and problem-solving techniques. As such, a teacher who uses ICT in his workplace can become a language diagnostician, software programmer, course content developer, performance evaluator and instruction designer.

Over the last few years, the study on ICT tools and information management in education has witnessed substantial growth. This growth has been extrapolated to the area of English Language Teaching (ELT). Several organizations and theorists have been researching on meeting clear parameters for effective ICT applications in specific learning contexts. It is observed that computer not only provide corrective and constructive feedback based on individual input but

ensure that learners do not receive more instruction than needed. Another advantage of ICT is that it can help to develop abstract and conceptual skills.

Moreover, computers can be linked with a variety of electronic media to further enhance their merit as a resource and can be rewarding for both the teacher and the learner. Some technologies that can be used for enhancement of English Language teaching and learning are – Smart classroom, English Communication Lab, Multimedia English Language Lab, Voice Chat, and Server etc. Some other software tools used for computer-based language learning are – English Grammar in use, English mastery, Telephoning in English, ABC Vocabulary 1.0, Spelling 1.0, Grammar 1.0, Composition 1.0, Tense Buster, Technical report, Writer, Café English software, and Discovery Educational software etc. Some of the websites that offer online teaching learning opportunities are – www.languagebridge.com, www.onlineenglishteacher.com, www.englishstudyonline.com etc.

Conclusion

Although technology plays an influential role in the learner's educational and social development, it cannot completely displace the role of a teacher. The teacher's role may change, but we still need him very much because technology is a mere tool, and it only obeys the command of a teacher. He has to design syllabus, proper materials, clarify the doubts and assess students. It is worth mentioning here that if we do not make our students technology-savvy, very soon our students will feel out of place and their skills will turn out to be obsolete in the global scenario. Hence, syllabus designers, language teachers, assessors, and evaluators need to consider the integration of computer skills if they really want to prepare their students for this modern world of technological boom. It is a challenge worth accepting and it is better if we act fast.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Riots, Refugees and Communal Madness: A Comparative Study of Saadat Hasan Manto's Select Partition Stories and Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan*

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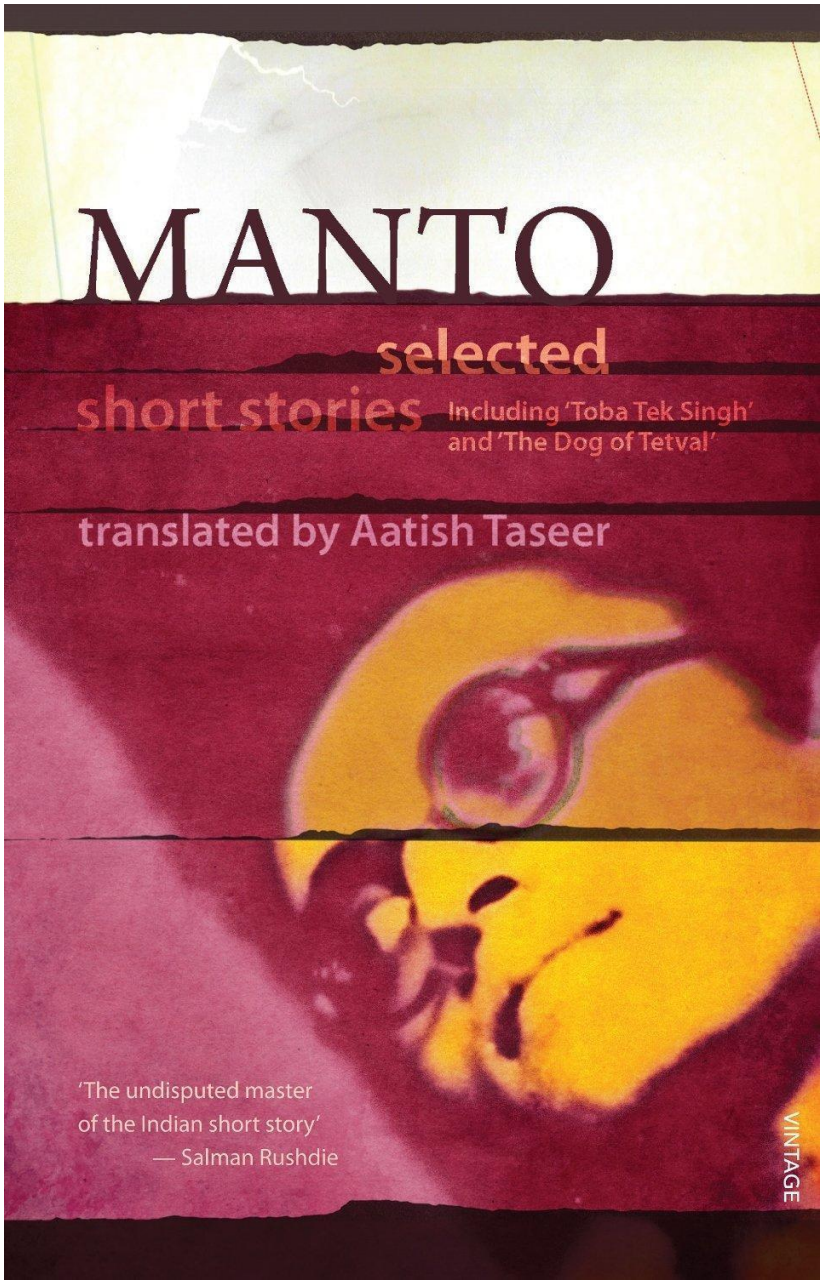
Abstract

The article attempts a comparative study of Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* and the select stories of Saadat Hasan Manto, written against the backdrop of the India-Pakistan partition of 1947 which traumatized and affected millions of people. The study looks into the fictitious nature of the brand-new identity taken up by people and the manner in which they acted under the influence of radical nationalism and extremism. It unravels the consequences of partition madness upon women and children as they became the easiest targets of the fanatics. It intends to identify the similarities and dissimilarities between both writers in respect of their portrayal of the refugee crisis, partition riots, communal madness as reflected in their works, and their reactions towards the religious division of India. The adopted method of this study is a comparative study in which textual analysis involving close reading of the select texts is utilized, taking postcolonialism and feminism into account. The analysis is further substantiated with the data taken from secondary sources.

Keywords: Khushwant Singh, Saadat Hasan Manto, Partition of Indian subcontinent, Riots, Refugees, Communal madness, Comparative Study.



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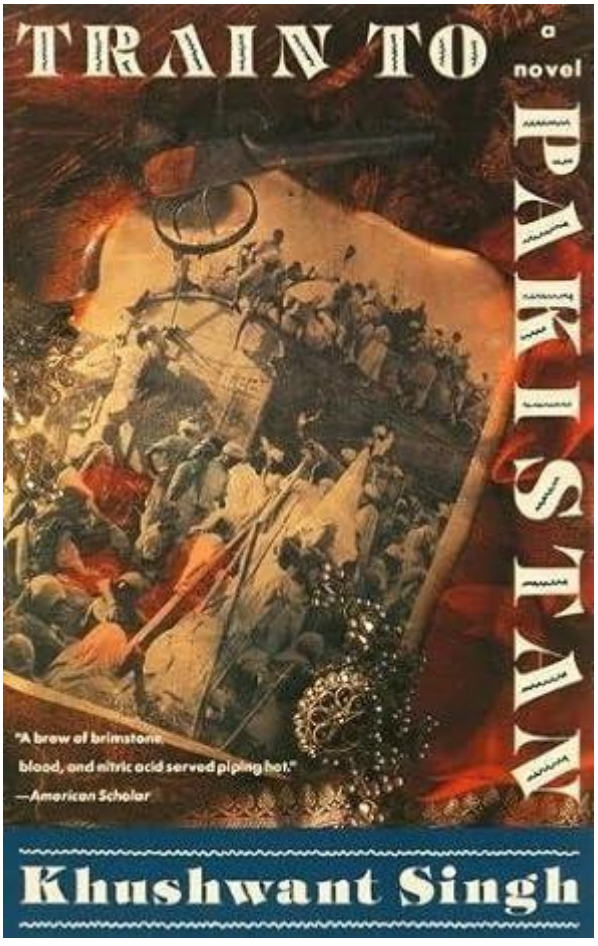
I. Introduction

Partition of the Indian subcontinent is an important subject matter for many postcolonial writers who depict partition violence in their works. Manto is widely acknowledged as one of the greatest Urdu short story writers. He provides a realistic version of the complexities of human psychology, partition violence, trauma, madness, colonial legacies, and displacement in his works as he was not only an eyewitness of the horridness of partition but also a victim of it. He exposes the evils of contemporary society through his short stories from a neutral

standpoint. His stories reveal how the victims turn into perpetrators of violence. They are a gruesome reminder of the horrors of partition violence that took place against innocent women and serve as a lens through which the tragedy of partition is brought sharply into focus by capturing the dimension of sectarian violence on the eve of India's independence from the British in 1947 and the immediate aftermath of partition.

Fakrul Alam notes that "The Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 led to the exodus of millions of Hindus and Muslims across it" (12). Manto dreams of a better future for the subcontinent on the basis of religious tolerance, decent political affairs, secularism, and cultural diversity irrespective of color, caste division, or communal identity where there should be no hypocrisy, double standards, and hatred among the people of different communities. His idiosyncratic stories go beyond the limitations of national borders, religion, and ages.



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Khushwant Singh offers an Indian perspective of partition in *Train to Pakistan*. It shows the dark history of India's independence from the British and how it resulted in a surge of violent activities and communal riots and created an enormous rift among the Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs who used to live together in harmony for centuries and share a common identity based on their interreligious and inter-cultural harmony and peaceful coexistence. Singh makes a wonderful combination of contextual realities, historical truths, and fiction in *Train to Pakistan.* He reveals how partition affects the harmonious relationship and cultural unity of different communities by highlighting the pre-partition and post-partition events in Mano Majra. As a result of partition, Mano Majra turns into a place of communal madness and violence. According to Sudhwa Tiwari, "Partition not only created a 'mad' atmosphere but also made its victims 'mad', 'insane', losing their mental balances due to traumatic experiences" (55). Singh discloses the plight and psychological trauma of the refugees during their dreadful train journey from India to Pakistan and vice versa. His personal experience of partition helps him to portray the holocaust of partition in a realistic manner. Manto and Singh condemn the entire process of partition that provoked communal riots and violence in 1947. They blame religious leaders and spiteful politicians instead of religion who used it as a façade to carry out violence and atrocities.

The present article offers a comparative study of Manto's select stories and Singh's *Train to Pakistan* to examine how they portray the themes of partition riots, communal madness, and refugee crisis in their works. It shows their ideas and thoughts regarding the religious riots, the crises of the refugees, and the horrible things that followed after the division of India through the lenses of postcolonialism and feminism. Besides, it provides a critical assessment of Singh and Manto's views about the creation of Pakistan based on religion. However, the article first outlines a brief account of partition and the theoretical framework of the study.

II. Objectives of the Study

The current paper deals with four basic objectives. They are as follows-

1. To look into the nature of the brand-new identity taken up by people and the manner in which they acted under the influence of nationalism and extremism.

2. To identify the similarities and dissimilarities between Manto and Singh regarding their portrayal of the refugee crisis, partition riots, and communal madness.
3. To highlight the consequences of partition madness upon women and children.
4. To reveal the reactions and stance of Manto and Singh toward the religious division of the Indian subcontinent.

III. Literature Review

The partition of the Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan based on the "Two Nation Theory" is one of the most disturbing events of the twentieth century having many tragic and long-lasting repercussions. It was undoubtedly the indispensable outcome of many social, political, and economic factors, as well as religious dissimilarities and cultural diversity at the end of the British colonial rule in India and was the worst catastrophic event after the Second World War. The history of the division of India is a history of communal violence and forced migration in search of a safer territory. There was a sense of fraternity, respect, and intimacy among people before partition. They fought bravely side by side against the British colonizers for India's freedom. The Indian subcontinent was under British rule for almost 200 years who used the formula of divide and rule to dominate the Indians. As a result, British India was divided into two independent states-India and Pakistan, having distinct religious, and cultural differences. Partition was devised by the British as a political resolution to put an end to all forms of communal and ethnic conflicts between the Hindus and the Muslims. But it caused the separation of families, and identities, millions of deaths, and displacements. In fact, it was tragically flawed because it was the outcome of communalism. Besides, the nationalist impetus and communal mentality of the people and the political leaders of the subcontinent facilitated the formation of ethnic and religious identity. Therefore, there was a clash of values and interests among different communities. In "Remembering Partition: Violence, Nationalism and History in India", Gyanendra Pandey states:

> Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus were all redefined by the process of Partition: as butchers by or as devious others: as untrustworthy and anti-national; but perhaps most fundamentally, as Sikhs and Muslims and Hindus alone. All over the subcontinent, for extended periods, at many times since 1947, men, women, and children belonging to these communities yet belonging to different castes, classes, occupations, linguistic and

> cultural backgrounds have been seen in terms of little but their Sikh-ness. their Muslim-ness or their Hindu-ness. (16)

Partition created havoc by destroying the natural identities of millions of people as well as making them refugees in their own countries in a matter of seconds. Sheikh Mehedi Hasan opines that "The event of partition redefined and refigured identities by endangering history, memory, culture, and tradition" (121). On the eve of partition, people were consumed by nationalism and the religious supremacy of one community over the other. After acquiring communal identities, the people who once lived harmoniously in India without any kind of problem treated the 'other' as the worst enemy.

Yasmin Khan in *The Great Partition* questions the crises of the refugees, deaths of tens of thousands of people, identity dilemma, and other forms of violence caused by partition saying, "Where was India and where was Pakistan? Who was now an Indian and a Pakistani? Was citizenship underpinned by a shared religious faith, or was it a universal right, guaranteed by a state that promised equality and freedom to all? Were people expected to move into the state where their co-religionists resided in majority?" (4). People lost their near and dear ones as well as their ancestral homelands because the Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs carried out atrocities, rapes, and other forms of brutal activities in the name of religion. "Religion played the key role in these particular historical disasters, and partition history invariably entails the horrors and stark drama of numerous religious riots and massacres" (Deb 215). The bigots peddled their communal hatred by misquoting and misinterpreting religious books. The idea of the homeland was erased from their minds completely and identity was shattered into pieces overnight.

Barnali Saha in "Violence, Gender and Religion: A Critical Study of Saadat Hasan Manto's Siyah Hashiye" comments that "Saadat Hasan Manto's short literary vignettes transport us into a hermetically sealed world of communal violence and sensitize us to the dichotomy between the glorified notion of Indian independence and the ground reality of Partition violence" (34). Partition created a bloody stain on the history and rich cultural diversity of India which could not be removed by any means. Manto's stories are faithful representations of the diabolical nature of partition and the inheritance of India's independence.

Partition cracked the psyche of victimized women who were forced to live with those psychological trauma and physical wounds. Women became the worst targets of communal violence in different ways. They were commodified as sexual entities and passive objects. Many women preferred death to dishonor to uphold their religious status and social dignity. Their vulnerable status makes them obvious targets of male sexual aggression during warfare, ethnic cleansing, illegal coups, foreign invasions, political turmoil, and riots. Therefore, the bodies of women and minor girls ultimately became the basic "instruments of communication between two groups of men" (Ivekovic and Mostov 11), and "their defilation symbolically signified the defilation of the other community's masculinity that failed to protect its women" (Saha 32). He sides with the oppressed women for their painful experiences and struggles. His stories provide "a scope to understand the psychological aspect of violence of the partition victims amid an ambiance of mass madness" (Ali 107). Manto was sad about the riots, bloodshed, sexual exploitation, and the traumatic experience of women. He states, "When I sat down to write I found my thoughts scattered. Though I tried hard I could not separate India from Pakistan and Pakistan from India...my mind could not resolve the question; what country we belonged to now, India or Pakistan" (qtd. in Mahey 153). Manto felt rootless in Pakistan because of his nostalgia for India. He lost his culture, and companions and experienced poverty and a sense of unwantedness in Lahore. He was also tagged as a pornographer by literary critics and government officials for his authentic presentation of contextual realities in his stories. The politicians and religious leaders of both states stirred up sectarian tensions among the masses.

Singh provides a human dimension to the tragedy of partition while describing the traumatic events to inject a sense of menacing atmosphere, and authenticity in *Train to Pakistan*. He gives a colorful insight into the nature of the refugee crisis, religious persecution, and mob rule in postcolonial India. O. P. Bhatnagar in "Indian Political Novel in English" remarks that "Khushwant Singh was the first Indian novelist in English to write about the horror and holocaust of the partition with great artistic concern in *Train to Pakistan*" (152). The novel reveals Singh's insight into the sinister impacts of partition violence. Seema Chadda comments that "Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* pictures the brutal, realistic story of political hatred, and of mass passions during the tragic days that preceded and followed the partition of India. This political partition of India disturbed the Indian psyche and also its social fabric" (7). It is a symbolic novel that deals with the bitter truths and harsh realities of the contemporary

turbulent period. Vinod Kumar writes that "The novel *Train to Pakistan* is pregnant with history, romance, and bureautic voluptuousness, police atrocities, judicial express, dacoity and murder, human stampede, unusual communal violence caused by the partition of the country, harrowing human experiences and ghostly scenes beyond human imagination presented by the incoming and outgoing ghost trains" (47). Singh criticizes both the Hindus, and the Muslims as well as the Sikhs for partition violence because none of the communities took the responsibility of communal violence; instead, they blamed one another. Singh remarks that "Muslims said the Hindus had planned and started the killing. According to the Hindus, the Muslims were to blame. The fact is, both sides killed, both shot, and stabbed and speared, and clubbed. Both tortured. Both raped" (5).

The other side of India's independence was beyond one's imagination. Partition created an overwhelming refugee crisis in India and Pakistan and the fate of many people remained unknown as their last traces were lost within mere seconds. He depicts "trauma, disruption, displacement, dispossession, dislocation, distrust, disgust, and violence suffered by the innocent people" (Bhatnagar 152). Amir Shehzad and Dr. Shaheena Ayub Batti interpret *Train to Pakistan* from the perspective of post-colonialism in "A Post-colonial Perspective of Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan*" and point out the impacts of colonialism in postcolonial India by giving a lot of emphasis on the issues of the appropriation of the English language, representation and resistance in the novel. Singh shows the clash between European culture and Indian traditions. He describes the challenges and conflicts that India has to face after getting independence to develop a brand-new national identity, and to be self-reliant. He shows India as a newly born country attempting to establish itself after the end of British colonial rule and battling to make a few steps towards development and economic growth. The violent issues, riots, massacres, and political turmoil during the early days and after the partition are the direct legacies of British colonialism that created a lot of disorders, and complexities in India.

Although many research works have already been conducted on the works of Singh and Manto as they are two legendary figures in the field of postcolonial literature, the current research is a deliberate attempt to critique the issues found in Manto's select stories and Singh's *Train to Pakistan* like partition violence, existential crisis, dislocation, trauma, postcolonial

identity, and victimization of women after the fall of the British Raj in the context of the Indian subcontinent.

IV. Methodology

The research is done following the comparative literature method for the evaluation of Singh's *Train to Pakistan* and Manto's select stories like "Toba Tek Singh", "The Dog of Tithwal", "Mishtake", "Mistake Removed", "Open It!", "The Assignment" and "The Dutiful Daughter" through the lenses of postcolonialism and feminism to have an extensive study of the themes, historical background, and identify the similarities and dissimilarities between them. The primary data of the study is collected through textual analysis of the selected works of both writers. It estimates factors such as mass genocide, administrative failure, police brutality, gender discrimination, communal rampage, inferiority complex, sexploitation, and loss of ancestral home that result in restlessness, lack of communication, dilemma, schizophrenia, uncertainty, traumatization, and violent demeanor.

V. Theoretical Framework

Postcolonialism refers to a theory or concept that critically studies the negative effects of colonization and imperialism upon cultures, languages, and the psyche of the colonized as a result of oppression, and atrocities of the colonizers to maintain their authority over the colonized. The relationship between the colonizers and the colonized is a binary one. The postcolonial writers condemn the colonizing mission of European countries. According to Praveen V, "Postcolonialism tries to decenter/deconstruct Eurocentrism or Eurocentric beliefs" (47). Postcolonialism mainly challenges the colonial agenda, ways of thinking, and strongly writes back against such stereotypical notions and false ideologies. (McLeod 32). It represents the aftermath of Western/European colonialism and can be viewed as a mechanism to challenge colonial rule and reclaim the agency of people oppressed and tormented under various forms of European colonialism and imperialism.

Pramod K. Nayar defines the concept of "postcolonialism"' as "the theoretical wing of postcoloniality. It refers to the mode of reading, political analysis, and cultural resistance/intervention that deals with the history of colonialism and present neocolonial structure…It invokes ideas such as social justice, emancipation, and democracy in order to oppose oppressive structures of racism, discrimination, and exploitation" (17). Aimé Césaire

emphasizes the legacy of violence inflicted on the colonized by Western colonizers in *Discourse on Colonialism*. He describes the brutal consequences of colonialism not only on the colonized but also on the colonizers by exposing the hypocrisies and contradictions implicit in European notions of progress, civilization, and enlightenment. Colonization not only brutalizes the colonized but also dehumanizes the colonizers by provoking them to act more violently toward one another. European colonialism results in discrimination, racism, class division, and exploitation. He blames modern bourgeois thinkers, academics, and journalists who work as allies of colonialism. They use their moral reasoning, and fine words to defend colonial violence by formulating white lies, and propaganda.

Frantz Fanon specifies the psychological effects of colonial racism in *Black Skin, White Masks.* He depicts how the colonizers shape the psychological makeup of the colonized by imposing colonial culture, education, and religion. Therefore, the colonized feel foreign in their own countries because of their dependency complex and try to adopt colonial culture and language. In Fanon's view, the violence of the colonized is morally justified as decolonization itself is a violent procedure.

Colonialism and psychological disorders are closely associated. Homi K. Bhaba introduces several fundamental concepts of postcolonialism like hybridity, ambivalence, and mimicry. Hybridity means the construction of new cultural forms and identities because of cross-cultural encounters. In the discourse of hybridity, ambivalence produces a dual sense of blessing and curse at the same time. It is formed through hybridity, mimicry, and liminality. Mimicry indicates the way in which the colonized imitate the colonial culture, language, mannerisms, and values. Lacan asserts that "The effect of mimicry is camouflage" (99). The colonized find themselves stuck in-between two cultures and identities and formulate one kind of hybrid identity by imitating colonial culture, language, and manners consciously and unconsciously. They denounce their native culture, and identity, and turn into mimic men. Neo-colonialism is the continuation of colonial rule in an indirect manner through cultural hegemony. It is an extension of colonial rule by means of globalization, imperialism, and capitalism. The legacies of colonialism are noticeable in politics, language, literature, paintings, media, music, political manifesto, education etc. Undoubtedly, colonization has shattered the roots, identity, cultural traditions, language, thought processes, and social norms

of the colonized. Therefore, they suffer from inferiority complex, identity crisis, trauma, unhomeliness, and sexual exploitation which are the defining aspects of postcolonialism.

Feminism refers to a concept, or movement that deals with the advocacy of equal rights and opportunities for men, women, and transgender people in social, political, cultural, intellectual, and economic spheres. It tries to put an end to all forms of gender disparity, sexual violence, and mistreatment. According to bell hooks, "Feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (hooks viii). It attempts to change the subservient status of women in terms of their relationship with men who exercise power and control over them as they are considered as subject, superior, and independent whereas women are submissive, dependent, inferior, and the other. It tries to balance the imbalance between men and women and establish equity. Estelle Freedman defines feminism as "a social movement that tried to achieve political equality between women and men, with the understanding that gender always intersects with other social hierarchies" (24).

There are four waves of feminism. The first wave of feminism was launched in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century under the leadership of Virginia Woolf who campaigned for female rights, education, suffrage, and equality. The second wave of feminism started in the 1960s to ensure sexuality, reproductive rights, and equality by removing gender disparity and oppression. Simon de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* inspired the birth of it where she states that "One is not born, but rather becomes, woman" (330). The third phase in the 1990s focused on racial, and gender discrimination, diversity, and individuality. Starting in the 2010s, the fourth phase focused on greater gender equality, empowerment, and justice for women against racial, social, and sexual violence, and harassment. The world of women is invaded by men during communal clashes and violent occasions.

Vishnu Ram writes that "women both suffered as the subjects of the country in troubled waters but also as themselves physically and emotionally in a patriarchal society in the midst of tumultuous political situations, communal madness, and riots" (111). Women of the subcontinent suffer more and endure psychological trauma because of societal structure, patriarchal ideologies, matriarchy, cultural and religious prejudices. Brass writes that "Women are boundary markers" (94). Postcolonial feminism emerged as a strong reaction to white feminism in the 1980s to depict sexploitation, marginalization, and the challenges resulting from colonialism, patriarchy, racism, and double colonization of non-European women in

third-world countries as Eurocentric mainstream feminism often ignores their identity, their socio-cultural and historical contexts or misrepresent them and their roots.

Rajeswari Sunder Rajan and You-me Park define "postcolonial feminism" as "an exploration of and at the intersections of colonialism and neocolonialism with gender, nation, class, race, and sexualities in the different contexts of women's lives, their subjectivities, work, sexuality, and rights" (53). It is a criticism of white feminism that hardly stands for the fundamental rights and equal opportunities of the subaltern women who are the worst sufferers. The proponents of postcolonial feminism promote the socio-cultural, economic, and political autonomy of women irrespective of their color, gender, and ethnicity. The theories of postcolonialism and feminism serve as the theoretical framework to analyze the select texts of Manto and Singh.

VI. Discussion and Major Findings

Manto reveals the psychological trauma and existential crisis of refugees in his stories. Millions of people were forced to abandon their ancestral homes because of an illogical decision of Partition. The Muslims made their way toward Pakistan and the Hindus and Sikhs made their way toward India. Many refugees were killed, lost, or abducted while crossing the border. Manto describes the journey of refugees from Amritsar to Lahore in "Open It!". Sirajuddin's family is uprooted from Amritsar, and they somehow get into the train bound for Pakistan which is vandalized by the mob. They slaughter men mercilessly and abduct their women to force them into prostitution, and slavery. The rioters are the representatives of patriarchy and women are the scapegoats of patriarchal authority. They mutilate their dead bodies and mark national and religious slogans on their private parts. Sirajuddin's wife is murdered and her dead body is disfigured. Sakina suffers most physically and psychologically. Manto shows a bleak portrait of partition violence in "Open It!" through Sakina's madness and rape who ultimately fails to recognize her father and considers everyone surrounding herself as potential rapists. Her rape is a seal of patriarchy and her subservient status forces women to conform to certain code of conduct and actions imposed on them. She stands for those women who were not only forced to leave their country but also victimized by men of both sides in 1947 as a result of postcolonial madness, or for the purpose of deriving sadistic pleasure by inflicting tortures on women. They are exploited to set an example and bring disgrace to their

opposite religious groups. The rape of women is considered an act of systematic genocide that has long-lasting and traumatic impacts throughout their lives.

From the perspective of postcolonialism, Sakina stands for the colonized and her rape represents the forceful invasion of the colonizers upon a new territory. It is the rape of her culture, language, and independence. Sakina loses her honor because of her rape by the volunteers. Similarly, the Indian subcontinent lost its culture, freedom, and tradition because of the invasion of the British colonizers. The colonized are voiceless and lack agency. Throughout the story, Sakina lacks the agency to resist and fight back. Her feelings are only expressed through the perspective of other characters and the narrator. Her silence illustrates the silence of the colonized upon being tortured. The colonized are taken advantage of by the colonizers under the mask of civilization whereas the volunteers take the initiative to find Sakina in the name of humanity. They view her as an object of sexual appetite. However, Sakina can also be seen as an image of India that is violated and ripped apart by the British for their benefit. Sirajuddin's plight upon losing his wife and daughter represents the loss of his country, culture, and his own identity.

Manto shows the reluctance of the refugees to cross the border and accept their brand-new identity through the character of Bishan Singh in "Toba Tek Singh". He looks for his lineal home in no-man's-land as he suffers from a sense of rootlessness, and identity dilemma. "Toba Tek Singh" is a "metaphor for the absurdity of the entire partition saga" (Saleem et al. 925). Bishan Singh is shot dead in the buffer zone when he violates the order of the officials and raises his voice against the rehabilitation of the lunatics. The political leaders do not take responsibility for the death and suffering of the refugees. They are the epitome of colonial ideologies and mentality because they imitate the cultures, languages, and violent tactics of the colonizers. Bishan Singh's refusal to cross the border shows his detestation of partition and the loss of his homeland. The narrator of "Toba Tek Singh" states, "There, behind barbed wire, on one side, lay India and behind more barbed wire, on the other side, lay Pakistan. In between, on a bit of earth which had no name, lay Toba Tek Singh" (18). His death illustrates his refusal to accept partition, the struggle for the loss of identity, and the helpless state of refugees. The colonizers used to kill the colonized in different colonies for raising their voices against them for discriminatory treatment and freedom to set an example to create a sense of fear and vulnerability in their minds and maintain their supremacy over them.

Khushwant Singh provides a similar account of the troubles of refugees in *Train to Pakistan* when partition riots broke out in the Indian subcontinent. He describes the solidarity, and harmonious relationship among different communities in Mano Majra before the partition. However, the arrival of ghost trains from Pakistan with the corpses of the Sikhs reverses the communal harmony and peaceful environment. Regarding the horrible atmosphere and communal madness in Mano Majra, Singh remarks, "Trainload of dead people came to Mano Majra. We burned one lot and buried another. The river was flooded with corpses. Muslims were evacuated, and in their place, refugees have come from Pakistan" (160). He describes the widespread communal riots that took the lives of thousands of people in Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar, Punjab, and other areas of the country. Many women were abducted, raped, killed by the rioters or even sold by their own family members in order to settle their debts when they failed to get into the other side of the border because of their shortage of money or resources. People scattered everywhere in search of protection. The country became a disturbing battleground of conflicting loyalties, political ideologies, and communal identities. Prejudice toward Muslims is revealed through the character of the constable who shows his hatred towards them. He expresses his own feelings in the presence of two prisoners, Iqbal and Juggut Singh regarding the Muslims when he remarks, "Their intentions were evil. Muslims are like that. You can never trust them" (67). The constable goes into a verbal tirade against the Muslims and the Muslim soldiers for their conspiracies, and brutalities against the Hindus and the Sikhs on the other side of the border because of their religion and nationality. Sunder Singh and his family members are uprooted from Pakistan. They get on the train full of refugees. They suffer from extreme dehydration and hunger. He shoots his wife and children before they reach India.

Decolonization is a violent method that results in madness, disorder, and complete chaos. There are multiple instances of violence in *Train to Pakistan* such as the fanatic slaughter of the Sikh and Hindu men, women, and children in Pakistan and throwing their disfigured corpses into the river Sutlej. These corpses float in the water and make their way into Mano Majra because of the increase of water in the Sutlej. The villagers are shocked at the sight of the dead bodies. Singh describes the connotation of India's freedom for the locals as it hardly means anything to them.

In the novel *Train to Pakistan*, one of the villagers states, "We were slaves of the English, now we will be slaves of the educated Indians- or the Pakistanis" (50). The commoners cannot reap its benefits because only the educated will take over the British and seize the opportunities whereas they are going to be transferred from one master to another. There is hardly any security in life after the British quit India. Banta Singh asserts, "We were better off under the British. At least there was security" (52). The villagers are always exploited by those who have power. Iqbal Singh and Juggut Singh are the victims of police brutality. They symbolize the oppressed, the colonized. Iqbal's criticism of the police department and their double standards lands him in trouble and results in his imprisonment and mental torture at the police station. But he receives better treatment for his control over English whereas Juggat is dragged, kicked, smacked, and whipped.

Singh criticizes the administrators, police, politicians, and government officials for employing brute force and racial slurs to exploit people who do not belong to the same societal hierarchy. Juggat Singh is a victim of racial discrimination. The British colonizers introduced English as the administrative and official language when they colonized India. So, it became the language of power and control. The colonized imitated their language disregarding their native language to enjoy the facilities of the colonizers. Juggat becomes infatuated with Iqbal's use of English and wants to have the same status. Singh indicates how colonial legacies exist in India in different forms such as bureaucracy, bribery, hypocrisy, corruption, misuse of power, and loopholes in the administrative system. Hukum Chand is a representative of the bureaucratic system in India. He is very good at flattery and uses imported cars, expensive cigarettes, perfumes, European wardrobes, and drinks. Regarding him, Meet Singh tells Iqbal, "He is the government and we are his subjects" (45). Hukum Chand's infatuation with the European lifestyle shows his moral and mental colonial state. He uses Haseena Begum as a commodity to satisfy his lust. She takes after his daughter, but he does not hesitate to sexually exploit her. Simone de Beauvoir writes, "Humanity is male, and man defines woman, not in herself, but in relation to himself, she is not considered an autonomous being…He is the Subject; he is the Absolute. She is the Other" (26). Haseena is an embodiment of female victimization and passivity. Singh shows how women are treated as objects who have no say and no rights because of patriarchy and matriarchy. Men like Hukum Chand always take

advantage of women, in the same way, the colonizers used to invade many third-world countries.

Khushwant Singh pinpoints the existential trauma and identity crisis of the Muslims of Mano Majra and Chundunnugger when they are forced to migrate from India to Pakistan. The outsiders plan to attack the refugee train bound for Pakistan. However, Juggat Singh ruins their secret plan and loses his life in an attempt to save them. Manto's story "The Dog of Tithwal" deals with the same thematic aspects of "Toba Tek Singh". It is a tale of a dog that suffers from an existential threat when it is caught between the border of India and Pakistan. It finds itself stuck in the middle of the gunshots of Indian and Pakistani soldiers who cannot agree on its nationality. They use it as a symbolic medium to promote their nationalism and religious identity, as well as to unleash their disdain towards one another. Manto writes, "Even dogs will now have to decide if they are Indian or Pakistani" (21). He uses the dog to represent the sufferings of the refugees. The colonized suffer the same fate as the dog.

Manto shows the reluctance of the Muslims to migrate from India to Pakistan through the character of Mian Abdul Hai in "The Assignment" who remains in his house disregarding his daughter's advice to move into a Muslim area. Manto also focuses on the traumatic experiences of refugees in "The Dutiful Daughter". The governments of both countries launch recovery programs to rescue them and women and return them safely to their own countries. But it is very difficult to provide sufficient facilities for them. At the beginning of "The Dutiful Daughter", Manto writes that "Hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Hindus were moving from India to Pakistan and from Pakistan to India in search of refuge. Camps had been set up to give them temporary shelter, but they were so overcrowded that it seemed quite impossible to push another human being into them" (73). The refugees suffered greatly because of the lack of supply of pure drinking water, food, and other facilities in the refugee camps. "The Assignment" is about religious hatred and betrayal when mutual trust and harmony among the different communities were at their lowest point.

The character of Mian Sahib represents India, and his deteriorating physical condition symbolizes the systematic destruction of the Indian subcontinent due to violence and riots. His impaired speech signifies how a colony turns into a wasteland after an illegal foreign invasion. It also symbolizes the voiceless status of the colonized under the oppression of the colonizers. Santokh Singh takes advantage of his father's good relationship with Mian Sahib and his family.

He not only betrays Mian Sahib but also his own father by collaborating with the rioters directly in recognizing and killing them.

Khushwant Singh in *Train to Pakistan* reveals how the arrival of a ghost train from Pakistan containing dead bodies creates a stir in Mano Majra. The officials try their level best to maintain secrecy to avoid a communal riot in the village as a chain reaction to the killings of the Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan. The villagers see the mutilated dead bodies of men, women, and children. The Muslims find themselves in a state of panic and uncertainty when there are rumors in Mano Majra regarding the Sikhs butchering the Muslims, raping women, destroying the mosques, and insulting the holy Quaran in different parts of India. Suddenly their Sikh neighbors appear to be anti-Muslim and menacing to them. Therefore, they view Pakistan as a safe asylum for themselves. The outsiders take the opportunity to instigate communal hatred, violence, and intolerance in the minds of the people. Singh indicates that "the forces that destroyed the age-old communal harmony are new and nameless" (Zaman 40). The unnamed leader of the fanatics' questions their masculinity for doing nothing for the massacres of the Sikhs and Hindus in Rawalpindi, Multan, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura. His hatred towards the Muslim community is evident when he states, "For each Hindu or Sikh they kill, kill two Mussulmans. For each woman, they abduct or rape, abduct two...That will stop the killing on the other side. It will teach them that we also play this game of killing and looting" (144). He views the Muslims as a curse and wants to kill them as a retaliation for the atrocities done to the non-Muslims. Ultimately, many villagers along with Mali, his gang of robbers, and the Sikh refugees join the outsiders who symbolize the colonizers to a great length as they hatch a secret plot to commit violence. Hukum Chand is informed of the conspiracy and his helplessness to stop the potential massacre is evident when he states, "The whole world has gone mad. Let it go mad! What does it matter if another thousand get killed? We will get a bulldozer and bury them as we did the others" (149). He is fed up with partition violence and wants to evacuate the Muslims safely from Chundunnuger. He criticizes politicians like Gandhi, and Nehru and their roles in dividing India. The government does not always work for the welfare of people. Rather, they are mentally and morally colonized.

Manto and Singh show how innocent children were exposed to the world of madness and violence during the partition. They suffered a lot physically and mentally due to their vulnerable status. The contextual realities were not in their favor. Even the fate of the unborn

children and war children was not encouraging either. Singh provides the horrific details of those children who are brutally killed, and their dead bodies are thrown into the river or in the dump. Sunder Singh makes his three children drink his urine and ultimately murders them when they cry for food and drink. Nooran thinks about the safety of her unborn child in Pakistan because of mixed parentage. The children are not even safe in their mothers' wombs. Manto expresses his concern about the future of the war children and their acceptance in society and community for their mixed lineage. They are regarded as the living embodiment of unholiness, and the fanatics always attempt to remove their traces. Therefore, India and Pakistan refused to accept them. In "The Dutiful Daughter" Manto writes, "When I thought about these abducted girls, I only saw their protruding bellies. What was going to happen to them and what they contained? Who would claim the end result? Pakistan or India" (74). Manto questions the recovery programs of the abducted women and war children in "The Dutiful Daughter". Like the failure of the recovery programs, the age-old civilization, and pre-colonial cultural authenticity cannot be recovered. He also reveals the dreadful experience of children through the character of Barashat who observes a religious assassination in "The Assignment". He is shocked at the incident and runs back to his house for safety. The fanatics ultimately kill him and his family members and set their home on fire to eliminate their traces.

Manto remains impartial and objective in terms of depicting partition violence and blames all communities equally for their involvement in riots and communal actions. He does not speak in favor of any particular community despite being a Muslim. He does not want to cover the ugly face of contemporary society. He is a stern critic of bigotry, superstitious beliefs, and extreme ideologies. He uses everyday language and striking symbols, and images to depict partition madness. His stories are also known for the use of dark humor, verbal economy, abrupt endings, and pauses which are open to the readers for study and close reading. On the other hand, Khushwant Singh is subjective and biased towards a particular community while depicting and interpreting the events of partition madness. Although he acknowledges the participation of all communities in hate crimes and ethnic genocide, he mainly holds the Muslims responsible for the division of India and the creation of Pakistan resulting in absolute anarcy, disorder, and communal frenzy. He addresses the Muslims as 'pigs', 'disloyal', 'traitors', 'liars', 'butchers', 'snakes', 'evil' in the novel and glorifies the Sikh men and women for their sacrifices. He views the counter attacks of the Sikhs against the Muslims in different

parts of India as an act of retaliation instead of a genocide. Singh's perspective of partition is undoubtedly the official perspective of India to some extent.

Manto and Singh describe how people are judged by fanatics based on their appearance, language, and circumcised penis which used to be the markers of one's religion during communal riots. Manto recounts the story of a killer who makes a mistake in identifying his target and stabs him to death in "Mishtake". When the killer comes to know about his identity after noticing his circumcised penis, he feels disappointed. Circumcision determines whether a person is Muslim or non-Muslim. In "Mistake Removed", Manto narrates the deadly experience of Dharam Chand who is forced to go through circumcision to avoid being killed by the Muslims. However, he is caught by the people of his own religion who identify him as a Muslim and terminate him. Manto writes, "The mistake was removed...and with it Dharam Chand" (148). Dharam Chand becomes a victim of mistaken identity.

Khushwant Singh in *Train to Pakistan* also points out how appearance and a circumcised penis turn out to be one's religious, and national identity marker. Iqbal is a Sikh but does not follow the doctrines of Sikhism. The police interrogate Iqbal and investigate his penis to decide his identity. They tag him as a worker of the Muslim League for his circumcised penis. The Muslim extremists attack public transports to single out the non-Muslims to eliminate them and abduct their women to assault them. They are forced to take off their dress to find out whether they are circumcised or not. Sundari's husband is a victim of such persecution. The Hindus and Sikhs do the same thing to the Muslims. Like Singh, Manto reprehends religious faith in his short stories as a sensitive factor to destroy communal harmony. He points out the ambiguities of communal clashes in his stories and describes partition as an act of collective madness.

VII. Conclusion

Manto and Singh depict the issues of communal riots, violence against women, psychological impulses, existential crises due to the loss of identity, and refugee crises in their respective works. There are many striking similarities and dissimilarities in their depiction of the tragedy of partition. They use their imaginations very skillfully and combine their fictional accounts of the incidents with their practical experiences to describe contemporary society, harsh realities, and psychological outbursts of people belonging to all classes and religions. They vividly describe how women are used as an important symbol to promote nationalism,

colonialism, communal hatred, and sentiments. They portray the passive and subjugated status of women and their defenseless status in the face of danger. They criticize the main excuse behind the division of India and the emergence of Pakistan as an independent country. It is not possible to wipe out colonial symbols, structures, and inheritances as they are deeply rooted in postcolonial societies, cultural values, and traditions. They point out the existence of colonial legacies in different domains like administration, education, bureaucracy, politics, mentality, police force, laws, etc. in the Indian subcontinent and show that India fails to attain complete decolonization after gaining its freedom in 1947. Both writers are successful in their deliberate attempts to awaken emotional feelings and consciousness towards the events surrounding the partition riots and involuntary migration of the refugees as well as the complications and disputes created among the people of different communities because of the creation of Pakistan as a Muslim state.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**

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The Black Tales: Stories of the Struggle of African Americans in the Poetry of Maya Angelou

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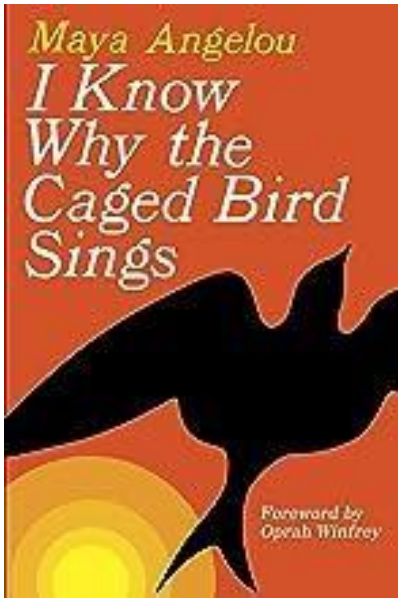

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Abstract

Although Maya Angelou is an American by her nationality, her craftsmanship in poetry writing makes her a global citizen. The simple yet thoughtful subject matters of her poetry, selection of lucid language, toning down the burning issues of the modern world etc. appeal literary lovers across the world to read her poetry. The present researcher makes an effort to

recount the untold stories of the lives of African Americans: the dark past, unstable present and surviving skills in an unhealthy social setup.

Keywords: Maya Angelou, African Americans, black narrative, American literature, social hegemony, racial discrimination.

1. Introduction

A born artist in true sense Maya Angelou was a master of whatever form of art she engaged herself with. She was equally successful as a dancer, singer, actor and film director, but she scaled the summit of popularity as a poet. Her rise as a successful poet was not a straightforward journey however. Everything that she owned in her life came as a token of hard-fought battle against unhealthy circumstances. Angelou grew up with her maternal grandmother after the separation of her parents. She fell prey to sexual assault by her mother's lover at a tender age of eight. At that point of time, she was not able to understand how uneven the society she belonged to was. She could not even rationalise why the culprit was sent behind the bar and eventually killed later on. It led the little girl Maya to forget to speak for six long years. However, resembling the proverb, "better late than never" Angelou realised the hardships of life that she had left behind.

All those traumatic experiences got their due expression in her verse. Her poems are not mere form art, they are rather a medium to retrospect the dark past, inspect the unstable present and establish future prospects of the lives of African Americans. Angelou attempts to tell hundreds of untold stories which the Black people dislike to live over again. This article promises to offer a collective tale of the sufferings of the African Americans as projected by the poet in her verses.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first section, namely, Introduction spells out a brief introduction of the poet viz. Maya Angelou. The section also mentions common subject matters that the poet deals with in most of her poems. The following section discusses the struggle of African Americans and how they rise up against racial discrimination in Maya Angelou's poetry. The findings of the research have been supported with the textual references

from six poems from different collections by the poet. The third section winds up the paper by highlighting the major findings.

2. Discussion

If poetry can be used as a mechanism to appeal for the changes in society, Maya Angelou is a quintessential ambassador of it. She composes poetry not only to flex her ineffable artistic quality or to come under the limelight of popularity, but to pave a strong base for raising voice for the rights of her fellow African Americans. Her poems have been a century old almanac of the struggle of the Black community in America. Almost each of her poems is an arrow for the society which has been dominated by the Whites since centuries, neglecting the sheer existence of the Blacks. Through her poems, Angelou speaks her heart out in response to all the ignorance and down-looks of society. In the poem ***The Caged Bird*** she presents the perimeter of life of the Black people in America through the comparison with a bird inside the cage. The metaphor captures the overwhelming agony and cruelty upon the Blacks which indeed, is relatable to the emotional suffering of the caged bird. A bird inside the cage can do nothing but 'stalks down his narrow cage' which perfectly represents the Black people's life in America. Angelou write:

"*But a bird that stalks*
down his narrow cage
can seldom see through
his bars of rage
his wings are clipped and
his feet are tied
so he opens his throat to sing." (The Caged Bird)

According to the poet, although discrimination and racism have made up the cage for the Black people, it could not stop them from dreaming. Every Black soul in America including the poet herself share a collective dream of achieving freedom from the oppression of the Whites. Just like the caged bird sings to be freed, the African Americans too raise their voice to achieve their right. Angelou pledges that despite having experienced 'nightmare' in the past and standing on the grave of dreams at present, they shall continue their cry for freedom. To quote her:

"*But a caged bird stands on the grave of dreams*
his shadow shouts on a nightmare scream
his wings are clipped and his feet are tied
so he opens his throat to sing." (The Caged Bird)

Angelou accepts the fact that the goal that they fight for freedom is not easy. It is rather 'fearful' to raise their voice against the dominating community and hence their voice mostly remains unheard. She makes another confession in the poem that even though the oppressed people are fighting for their dream, they have never experienced the taste of freedom. However, they would not cease their voice until they get hold of the far-fetched dream of 'things unknown' because this is what they have been 'longed for' centuries. In her words:

"The caged bird sings
with a fearful trill
of things unknown
but longed for still
and his tune is heard
on the distant hill
for the caged bird
sings of freedom." (The Caged Bird)

In the poem ***When I Think about Myself*** too Angelou captures the harsh reality of lives of Black people in America. The poet brilliantly presents a pen-picture as to how the African Americans are treated by the Whites. The speaker of the poem who is a sixty-years-old Black lady works as a caretaker of a little White girl. The latter ironically addresses the old lady as 'girl' whereas she has to call her 'ma'am' in response. Through the speaker's experience the poet makes an attempt to represent the amount of humiliation and ignorance that the Black people need to go through in order to earn their end meet. The poet understands the compulsion of her people and hence advises them to not react to the self-glorifying attitude of the Whites. This is because there is no other means for them to earn their bread. So, she prefers to ignore it with laughter instead like the speaker does. In her words:

"Sixty years in these folks' world
The child I works for calls me girl
I say 'yes ma'am' for working's sake.
Too proud to bend
Too poor to break'
I laugh until my stomach ache,
When I think about myself." (When I Think about Myself)

Angelou's brilliance is not confined to capturing the Black people's humiliation. It is the use of lucid language that has euphemised the harsh reality of the issue. The life of her people which is filled with the spices of 'death' and 'choke' are compensated for by the use of words like 'laugh'. However, the softness of her language brings out a bold message about the naked picture of White dominated society. In her language:

"When I think about myself'
I almost laugh myself to death,
My life has been one great big joke,
A dance that's walked
A song that's spoke,
I laugh so hard I almost choke
When I think about myself." (When I Think about Myself)

Angelou engages herself with the burning issue of distasteful racial discrimination in another fine poem of her ***"Harlem Hopscotch"***. She uses a popular children's game hopscotch as an extended metaphor for exploring how painful it is to grow up as a Black and poor in America. In the poem the speaker is seen to be giving directions to the 'Black' children about the tactics of the game of hopscotch. However, the speaker's direction is beyond the 'rules' of the game. It is rather an advice for the Black people for surviving in the White dominated society. The imagery of a hopscotch court perhaps symbolises the lives of African Americans: the boxes and lines of a hopscotch court seem to represent the restrictions that are put before the Blacks in the society. For them, surviving in society without crossing the lines of restrictions resembles playing a life-long game of playing hopscotch. The speaker dictates:

"One foot down, then hop! It's hot.

Good things for the one that's got.
Another jump, now to the left.
Everybody for hisself." (Harlem Hopscotch)

The poem is a reminder for the Blacks as to how challenging it is to survive in an unwelcoming world. The game of hopscotch indicates life of the African Americans in the sense that one has to be attentive and focused all his or her life as is required to win the game. There is no time for them to take rest since a Black in America seems to have born with the burden of responsibilities to fight against the adversities of life. According to the speaker, all the good things in the modern world is for the rich people, whereas for the underprivileged section, it is like a hopping and jumping in a hopscotch court which is drawn on hot patch of land. Poor people like the African Americans are abided by the circumstances of life for moving around in search of basic requirements such as food, house rent etc. Once they stop moving for work, the game of life will be all over. Thus the speaker warns her fellow Black men not 'stick around' at a place. To quote Angelou:

"*In the air, now both feet down.*
Since you black, don't stick around.
Food is gone, the rent is due,
Curse and cry and then jump two." (Harlem Hopscotch)

Division within a society is an unhealthy sign in the progress of the society, and a nation to an extent. In order to grow as a nation, it is essential to include people belonging to each section or class. Working on nation building without acknowledging the value of its citizens is mere stupidity, incomplete and injustice on the viewpoint of humanitarian value. This is the grey area where a powerful nation like America fails to stand as an exemplary union of states. The nation, from the poet's perspective, is the one in which a section of the citizens has locked themselves inside the 'whitened castles' which is safeguarded with 'deep and poisoned moats' and another section by contrast, is dwelling outside the castle. These metaphors used in the poem ***These Yet to Be United States*** symbolise the barbed wire between the 'Whites' and 'Blacks'. Thus, Angelou is of the thought that despite its growth as a nation in terms of political and military power, the modern United States of America is yet to be united as a socially inclusive nation. An ideal United States stands true iff it is able to give emphasis on the development of its human resource and

considers the contribution of each section of its citizens as an essential part in the process of nation building. In this sense, the states of America are yet to be united. The poet says:

"You dwell in whitened castles
with deep and poisoned moats
and cannot hear the curses
which fill your children's throats." (These Yet to Be United States)

Where there is a split in the society a group which is devoid of power always becomes the prey to the horror of discrimination. It is not an exception in the case of African Americans too. They have always been at the receiving end of negligence of the Whites. The poet herself being a victim of racial discrimination, challenges all the ill-treatment of the Whites in the poem ***Still I Rise.*** It is her voice of resilience in this poem that represents the attitude that every suppressed person should adopt and stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of dominating class. She makes an announcement that there is nothing that can hold her back. Her life-long experience of slavery has made her mentally so strong that she has now developed the mental strength to rise up from the lowest and darkest of circumstances. She says:

"You may shoot me with your words,
You may cut me with your eyes,
You may kill me with your hatefulness,
But still, like air, I'll rise." (Still I Rise)

Angelou takes a dig at the Whites' attitude towards the Blacks. She thinks that the former cannot digest the simple yet easy-going lifestyle of the Blacks. They are zealous of the Black people's happiness with every little thing in their life. The poet does not like to let this attitude go unnoticed. She throws the arrows of question to the Whites on this issue.

"*Does my sassiness upset you?*
Why are you beset with gloom?
'Cause I walk like I've got oil wells
Pumping in my living room." (Still I Rise)

The poet knows the answers to answers to her questions. She knows that it is too hard for the White people to see the African Americans appear happy against the adversities of life. Their happiness offends the Whites ‘’Cause I laugh like I’ve got gold mines/ Digging in my backyard’. The source of their mental resilience, according to the poet, is their own spirit and the history of long struggle against the oppression of racial hegemony. Thus, the poet herself becomes the flagbearer of this spirit and leads the way to raise their voice against racial discrimination. They possess the spirit to rise up leaving behind the dark past of ‘terror and fear’. Angelou voices out:

> “*Leaving behind nights of terror and fear*
> *I rise*
> *Into a daybreak that’s wondrously clear*
> *I rise*
> *Bringing the gifts that my ancestors gave,*
> *I am the dream and the hope of the slave.*
> *I rise*
> *I rise*
> *I rise.”* (Still I Rise)

The struggle of African American is not a new revolution. The root of their fight against racial discrimination can be traced back to centuries. They have been making ceaseless efforts to uplift themselves and to socially equalise with the Whites. They have improved themselves in every field and raised their voice to get recognition for their efforts. However, the lens through which society looks at them only produced the ‘dim’ vision of them. All their efforts consequently have produced no fruit, and their voices have gone unheard as usual. Despite being at the receiving end of the repeated rejection and ignorance over time, their struggle for existential identity continues without any halt. There is no force which can dishearten them from raising appeal for right. Angelou herself takes the lead to outcry for their hard-fought dream.

> *“Take the blinders from your vision,*
> *take the padding from your ears,*

and confess you've heard me crying,
and admit you've seen my tears." (Equality)

The poet is of the opinion that it is society and its point of view which needs to be changed to bring the 'equality'. African Americans have had experience of the 'shameful past'. They have overcome 'a painful history' of racial hegemony. However, at their level, they have been making ceaseless progress and have kept on 'marching forward' towards the betterment of life. On the contrary, the White dominated society, addressed as 'you' in the poem, does take the regressive move and as always 'keep on coming last' in the race of intellectual progress. As a result, the sense of freedom and equality which the Black people fight for has been put on delay for centuries. Angelou states:

"We have lived a painful history,
we know the shameful past,
but I keep on marching forward,
and you keep on coming last." (Equality)

Maya Angelou's poem ***Equality*** is a sort of memorandum which represents the demand of African Americans. The poet herself being the metaphor for the entire Black community boldly articulates the most sought after thing i.e. 'Equality'. She has to say that everything that the Black people ask for is the status of 'equality' in the society. Once they achieve it, they will be free from all the obstacles and shortcomings of life. More importantly, they will forget the dark and painful past which still haunts them every moment in their life. The poet cries:

"Equality, and I will be free.
Equality, and I will be free." (Equality)

3. Conclusion

If literature is said to be the mirror of society, the literary creations of Maya Angelou bear out as evidence. The statement stands to logic as most of her poetry produces the reflection of the world around her. Growing up in an inhospitable social set up to being sexually by her mother's lover she has come across the dark passage of racial discrimination. All those personal experience and the sufferings of her fellow Black people set up the background of her poetry.

Considering the above discussions, the present study can be wind up with the note that Angelou is successful in narrating the untold stories of the Black people's life in America. At the same time, she uses poetry as a weapon to reply to the oppressors as well as a medium of preaching awareness about racial discrimination and to fight against it.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Compound Verbs in Kashika
Bhojpuri Spoken in Varanasi

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Abstract

This paper aims at discussing the vector or second verb in sentences with compound verbs in Bhojpuri Spoken in Varanasi also called *Kashika*. It also attempts to focus on honorific inflections in vectors with the main verbs with aptness of instances.

Keywords: Compound verbs, Vector, Second verbs, honorifics, Bhojpuri.

Introduction

It is defined that Compound Verb (CV) refers to a form more than one verb containing a main verb (MV) as a bare stem and at least a secondary element carries the features of tense, number, gender and also indicates honorifics. This secondary element has been variously termed as explicator, operator, auxiliary, vector, etc.

These vectors constitute a small class of typically motion verbs like go, sit, come, give, take, etc. CV is a V(erb)+V(erb) construction, distinct from other complex predicate constructions like N(oun)+V(erb) or A(djective)+V(erb). The latter have been referred to as Conjunct Verbs. **(Raj Nath Bhat, 2002)**

Suniti Kumar Chatterji (1926) writes, *CV phenomenon is widespread in the languages across Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe. In the context of the Indo-Aryan languages, it is opined that CV is a New Indo-Aryan (NIA) innovation. It was non-existent in the Old Indo-Aryan and very rare in the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA). NIA developed it under the influence of Dravidian languages to compensate for the loss of root modifying prefixes, verbal declensions and for other phonological and grammatical changes that had occurred during the course of historical development from OIA/MIA to NIA.*

Guru (1977) defines CV as the one *'where bare stem (kridant) functions as the main verb (MV)and the vector (sahka:ri: kriya:) informs us about its qualities which are dependent upon its meaning in a sentence.'*

In an example of Hindi:

laRaka: bha:g gaya: (The boy ran away).
/bha:g gaya:/ is CV where /bha:g/ functions as the MV and /gaya:/ carries the features of tense, number, and gender. It does not convey its lexical meaning 'go' in the sentence. The vector /ja:na:/ has been emptied of its semantic features and allocated the grammatical function of indicating tense, aspect, number and gender, a process which Hook(1974:94) refers to as 'grammaticalisation'.

Methodology

The research design of this study is qualitative by nature where the target respondent or subject is directly observed and analyzed in natural world setting. Moreover, being a native speaker, it has been natural and unproblematic to get the unambiguous depiction of CV in Kashika.

Compound Verbs in Kashika

There are different forms of vector in Kashika occur in combination with the Main Verbs (MVs) where they reflect even the shade of honour along with indicating grammatical functions of tense, number, gender etc. However, the common vectors in Kashik are: /ja:/ 'go', /le:/ 'take', /de:/ 'give', /da:l/ ' pour', /PaR/ ' fall', /uTh/ 'stand', /bai:Th/ 'sit', /a:/ 'Come', etc.

1. /Ja:/ : occurs in its various forms in combination with the following MVs:
/kha:/ 'eat',/samajh/ 'comprehend', /a:/ 'come', /chal/ 'walk',/ baiTh/ 'sit', /su:t/ 'sleep', /uTh/ 'get up', /caba:/ 'masticate', /sikuR/ 'shrink', /ja:g/ 'awaken', /saR/ 'stink', /chu:T/ 'miss', /thak/ 'tire', /ruk/ 'stop', /baRh/ 'grow', /paR/ 'fall', /pi:/ 'Drink', /na:ca/,etc.

a.	/Ja:ila:/: FP/(M/F)/PR.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan pi: ja:ila: *I/ drink.*
b.	/Ja:la:/: (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./NH) Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab/u (3rd P/sg.) a: ja:la: *You/you all/he come(s).*
	/ja:lu:/: 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/ PR.T/Formal/NH

c.	Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab samajh ja:lu: *You/you all understand.*
d.	/Ja:lan/: 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/ u log/ u sab kha: ja:lan *You/you all eat.*
e.	/Ja:le:/ : 2nd P/M/PR.T/Sing./(Inf./NH) 3rd p/F/ PR.T/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example : tu su:t ja:le: '*You sleep.' (M)* u su:t ja:le: *'she sleeps'* (F) /ja:li:/: 2nd P/F/PR.T/Sing./Inf./NH) tu su:t ja:li: *'You sleep'* (F)
f.	/Ja:lin/: 3rd P/F/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u su:t ja:lin *she sleeps*
g.	/gayal/ : (1st +2nd +3rd p)/M+F/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: ham thak gayal rahali:/u thak gayal rahal/ u sab thak gayal rahalan *I tired.(M/F) He tired They tired*
h.	/gailan/: 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u sab/log thak gailan *They tired.*
i.	/gail/: (3rd p)/F/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: u a: gail *She came.*
j.	/gailin/ 3rdP/F/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u sab/log thak gailan *They tired. (F)*
k.	/gailu:/ : 2nd P/F/sing./PT/Form./H Example: tu kha: gailu: 'You ate.' /gaili/: 2nd /F/PT/sing./inf./NH tu kha: gaili: ' You ate.'

Thus, /Ja:/ in its various forms, in Kashika, occur with transitive as well as intransitive verbs and generally indicate completed action or action in progress. Their uses also suggest a

sense of habit and urgency on the part of the doer. Guru (1970) said for Hindi vector /ja:na:/ suggests a sense of urgency on the part of the doer.

2. /le: /: occurs in its various forms in combination with the following MVs:

/su:t/ 'sleep', /kha:/ 'eat', /si:kh/ 'learn', /su:t/ 'sleep', /bai:Th/ 'sit', /le/ 'take', /kar/ 'do', /rakh/ 'keep', /laR/ 'quarrel', /pakaR/ 'catch', /cora:/ 'steal', /choRa:/ 'free', /uTha: 'pick up', /mil/ 'meet', /rok/ 'stop', /ga:/ 'sing'etc.

a.	/lehi:la:/ : FP/(M/F)/PR.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan pi: lehi:la: *I/ we drink.*
b.	/le:la:/ : (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./NH) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u (3rd P/sg.) kha: le:la: *You/you all / He eat.*
c.	/le:lu:/ : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PR.T/ Formal/inf./NH/H Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab samajh le:lu: *You/you all understand.*
d.	/le:lan/ : 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/ u log/ u sab apane se naha: le:lan *He/They bath himself/themselves*
e.	/le:le:/ : 2nd + 3rd P/(M/F)//PR.T/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example : tu su:t le:le: '*You sleep.' (M)* u su:t le:le: *'she sleeps'* (F)
f.	/le:lin/ : 3rd P/F/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab ga: lel:lin *She/they sing(s)*
g.	/lehali:/ : : (1st P)/M+F/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: ham kar lehali: *I did it.(M/F)*
h.	/lehalas/ : (3rd p)/(M/F)/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: u paRh lehalas *He/She read.*
i.	/lehalan/: 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u sab/log naha: lehalan *He/ They bathed*

j.	/lehalin/: (3rd p)/F/PT/(Sing./pl.)/(Form./H) Example: u/u sab na:ca lehlin *She /they danced.*
k.	/lehalu:/ : 2nd P/F/sing./PT/Form./H Example: tu kha: lehalu: 'You ate.' /lehali:/: 2nd /F/sing./PT/inf./NH Example: tu kha: lehali: ' You ate.'

/le:/ vector in its various forms in Kashika occur mostly with transitive verbs and its use implies benefit to the doer through action. There is also an insinuation of doing something despite difficulties; examples given from 2(a) to 2(f) reveal such implication.

3. /de: /: occurs in its various forms in combination with the following MVs:

/cal/ 'walk', /thaka:/ 'tire', /kara:/ 'get done',/saRa:/ 'ferment',/saRawa:/ 'get ferment', /toR/ 'break', /moR'/ 'bend', /ro/ 'weep', /choR' 'let go', /ma:r/ 'kill', / dara:/ 'fear' etc.

a.	/dehi:la:/ : FP/(M/F)/PR.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan kar dehi:la: *I/ we do it.* */dehli:/ :* FP/(M/F)/PT/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan kar dehli: *I/ we did it.* */dehli:/ :* 2nd P/F/PT/Sing./inf./NH Example: ham/hamhan kar dehli: *I/ we did it.*
b.	/de:la:/ : (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./NH) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u (3rd P/sg.) ro de:la: *You/you all / He weep(s).*
c.	/de:lu:/ : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PR.T/ Formal/inf./NH/H Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab cu:ha: ma:r de:lu: *You/you all kill rat..*
d.	/de:lan/ : 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/ u log/ u sab hamke thaka: de:lan *He/They make me tired.*

e.	/de:le:/ : 2nd + 3rd P/(M/F)//PR.T/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu uhã: cal de:le: *'you started to go there.' (M)* u uhã: cal de:le: *'she started to go there'* (F)
f.	/de:lin/ : 3rd P/F/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab dara: de:lin *She/they frighten(s)*
g.	/dehali:/ : (1st P)/M+F/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: ham kar dehali: *I did it.(M/F)*
h.	/dehalas/ : (3rd p)/(M/F)/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: u paRh dehalas *He/She read.*
i.	/dehalan/: 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u sab/log ka:m kara: dehalan *He/ They got the work done.*
j.	/dehalin/: (3rd p)/F/PT/(Sing./pl.)/(Formal./H) Example: u/u sab oke na:ca dehlin *She /they made her/him danced.*
k.	/dehalu:/ : 2nd P/F/sing./PT/Form./H Example: tu bola: dehalu: 'You called.' /dehali:/: 2nd /F/sing./PT/inf./NH Example: tu bola: dehali: ' You called.'

/de:/ is an antonym of /le:/ and its various forms occur mostly with transitive verbs. It also suggests that the benefit of doer's action affects other. The analysis of the examples, (3(a) to 3(f), also implies capability of the doer to act.

4. /da:l/ : This vector occurs in its various forms in combination with the following MVs: /thaka:/ 'tire', /kar/ 'do', /karwa:/ 'get done',/saRa:/ 'ferment',/saRawa:/ 'get ferment', /toR/ 'break', /moR'/ 'bend', /ma:r/ 'kill', / dara:/ 'fear' , /kha:/ 'eat' etc.

a.	/da:lila:/ : FP/(M/F)/PR.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan karwa: da:lila: *I/ we get it done.*
b.	/da:lela:/ : (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./NH) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u (3rd P/sg.) cu:hank e ma:r da:lela: *You/you all / He kill(s)) rats* .
c.	/da:lalu:/ : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PR.T/ Formal/inf./H

	Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab cu:han ke ma:r da:lalu: *You/you all kill rats..*
d.	/da:lana/ : 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) /da:lalan/ Example: u/ u log/ u sab hamke thaka: da:lana *He/They made me tired.*
e.	/dalale/ : 2nd P/M//PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu kirani ke maar dalale '*you killed Kiran.' (M)*
f.	/da:lelin/ : 3rd P/F/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab dara: da:lelin *She/they frighten(s)*
g.	/dalali:/ : (1st P)/M+F/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: ham kar dalali: *I did it.(M/F)*
h.	/dalalas/ : (3rd p)/(M/F)/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: u paRh dallas *He/She read.*
i.	/dalna/: 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u sab/log ka:m kara: dalna *He/ They got the work done.*
j.	/dalani:/: (3rd p)/F/PT/(Sing./pl.)/(Form./H) Example: u/u sab oke na:ca dalani: *She /they made her/him danced.*
k.	/dallu::/ : 2nd P/F/sing.+pl./Form./H Example: tu sabke bola: dalalu:/dallu: 'You called all.' /dalali:/: 2nd /F/sing./inf./NH Example: tu sabke bola: dalali:/dalli ' You called all.'

These different forms of vector of /da:l/ occur with transitive verbs and gives implication of drastic, antagonistic action.

5. /paR/: This vector occurs in its various forms in combination with the following MVs:
/thak/ 'tire', /ma:r/ 'beat', / dar/ 'fear' , /kha:/ 'eat' , /cal/ 'walk/move', /ro/ 'weep', /gir/ 'fall', /nikal/ 'move out/come out', /hãs/ 'laugh/smile',/ku:d/ 'jump' etc.

a.	/paRila:/ : FP/(M/F)/PR.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan dar paRila: *I/ we get frightened.* /paRli:/ : FP/(M/F)/PT/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan dar paRli: *I/ we get frightened.* /paRli:/ : 2nd P/F/PT/Sing./Inf./NH Example: tu dar paRli: *You get frightened.*
b.	/paRela:/ : (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./NH) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u cu:ha: dekh ke bha:g paRela: Seeing a rat *You/you all / He run(s) away (suddenly)* /paRla:/ : (2nd P/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./NH) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/ cu:ha: dekh ke bha:g paRla: Seeing a rat *You/you all ran away (suddenly)*
c.	/paRalu:/ : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PR.T/ Formal/inf./H Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab jor se hãs paRalu: *You/you all burst into laughter/ laugh loudly*
d.	/paRna/: 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/ u log/ u sab uhã: se turant cal paRna *He/They immediately walked away from there.* /paRana/ 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) / u log/ u sab uhã: se turant cal paRana *He/They immediately walk(s) away from there.*
e.	/paRle:/ : 2nd P/M//PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu ka:he ro paRle? Why did you weep? paRale:/ : 2nd P/M//PR.T/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu ka:he ro paRale? Why do you weep?
f.	/paRelin/ : 3rd P/F/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab dar paRelin *She/they frighten(s)* /paRlin/ : 3rd P/F/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab dar paRlin

	She/they frightened
g.	/paRila:/ : (1st P)/M+F/PR.T/Sing./ Example: ham nikal paRila: *I move out suddenly (M/F)* /paRli:/ : (1st P)/M+F/PT/Sing./(Inf. Example: ham nikal paRli: *I moved out suddenly (M/F)*
h.	/paRna, / 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u sab/log bha:g paRna *He/ They ran away(suddenly).* /paRana/: 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u sab/log bha:g paRana *He/ They run away(suddenly).* /paRal : 3rdP/M+F/PT/(Sing.)/(/Inf)/NH) u bha:g paRal *He/she run away(suddenly).*
j.	/paRni:/: (3rd p)/F/PT/(Sing./pl.)/(Form./H) Example: u/u sab gir paRni: *She/They fell down.* /paRani:/: (3rd p)/F/PR.T/(Sing./pl.)/(Form./H) Example: u/u sab gir paRani: *She/They fall(s) down.*
k.	/paRlu:/ : 2nd P/F/sing.+plu./PT/Form./H Example: tu/ tu sab ro paRlu: You/they started weeping. /paRalu:/: 2nd /F/sing.+P/PR.T/inf./NH Example: tu/ tu sab ro paRalu: You/they start weeping.

/paR/ generally occurs with intransitive verbs and implies the sense of suddenness of action or a sudden change of circumstances that can be analyzed by the examples mentioned above.

5. /uTh/: This vector occurs in its various forms in combination with the following MVs:

/bol/ ‘speak’, /gũ:j/ ‘echo’, / cilla:/ ‘shout’ , /kã:p/ ‘tremble’, /bha:g/ ‘run’ etc.

a.	/uThila:/ : FP/(M/F)/PR.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan bol uThila: *I* I/ *we begin to speak.* /uThli/ : FP/(M/F)/PT/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan bol uThli I/we began to speak. /uThli/: 2nd P/F/Sing./PT/NH/Inf. Tu bol uThli u began to speak.
b.	/uThela:/ : (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./NH) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u (3rd P/sg.) cu:ha: dekh ke bha:g uThela: Seeing a rat *You/you all / He begin to run(s) away (suddenly)* /uThla:/ : 2nd P/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./H) Seeing a rat *You/you all began to run away (suddenly)*
c.	/uThalu:/ : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PR.T/ Formal/inf./H Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab jor se cilla: uThalu: *You/you all begin to shout loudly* uThlu:/ : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PT/ Formal/inf./inf./H Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab jor se cilla: uThlu: *You/you all began to shout loudly*
d.	/uThlan/: 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/ u log/ u sab ek sa:th bol uThlan *He/They begin to speak together.* /uThana/ : 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) u/ u log/ u sab ek sa:th bol uThana *He/They begin to speak together.* /uThal/: 3rdP/M+F/PT/(Sing.)/(inf./NH) u bol uThal *He/She begin to speak .*
e.	/uThale:/ : 2nd P/M//PR.T/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu ka:he bol uThale?

	Why do you begin to speak? /uThle:/ : 2nd P/M//PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu ka:he bol uThale? Why did you begin to speak?
f.	/uThelin/: 3rd P/F/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab dar ke ma:re kã:p uThelin *She/they begin(s) to tremble with fear.* /uThlin/ : 3rd P/F/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) u/u log/ u sab dar ke ma:re kã:p uThlin *She/they began to tremble with fear.*

/uTh/ vector's forms too indicate suddenness of action; it mostly transpires with intransitive verb.

6. /baiTh/: This vector occurs in its various forms in combination with the following MVs:
/ka/ 'say', /kar/ 'do', / laR/ 'quarrel' , /bana:/ 'make', /ban/ 'become' etc.

a.	/baiThila:/ : 1st P /(M/F)/PR.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/ hamhan kah baiThila: ' *I/ we speak.'* /baiThli:/ : 1st P/(M/F)/P.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan kah baiThli: I/we spoke. /baiThli:/ : 2nd P/F/PT/(Sing./Inf./NH Example: tu kah baiThli: you spoke.
b.	/baiThela:/ : (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./NH) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u (3rd P/sg.) laR baiThela: *You/you all / He start(s) quarrelling/quarrel* /baiThla:/ : 2nd P/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf./H) (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u laR baiThla: *You/you all started quarrelling/quarreled* /baiThal/ : 3rd P /M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/nf./NH) *He/she started quarrelling/ quarrelled*

c.	/baiThalu:/ : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PR.T/ Formal/inf./H Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab tab tak kha:na: bana: baiThalu: *You/you all cook food by then* baiThlu: / : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PT/ Formal/inf./inf./H tu/ tu log/ tu sab tab tak khana bana: baiThalu: *You/you all cooked food by then*
d.	/baiThana/baiThalan/: 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/ u log/ u sab tab tak ka:m kar baiThana *He/They do work by then* /baiThna/ or /baiThlan/: 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) u/ u log/ u sab tab tak ka:m kar baiThana *He/They did work by then* /baiThal/ : 3rdP/M+F/PT/(Sing.)/(Formal/H) u tab tak ka:m kar baiThal *He/she did work by then.*
e.	/baiThale:/ : 2nd P/M//PR.T/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu ka:he kar baiThale ? Why do you do it? /baiThle:/ : 2nd P/M//PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu ka:he kar baiThle ? Why did you do it?
f.	/baiThelin/: 3rd P/F/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab kar baiThelin *She/they do it.* /baiThlin/ : 3rd P/F/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/Inf)/H) u/u log/ u sab kar baiThlin *She/they did it.* /baiThli/: 2nd P/F/PT/Sing./Inf./NH) tu kar baiThli

/baiTh/ in Kasika suggests the sense of relaxation after finishing task/job etc., along with, it also suggests that the action performed is bad in taste or has been done thoughtlessly or hurriedly. Examples discussed above entail the same.

7. /a: /: occurs in its various forms in combination with the following MVs:

/nikal/ 'come out', /ug/ 'grow', /utar/ 'descend', /bha:g/ 'run' etc.

a.	/a:ila:/ : 1st P/(M/F)/PR.T/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan ka:m kar a:ila: *I/ we do work.* */aili/ :* 1st P+2nd P/(M/F)/PT/(Sing./pl.) Example: ham/hamhan/tu kar aili: *I/ we/you did work.* (Note: for 2nd P /aili/ is NH)
b.	/a:wala:/ : (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u (3rd P/sg.) nikal a:wala: *You/you all / He come out* */aila:/ :* (2nd P+3rd P)/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H+Inf.) Example: (tu/ tu log/ tu sab)/u (3rd P/sg.) nikal aila: *You/you all / He come out*
c.	/a:walu:/ : 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PR.T/ Formal/H Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab cu:ha: ma:r a:walu: *You/you all kill(s) rat.* */ailu:/ :* 2nd P/F/(Sing./Pl.)/PT/ Formal/H Example: tu/ tu log/ tu sab cu:ha: ma:r ailu: *You/you all killed rat.*
d.	/ailan/ : 3rdP/M/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/ u log/ u sab bha:g ailan. He/they ran back. /a:walan/ : 3rdP/M/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/ u log/ u sab bha:g a:walan He/they run back.

e.	/aile:/ : 2nd P/M/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: tu uhã se bha:g aile: You ran back from there. /a:yal/ : 3rd P/M/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: u uhã se bha:g a:yal He ran back from there.
f.	/a:walin/ : 3rd P/F/PR.T/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab oke dara: a:walin *She/they make her/him frighten.* */ailin/ :* 3rd P/F/PT/(Sing./Pl.)/(Formal/H) Example: u/u log/ u sab oke dara: ailin *She/they made her/him frightened.*
h.	/ailas/ : (3rd p)/(M/F)/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: u unhan ke bhag: ailas *He/She made them ran away.* */a:il/ :* (3rd p)/F/PT/Sing./(Inf./NH) Example: u unhan ke bhag: ai:l *She made them ran away.*

Various forms of vector /a: / not only gives a sense of suddenness but also indicates to make the action completed along with a sense of relaxation in some of the given examples particularly in 7 (a), 7(b), 7(d), 7(e) and 7(h).

In the above instances the MVs occur as a bare stem, the vectors' different forms have endured *grammaticalisation* and the MV perpetually precedes the vector. In Kashika a reverse order such as vector+MV in a CV is also available in a number of cases. For example:

8. (a) ra:m hamse ra:ste me mil gayal
   (b) ra:m hamse ra:ste me a: milal
   'Ram met me on the way.'
9. (a) u oke danda: se ma:r dehlas
   (b) u oke danda: se de marlas
   'He/she beat him/her with a stave.'

Bahl (1964) opines that the phenomenon of reversal can be related to the un-reversed CV which he called 'reordering'. Hook (1974) argues that all the reversed CVs do not relate to the un-reversed CV, some of the reversed CVs are usually *"a sequence of conjoined main verbs*

derived through the application of /kar/-deletion (with reference to Hindi).” For example, in Hindi:

10. (a) wah uske dost se mil gaya:
‘He went over to his friend.’
(b) wah uske dost se ja: kar mil gaya:
‘He went over and met his friend’

According to Bhat (2002), *“not all reversed sequences conform to the /kar/-deletion hypothesis. For example, the following would not allow /kar/-insertion:*

Cha:n ma:r ‘search’> ma:r cha:n
uR cal ‘fly away’> cal uR …”

Here, the same phenomenon of *reversed and un-reversed* can be found in Kashika too but reversal or reordering of vectors in CVs is not possible in all the cases.

Hook (1974:62) proposes that *“the reversed CVs express actions which involve actual physical (as opposed to psychic or metaphoric) movement.”*

Bhat (2002:17) says with examples (Hindi), *“23a.us ne gila:s diva:r mẽ de ma:ra: , 23b. us ne gila:s diva:r mẽ ma:r diya: (He struck the glass against the wall). It may be noted that 23a. where the CV is in the reversed order, is more commonly used than 23b. where the CV is in the un-reversed order. And the magnitude or intensity of anger, violence and suddenness expressed in 23a is lacking in 23b. This is an indication of the pragmatic implications of reordering the MV+V.”*

Similarly, in Kashika if we say:

11(a) u gila:s diva:r par de marlas
11(b) u gila:s diva:r par ma:r dehlas
‘He/she struck the glass against the wall.’ ,

the above examples more or less entail the same logic.

Kashika syntax allows substitution of a CV with a simple verb as follows:

a: gayal > a:yal
kha: ja:la: > kha:la:
kha: gayal > khilas
paRh lela: > paRhala:
paRh lehalas > paRhlas

ma:r lehalas > marlas
mil gayal> milal
de marlas> marlas
ma:r dehalas > marlas

With reference to Hindi syntax substation of CV with a simple verb like*: a: gaya: >a:ya:,*
kha: jata: > kha:ta:, Bhat (2002) says, *'…examples demonstrate that MV assumes a finite form in the absence of a vector in both the unreversed as well as reversed order CVs. Thus MV, substitution could be construed as a reliable test to find out the MV in a CV…another mode of isolating a MV from a complex predicate .CV rarely occur in negation, it is the main verbwhich is negated. For example kita:b paRh leta hai > kita:b nahi paRhta:, hãs paRa: > nahi hãsa: …'*

In Kashika too CVs rarely occur in negation, it is the main verb which is negated. For example:
hãs paRal > na: hãsal
ro uThal > na: rualas/ na: roal etc.

According to Nespital (1997), with reference to Hindi, choice of a vector in a CV sequence is guided by the lexico-semantic features of the second verb. He said, *"…second verb (vector) additionally contributes a varying number of lexico-semantic that are already present or inherent in the lexical meaning of the first verb (MV)."* Nespital's opinion is pertinent in Kashika too, for instance, in /kha: gayal/ 'ate', the main verb 'kha:' indicates an action of eating to ceasing to be done with eating process that is /gayal/ 'went' . Thus, /gayal/ 'went' entails the lexico-semantic features like to reach a terminal point.

However, the lexico-semantic contribution of second verb to the meaning encompasses only a specific number of CV strings. There are many examples in Kashika where second verb's lexico-semantic features do not match with the meaning of the CV, for example:

/rah ja:la:/ 'stay -go' , / baith ja:la:/ 'sit- go', do not match the concerned semantic features.

Bhat (2002), writes truly , with reference to Hindi, that *" Hence, the category of vector verbs which are completely grammaticalised in a CV sequence and a class of factor verbs which are partially grammaticalised, for these contribute shades of their meaning features to the CV sequence, seems to be a plausible explanation."*

The same can be appropriately discussed in reference to Kashika.

Conclusion

The present paper intends to delineate Compound verbs in Kashika. It focuses that how inflections in vectors with the main verbs specify honor system in Kashika which is supported with aptness of instances. Moreover, certain examples from Hindi CVs are also propped up due to similarities in certain aspects. This paper is an attempt to discuss vectors in Kashika as many as possible with grammatical functions which Hook refers to as 'grammaticalisation'.

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Abbreviations:

FP/P	First Person/Person
M	Male
F	Female
PR.T	Present Tense
PT	Past Tense
Sing.	Singular
Pl.	Plural
Form.	Formal
Inf.	Informal
H	Honorific
NH	Non Honorific

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Usage and Applications of English Learning Mobile Apps

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine, understand, and evaluate the features of freely available mobile apps for learning English. The study analyses them from the standpoints of learners in order to assess the chosen apps as to whether they offer tailor-made contents, free from technical glitches and entirely professional. Specifically, we have selected five apps from the Google Play Store to study them from the point of view of the non-native English speakers to learn the language who usually focus on five categories such as pronunciation, dialogue, content, lesson-centric video instruction and vocabulary.

Keywords: English, Mobile Apps, Language Learning, Technologies.

Introduction

The introduction of Information Communication Technologies and subsequently the arrival of smart phones on the horizon have changed the way we communicate; it turns out to be a quantum leap in the area of hi-tech educational tools available to learn the foreign language primarily for the non-native speakers. This technological transformation has facilitated a kind of paradigm shift in the way we previously were teaching and learning different languages. Hence, now learning a new language is just a click of a few tabs on your personal computer or desktop. Basically, rapid technological advancement has conveniently opened doors to various meaningful educational tools beginning from Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) in the form of CD-ROMs to new state-of-the-art technology – Mobile-Assisted Language Learning (MALL).

These hi-tech advancement in the field of education has introduced different types of audio-video lessons, drills, and practice exercises in the mobile apps for the users to learn language and master speaking, listening, reading, and writing in an easy manner. Ever-increasing demands persuade firms to invent and introduce novel, easy, and sure-shot learning features to attract learners world-wide. These globally changing socio-economic circumstances have also changed the way the mobile apps' creators envision, understand, and cater to the varying needs of offline and online clientele. They have introduced learning practice sessions, lessons, steps, and level-wise tutorials which suit those who want to learn as and when they get time at their desired locations thus keeping the process of learning intrinsically unhindered and user-friendly. Some learning features like sociable context, native speakers, and teachers' feedbacks, and hobnobbing with people on online forums can

spur and encourage the exchange of knowledge in language learning. Hence, we specifically zeroed in on five mobile language learning apps, parsed and discussed them in this study.

ICT Tools in English Language Learning

Information Communication Technology includes the tools such as computers, internet, websites, emails, mobile phones, and language labs. In this technological modern world, ICT is the pivot of technological world and serves as prerequisite if one wants to work, strive, and thrive. All these tools are essentially crucial in the field of education and primarily when one wants to learn, improve, and enhance linguistic skills – learning English language.

These combination of ICT tools came into being with the need to train American soldiers to survive and efficiently perform in the World War-II (1939-45), consequently, several institutions like Office of Education Training Films and United States Armed Forces Institute had jointly taken the lead in designing and producing entertaining movies and teaching-learning resources that found to be then motivating and encouraging students and soldiers in learning practices. The historical overview has it that in 1969, Leonard Klein Rock could link up two computers; in 1972 email was created; in 1983, Internet Protocol (IP) came into being that allowed computers to get connected with the networks that consist of 12 numerical divided into groups of 3 numbers for instance.

In 1992, Robert Cailliau and Tim Berners-Lee went on to create the World Wide Web (www), it further has facilitated the design and distribution of hypertexts and other resources including animations, images, sounds, texts, and the management of different Internet services like email files, transfer, among others and in 1995, the Internet appears.

All those tools give an opportunity to English language learners to be creative and while learning one can explore, discover and during producing content their performances can also be measured. There are multiple such interactive tools including presentation software, audio & movie makers, camera, podcasting, web publishing exercise creating tools that basically promote and strengthen process of communication between students and teachers and it can be classified into two groups. The first category of software offers for the real-time interaction as telephones, board, voice meeting, conferences, and instant messaging; in the second type of software - email, text messages and discussion boards - you need to have patience as it takes time.

Going through audio-video files and clips one can improve listening skills. Teachers and learners can use Virtual Learning Environments (VLE) to get their work organized and managed electronically. This platform enables parents and learners to have a say on discussion forums and assess their own progress. Internet offers great opportunity to learn English rather providing an English-speaking environment.

Subsequent advances in the deep-learning and its application made Computer Assisted Language Learning more prominent and in today's world computer has become a platform that assists us in the learning process. YouTube enables us to view, and re-view posted videos on different aspects of language learning like reading, writing, listening, speaking and

grammar lessons to master the language. So, above mentioned tools and countless electronic paraphernalia are in place for one who yearns to learn English language at any given time and space.

Review of Literature

The contributions by Chang & Hsu (2011), Egbert, Akasha, Huff, & Lee (2011), Hoven & Palalas (2011) and Stockwell (2010) claim that studies done hitherto show mobile learning apps have the profound possibilities especially for the foreign language learners to learn and practice language skills on their hand-held devices, tablets, and personal computers. While Sweeney & Moore (2012) opined that number of mobile apps developed and utilized for English as foreign language learning are not pedagogically appropriate, for there seems to be knowledge gap between app developers and language teachers. Thirty-four hours of Duolingo, a language application, is equivalent to a semester of a language course. Gamification of language in real-time, acquiring virtual coins simultaneously with grammar and vocabulary has made the app popular.

The app covers methods from beginner to advanced level in 23 languages. For beginners, the focus is on verbs, phrases, sentences, and for advanced learners, the focus is on LSRW skills. Second language learning is through the first language or mother tongue. Learning material and levels are prescribed by the app based on the performance in the Diagnostic test. Ads could be avoided in the premium version. *Quiz - Your English* by Cambridge Assessment is the best for test preparation for IELTS and B2 level on CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). The quiz could be played with peers and friends, especially during the exam, to break the monotony and exam tension.

The British Council focuses on multiple topics for all levels from Questions, tenses, gerunds, and modal verbs. The present era which is standing on the cusp of total digitization has technical means and equivalents for sectors like education, banking, entertainment, commerce, religion, trade, and everything include language learning. And nowadays, we have tremendous possibilities before us to study, learn and acquire knowledge virtually in any language. These technologies have considerably impacted our lives including education and offer multiple benefits when you learn language to enhance academic level through self-learning process.

Rovithis et. al. (2019) and Straková & Cimermanová (2018) are of the opinion that ongoing advancement in the technological world creates possibilities and stimulate the very need for improvement in the field of education thus enhancing the teaching and learning process. On the other hand, Gangaiamaran & Pasupathi (2017) and Kukulska - Hulme & Shield (2008), Tarighat & Khodabakhsh, (2016) seem to have understood that technologies driving mobiles and facilitating development of apps have become part and parcel of learning process; they are more attractive compared to computer-assisted language learning, personal and portable devices.

In this paper, five selected English learning mobile apps – *Duolingo, JoshTalks, BBC Learning English, Grammarly* and *HelloEnglish* are discussed. These apps enable users to

learn to speak, listen, write and improve grammatical aspects of the language including learning and imbibing quintessential vocabulary while one learns the lessons.

Analysis of the Usage and Applications of English Learning Apps

Five English learning mobile apps – *Duolingo, Josh Talks, BBC Learning English, Grammarly* and *Hello English* are discussed and analysed in this article.

Duolingo with 100 million downloads, 16.1 million reviews, is the most-downloaded language learning mobile app. It has features to memorize vocabulary, phrases, and sentences; offers option to learn 38 languages for the basic to the advanced learners including test to assess one's level of performance. All courses are available on free version; too much gamification, random vocabulary, lack of native speakers and separate features for speaking exercises are some lacunas and some wants chatting and message sending options to be in place. Having perused its features, it is evident that introducing *Duolingo* into English as a Foreign Language (EFL) training is more likely to have constructive effect on the learning processes of the users. We have noticed remarkable improvement in students' ability in learning English grammar and vocabulary. Despite some inconvenience, it helps you in learning two languages simultaneously.

It is also observed that it cannot be relied on for the higher level due to the direct-translation method. The learners get confused about sentence structure when they are told to translate every word during the process. This app usually provides pictures for the new vocabulary. However, there are certain vocabularies taught through direct translation without a visual image. This confuses the participant as they fail to understand the meaning of many words. Still *Duolingo* stands tall among other apps as it improves the knowledge of the language learners regarding pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar.

Grammarly has 4.4 rating and downloaded by 10 million users. Grammarly's keyboard and auto proof-reader enable us to write clearly, confidently, and mistake-free. Its features like the synonyms tool enhances vocabulary, spell-checks words, and improves writing from emails to social media posts. It is an online grammar and spell checker in English structure and corrects mistakes in writing. It provides genuine word recommendations in the English syntax.

Before using it, we must upload a file for checking, below the pictures of Grammarly after the user has installed it. It lacks some key features, unlike the paid English grammar check (premium) which has full advantages and benefits and many features related to the genre, clarity improvements, and additional advanced corrections.

BBC Learning English app offers regular updates on lessons, transcripts, and quizzes. With 4 rating and 19.6 K downloads, its features allow to listen audio programs or download them and use the built-in transcripts and subtitles. It provides multimedia English language teaching materials to meet learners' needs and many materials are delivered as full-length courses wherein the learner can choose the best way to study them. It takes off with lower intermediate, intermediate, upper intermediate and advanced level learning methods. There is

an option of euphemistic feedback wherein you are taught to use words or expressions that do not cause affront or embarrassment. Without text supports one can watch or listen each show. You can use quizzes to assess command, save scores and can keep trying to achieve desired outcome.

Josh Talks: It is an Indian educational mobile app, has 4.3 rating, 5 million downloads and allows real-time conversation practices with Firebase. It has 90% accuracy rate in speech-to-text conversion, reduces 30% of operational costs for more investment in product development and helps create new interactive learning features tailored for the local users. Some of the users want its lay-out to be modified along with facilitation of unblocking options. It offers interesting and glitch-free online learning experiences. This platform shares inspiring role model stories in vernacular languages, offers free career guidance and inclusive online courses for the past 7 years. It helps one to learn speaking, communicate well, gets the hang of grammar, vocabulary, but there is no tutor or teacher in person to rectify and guide users in their progress, sudden flooding of videos cause confusion to users. It does not have provision of multi-device connectivity on the platform.

Hello English app is a global brand in the field of English learning mobile apps with presence in 23 vernacular languages tailored for various business needs. Its 4.4 rating, 50 million downloads and 922 K reviews are the testament to the facts about its relevance in the eyes of learners. Being personalized this app gives an interactive vernacular/English-to-English learning experience, tracks daily progress, follows constant feedbacks, extensive reporting, performance tracking for managers, and continuous assessments. AI-driven app has over 50 million users and is preferred by over 7000 top-notch firms. It is fully automated that gives instant report card, has robust voice recognition engine to evaluate spoken English skills with facial and voice recognition it is completely fully proctored as it works across devices and different platforms.

This free and ad-assisted app eases learning experience in speaking, reading, writing, listening, and acquiring grammatical nuances and vocabulary. It has a premium version as well to remove ads and unlock special courses**.** Released by Culture Alley in September 2014, it was named as India's Best Mobile App in 2017 by IAMAI and Google's Best App for 2016. Android 4.0 is required to play this application. It's over 475 interactive lessons assist users in learning grammar and vocabulary. It provides various features for junior high school students in improving their vocabulary mastery via fun and attractive ways. Most of the students have favourable opinions in utilizing it as a medium for learning vocabulary. It has lacunas as its free variant cannot allow us to open some courses because that comes under premium package. At the outset, this app wants one to know Basic English structure and alphabet thus cannot help you learn English from the scratch**.** As soon we launch the app, we must select native language as it works in one's native language and continue; make sure you choose the right one. Afterwards, it gives a 20-questions test to assess current English level and accordingly recommend lessons. It uses interactive games to teach different English lessons and gives coins to unlock difficult lessons. It offers new audio books, latest news, and books to enhance one's English language.

Highlights and Challenges in the English Learning Apps

In order to make their mobile English learning apps efficient, convenient, and user-friendly, almost all developers try and strive to make their platforms cost-effective, introduce wide range of features, park divers learning materials and bring uniqueness in the way lessons and drills are offered, and make interface engaging. In the process most of them successfully guide users in acquiring good vocabulary, grammar sense and other English skills as they come across readable content and other features which motivate them. But the disadvantage is most of the apps often do not provide an opportunity to user to get connected with others to share and communicate in English. Above selected apps certainly have features which empower them to learn, speak, read, write, listen, and build vocabulary but their frequent streaming of request to opt for the premium package for high quality learning materials torpedo their flow that needs to be addressed.

These selected English learning mobile apps are not complete; they do have technical flaws, operational glitches, a few shortcomings, and some lacunas. Still when we have comprehensively investigated their available packages, technical features, and assessed overall feedbacks of tens of thousands of users, we can say that they are still the best in the present environment where people from all walks of life are yearning to learn English language to upgrade their existing levels and to master its nuances which is not their mother tongue.

Conclusion

Our study broadly examined selected five English learning mobile apps *Hello English, Grammarly, BBC Learning English, Duolingo* and *JoshTalks* which have greater influence on the students who want to learn English. Free Hello English is found to be liked by those students who want to learn in an easy way online. This app is used as a teaching aid particularly in teaching and learning English vocabulary. While Grammarly has two free and premium variants meant for freelance & informal and academic and professional writings. *Duolingo* yields an amazing result when it is employed in the process of learning English as a foreign language in both teaching and learning methods. It has depth to assist learners to master grammar and learn vocabulary, as well as their listening, speaking, reading, writing skills, and it keeps on motivating them. The use of *BBC Learning English* does motivate and create interest in the students in learning English. Therefore, *BBC Learning English* is said to be an effective medium in learning English. Similarly, *JoshTalks* is quite dear to many Indians as it has various features which benefit basic to professional seekers; hence, it is one of the best apps in the market for many passionate individuals who want to learn English language.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Interpersonal Address at Punjabi Workplaces and Its Sociolinguistic Concerns with a Special Focus on Kinship Terms

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Abstract

The present study aims to analyse the interpersonal address system at Punjabi workplaces, limited to the urban and organizational setups with a special focus on the use of kinship terms in purely professional contexts. The study is qualitative in nature and is based on the methods of observation and survey questionnaire. The data was collected from a sample of 210 respondents from the tertiary educational institutions of Punjab from the age groups of 19- 39, selected with the help of the Simple Random Sampling method. The study concludes that there is a substantial amount of use of kinship terms at Punjabi workplaces and it does not always encode solidarity, rather kinship terms are also used to express either the lower status of the addressee or to overcome the ambiguity about the professional hierarchy of the addressee. The study was significantly delayed by Covid-19 pandemic, particularly at the data collection stages.

Keywords: Interpersonal address; Vocatives; Terms-of-address; Kinship Terms; Sociolinguistics; Punjabi Workplaces; Language and power

1. Introduction

A term-of-address can be defined as that word or phrase which is used for addressing someone in writing or speech. Names, titles, honorifics, diminutive forms, terms of endearment, pejoratives and pronouns qualify as the terms-of-address. Biber (1999) shows that vocatives can take many forms: endearments (honey), kinship terms (Daddy), familiarisers (dude), first name familiarised (Johnny), first name full form (John), title and

surname (Mr. Smith), honorific (Sir), nickname (Speedy), and even elaborated nominal structures such as: “those of you who want to bring your pets along”. Additionally, impersonal vocatives may occur in utterances such as “Someone get that phone, will you!”. Choice of vocative forms, therefore, provides an index of (projected or assumed) relationship between the speaker and the addressee (Biber, 1999; McCarthy and O’Keeffe, 2003). Further, it must also be noted that the terms-of-address are different from the terms-of-reference.

While the terms-of-address are nominal items used to talk to somebody the terms-of-reference are nominals used to talk about someone. Thus, the terms-of-reference are integrated in the syntax of the proposition while the terms-of-address are not part of the syntactical structure of the sentence and serve the discourse function of the language. For this purpose, they are located either in the initial or the terminal position of the clause and are considered as vocative adjuncts. Also, there is a special type of term-of-reference which is known as ‘Topic’ and which is not integrated in the syntax of the clause (Dickey, 1997). For example,

- Mother, you are right. (Term-of-address)
- Mother is right (Term-of-reference)
- Mother, she is always right. (Topic)

Further, this linguistic exchange of communicative and social roles and relationships is executed through multiple ways, but the terms-of-address form the first and foremost site for such exchange. And it must be allowed to be accepted that no communicative situation can ever be relaxed and effective unless the appropriate form of address is chosen right in the beginning. The appropriate choice of a term-of-address to be used in a linguistic exchange is a complex matter and is based on various sociocultural variables like age, gender, status, kinship relation, class, profession, marital status, caste, race, ethnicity etc. Depending upon the ideological significance attached to a variable in a society, that variable assumes prerogative over others and becomes more determining in the choice of a term-of-address. Thus, through these discourses, the ideology of a society is accomplished where the term ***ideology*** refers to social representations shared by members of a group and used by them to accomplish everyday social practices by acting and communicating them. These representations are organized into systems which are deployed by social classes and other

groups in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the working of the society (Jaworski and Galasinski, 2000: 36; Van Dijk, 1998).

Thus, the terms-of-address serve as an important construct to access the understanding of the socio-ideological fabric and the power relations of a society thereby forming a site of confluence between language and society.

> Personal address is a sociolinguistic subject par excellence. In every language and society, every time one person speaks to another, there are created a host of options centring around whether and how persons will be addressed, named, and described. The choices speakers make in such situations, and their meanings to those who interpret them, are systematic, not random. Such systematicity in language behaviour, whether of use or interpretation, is universal, although what elements comprise the personal address system and what rules govern its development, vary across contexts. And such variation in structure is, according to the extant empirical literature, correlated with social ends and social contexts of language use. From this view, personal address is a systematic, variable, and social phenomenon, and these features of it make it a sociolinguistic variable of fundamental importance (Philipsen and Huspek, 1985: 94).

In other words, the appropriate choice of terms-of-address determines the pragmatic use of language for effective accomplishment of non-linguistic goals (Asprey and Tagg, 2019; Biber et al., 1999; Clancy, 2015; Leech, 1999). Within the domain of interpersonal address, the use of professional terms-of-address in organisational setups. further, forms an extremely important phenomenon as a systematic and well laid-out professional address system plays a vital role in carrying out effective goal-directed communication by providing the necessary impartiality and distance from the social dynamics of a society.

2. Literature Review

It has been observed that while there has been considerable research in the domain of Interpersonal address at workplaces in English, similar studies for Punjabi language have not been done. Thus, due to limited availability of the literature on the issue, the present study is

exploratory in nature and is based on the research on interpersonal address in occupational settings conducted in English, particularly in the British and American contexts.

The earliest attempt in interpersonal pronominal address research is now considered a seminal study published by Brown and Gilman (1960) on the use of pronominal address forms in some European languages and provided a universal model of power and solidarity called the *Tu/Vous* model. But the classic and the most influential contribution to the research in interpersonal vocative address was that of Brown and Ford (1961). They considered address terms in American English based on an analysis of modern plays on naming practices in English in communicative dyads in a business in Boston. They indicated:

- that the asymmetric use of title plus last name (TLN) and first name (FN) i.e., TLN/FN indicates inequality in power
- that the mutual use of TLN i.e., TLN/TLN indicates unfamiliarity
- and, that the mutual use of FN i.e., FN/FN is usually initiated by the more powerful member in the relationship (Brown and Ford, 1961; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2021).

Based on the findings of Brown and Ford's study, McIntire (1972) examined the terms of address used by students when addressing their faculty. All the data concerned the faculty and the students of a Social Sciences Department at the West Coast University. The methods used for collecting data were observation of spontaneous speech in various settings and elicitation from informants. In addition to the standard academic setting, two informal settings, a family picnic and a Christmas party were also selected. The study concluded that under informal settings, all students do not find the use of TLN (title plus last name) appropriate but at the same time, they hesitate to use an informal term-of-address for their faculty.

Poynton (1985), also building on early studies of language variation and role relationship variables like that of Brown and Gilman's research, suggests that the tenor of a situation can be broken down into three different continua namely Power, Contact and Affective Involvement. Further, the study suggested that there are correlations between these three social dimensions and the choice of the vocatives used. The key findings of the study may be summed up as:

- When the power is equal, vocatives used are reciprocal; when power is unequal, vocative use would be nonreciprocal.
- When contact is frequent, we often use nick names; when contact is infrequent, we often have no vocatives at all.
- When affective involvement is high, we use diminutive forms of names and terms of endearment; when affective involvement is low, we use formal given names (Eggins, 2004: 100-101; Poynton, 1985).

Building up on the existing research, Eckert (1988) notes that treatment of social meaning in sociolinguistic variation has come in three waves of analytic practice. The first wave of variation studies the well-established correlations between linguistic variables and the macro-sociological categories of socioeconomic class, gender, ethnicity, and age. The second wave employs ethnographic methods to explore the local categories and configurations that inhabit or constitute these broader macro-sociological categories. And the third wave points towards, firstly, a robust social semiotic system potentially expressing the full range of social concerns in a given community such that the meanings of variables are underspecified and gain more specific meanings in the context of styles and, secondly, the variation does not simply reflect but also constructs the social meaning and hence is an essential force in social change.

Dickey (1997) examined the relationship between the use of nominal terms in address and that in reference. The study, based on observation and interviews, attempted both to solve a problem in pragmatics and to help the historical linguists and others to know the extent to which it may be justified to extrapolate from referential to address usage and vice versa.

Barron and Schneider (2009), also, based on the extant research in the field, proposed the establishment of variational pragmatics as a sub-field of pragmatics, so as to encourage further research into the effect of macro-social factors on language in action and study the impact of social factors on language use in interaction by distinguishing five social factors namely region, social class, ethnicity, gender, and age.

Rendle-Short (2010), in his paper, studies the interpersonal interpretation of the address terms with respect to their sequential environment with special reference to the term

'Mate'. Thus, postulating that based on the pre-positioning and post-positioning of a term it can be both friendly as well as antagonistic.

McCarthy and O'Keefe (2003), in their paper, did a corpus study of vocatives sampled from Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE) and radio phone in calls using informal, casual conversations among intimates, friends, and close associates. Comparing the two datasets, they found that overall, the CANCODE data revealed a preference for vocatives in relational, topic management, badinage, and face-concerns while the radio data revealed a tendency for vocatives to be used more in the management of phone calls, turn-taking, topic management and face concerns. The radio data showed a greater frequency for initial position than final while the casual conversation data was the reverse. Medial position was seen to be problematic in both datasets and an alternative analysis was proposed. The study concluded that, overwhelmingly, the vocatives serve the pragmatic functions.

3. Methods

The present study was initially conceived as the sociolinguistic study of all kinds of terms-of-address used in Punjab and assess the use of kinship terms as terms-of-address in various contexts. To this end, the initial intentional observations were started in participant naturalistic settings in October 2019 in the form of interview schedule, narrative observation, and conversational interviews and a qualitative study was planned. Field notes of both descriptive and reflective types were taken in a cell phone and a notebook. Based on the observations thus made and a subsequent corpus collected, a questionnaire was constructed for formal assessment of the observations. The items on the questionnaire dealt with terms-of address used in both personal and professional contexts as even at this stage the study aimed to focus on studying the dominance of kinship terms across all kinds of contexts used in Punjabi society. Thus, 21 items dealing with terms-of-address at Punjabi workplaces mixed with 29 items based on information about interpersonal address across various contexts were selected. But at the time of sample selection, it was realized that this project was too ambitious for the scope of a single research paper. Therefore, the sample was restricted to urban workplaces and for this purpose, the tertiary educational institutions i.e., colleges and university departments of Punjab were chosen to draw the sample.

The respondents in the study were students in the age group of 19- 29 from under-graduate, post-graduate and PhD courses and some early career faculty members not older than 39 years, hailing from all over Punjab. The questionnaire was distributed to 270 respondents with the help of the Simple Random Sample method under Probability Sampling method. From January 2020 the data collection was started. The questionnaire was supposed to be administered personally to the respondents and collected at a later date, but with the advent of Covid-19 and subsequent shifting to the online mode of teaching, accessing the respondents became difficult and the project slowed down substantially though not closed. Finally, by November 30, 2021, data from 210 respondents was obtained. The present conclusions are based on the responses of those 210 respondents. Further on, the primary data collected from the field was substantiated with incidental observations from secondary sources like web sources like WhatsApp, Facebook, and emails in addition to newspapers, magazines and existing literature in both books and journals.

Thus, the present study, under the revised objectives, aims to analyse the address system at Punjabi workplaces, limited to the urban and organizational setups (specifically the colleges and universities of Punjab) and investigate their sociolinguistic concerns with a special focus on the use of kinship terms at workplaces. The study is based on the theoretical model of Systemic Functional Linguistics proposed by Michael Halliday who proposes Interpersonal metafunction includes the lexico-grammatical choices which establish social roles and exchange social power in communicative interactions. Vocatives are an important part of interpersonal metafunction (Butt et al., 1995; Eggins, 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Fontaine, 2013; Thompson, 2014).

4. Results and Discussion

The three major variables which determine the status of an individual and play the decisive role in the selection of the terms-of-address at the Punjabi workplaces are age, institutional hierarchy, and gender. In Punjabi society, while, traditionally, the ‘age’ formed the most important and decisive factor in assigning respect to a person, in modern conception, the occupational and institutional hierarchy is gaining precedence. The advent of women at Punjabi workplaces may be considered a new phenomenon. But the absence of women at

Punjabi workplaces does not imply that women, traditionally, in Punjabi families did not work. It simply means that women worked in non-professional capacity generally as the women from affluent classes helped their men on their own farms only. The women from lower castes, although worked for wages on other people's farms and in households, always worked at the lower order jobs like cleaning or cooking where they were considered and referred to as mothers and sisters and were never given enough worth to be assigned professional terms-of-address. Thus, they were addressed either with Kinship terms or First names.

There are both professional and personal terms used at Punjabi workplaces. The professional terms may be classified as Honorifics and Job titles and personal terms include Kinship terms, Family names and Given names. Honorifics are most polite form of address and entail highest power of the addressee. Job titles are also very polite forms and next only to the Honorifics in terms of power of the addresses. Kinship terms are also polite forms of address but they do not entail the interpersonal distance or formality like the Honorifics and Job titles. Thus, they may be called polite but informal forms of address. Name calling is least formal or polite form of address at Punjabi workplaces. Although both Family names and Given names are low in formality and high in intimacy and accrue lower sociocultural power but calling by Family name entails slightly higher sociocultural power of the addressee than Given name. But the dynamics of calling by name can be significantly changed with politeness suffixes such that Family names with politeness suffixes accrue very high sociocultural power only next to Honorifics and Job titles and are both formal and intimate in nature. Given names with politeness suffixes are also more formal than the Kinship terms. Mere Given name without any politeness suffix is least formal address and lowest in sociocultural power.

There are three types of politeness suffixes used at Punjabi workplaces, two indigenous suffixes, namely *Sahib* and *Ji*; and one western suffix namely *Sir/ Madam*. Among these, *Sir/Madam* are most formal and entail highest power followed by *Sahib* while *Ji* among the politeness suffixes is least formal and entails minimum power. While *Ji* is used for both men and women (and even children along with kinship terms like *Beta Ji*), *Sahib* has a complex system of usage and is more prestigious than *Ji* such that *Sahib* is used for one's equivalents

and super-ordinates while *Ji* is used for one's equivalents and subordinates. In case of men, *Sahib* is used to post-modify both their Family names (*Randhawa Sahib, Sethi Sahib, Batra Sahib*) and their Job titles (*Judge Sahib, Sarpanch Sahib* etc.) while for women *Sahib* is used with certain Job titles only and markedly Family name plus *Sahib* is never used for women. Further, in Punjab, *Sir* and *Madam* are also widely used as politeness suffixes, for example, *Ravi Sir, Gita Ma'am, Sanjay Sir, Kalra Ma'am, Bhatia Sir, Head Sir, Doctor Ma'am* etc. The use of Given name or Family name along with *Madam* and *Sir* is random. Further, in Punjab, in order to accrue politeness to a term-of-address, only suffixes are used and no prefixes are used for this purpose. Suffixes are used with both personal and professional terms-of-address and with both indigenous and western terms-of-address.

4.1. *Professional Terms-of-address in Punjab*

Interestingly, exclusive Punjabi language professional terms-of-address are unknown in Punjab. The reason for this is that the use of Punjabi as the official language of Punjab has relatively been a newer phenomenon. It was only in 1966 with the linguistic division of Punjab state that Punjabi became the official language of Punjab. Consequently, in Punjab, all indigenous professional terms-of-address are borrowed either from Persian/Urdu or Hindi. Further on, professional address is limited to higher order jobs. The people working at the bottom of the institutional hierarchy are not addressed by any Honorifics or Job titles.

4.1.1. Honorifics

Before the influence of English at Punjabi workplaces, in Punjab, people had certain professional Honorifics like *Huzoor, Janaab* and *Sahib* brought in use from Persian/ Urdu vocabulary. Since Urdu was a language which originated in India, these terms may be called as indigenous terms of address. *Sriman* another indigenous alternative is borrowed from Hindi, the language originally dominant in the central plains of India and now the official language of India. But *Sriman* has always been reserved for written formal communication and rarely been used as a vocative in Punjabi workplace. With the change of tenor of the Punjabi society due to the partition of India leading to significant decline in Urdu speaking population and subsequent language policy favouring English over Urdu usage and preference of English at workplaces, these indigenous terms gave way to western term-of-address. In fact, *Huzoor* has been discontinued altogether while *Janaab* is extant only in the

police, revenue, and legal departments where the Mughal administrative register is still used. *Sahib* is the only Urdu/Persian address term which has survived the anglicisation of Punjabi workplaces and is still prolific.

Markedly, there are no indigenous professional terms of address for women at Punjabi workplaces. Also, though, Punjabis identify authority with masculinity linguistically, *Sahib* is an anomaly as it is never used for women officials. Further, *Sahiba,* the feminine alternative for *Sahib,* is also not used at Punjabi workplaces as there is no indigenous convention of using *Sahiba* for women at Punjabi workplaces. The other feminine alternative of *Sahib* is *Memsahib* which has been in practice but that is exclusively meant for the wife of the *Sahib* and therefore inappropriate for the women who are officials themselves. In political circles of Punjab, there is a convention to use *Biba Ji* for younger but higher status women at workplaces, but it is more common for the women who have a royal lineage and thus have a very limited use.

Currently, *Sir* and *Madam,* which are borrowed from English, remain the most popular terms-of-address in modern, urban, educated occupational settings in Punjab. Moreover, *Sir* and *Madam* are used both as Honorifics and as politeness suffixes with Job titles, Family names, and Given names. For example, *Doctor Sir, Head Ma'am, Gill Sir, Kalra Ma'am, Ravi Sir, Jyoti Ma'am* etc. In case of women, due to the lack of indigenous professional address terms, the use of western Honorifics *Madam* or *Ma'am* becomes the only available choice.

Also, there is a peculiar phenomenon of addressing senior women officers particularly in bureaucratic positions as *Sir* which is otherwise a masculine Honorific. This trend is especially prevalent in case of women employed in senior administrative and bureaucratic positions. The probable reason is that in Punjab, traditionally prestige and authority are always associated with masculine gender. Thus, in Punjabi imagination, everything which is big and important, whether it is 'big' in size or status is conceived as masculine and therefore referred with masculine terms in Punjabi culture.

4.1.2. Job Titles

Both men and women are called by their Job titles in Punjab. Although calling male professionals with their Job titles plus Politeness suffixes is much more common. But, while the singular use of *Sahib* as an honorific is absent for women it is perfectly appropriate to call women professionals with their Job title plus *Sahib* on the lines of men. Thus, *Doctor Sahib*, *Manager Sahib*, *Judge Sahib* are gender neutral terms. The reason for this lies in the fact that in Punjabi mind, the authority is always viewed in masculine terms. Punjabi women when acquire professional authority also acquire the right to be addressed with authoritarian terms-of-address traditionally accrued to men.

Further, in Punjab calling by a mere Job title is also considered rude as it is the least intimate form of address. In Punjabi society, calling someone by their job title only without a suffix is unacceptable. The politeness suffixes not only add politeness but also a personal content to otherwise impersonal professional terms. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2021) argue "Address by title alone is the least intimate form of address in that titles usually designate ranks or occupations, as in Colonel, Doctor, or Waiter. They are devoid of 'personal content' we can argue therefore that Doctor alone, acknowledging as it does that the other person's name is known and can be mentioned" (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2021: 268).

Further on, it is noteworthy that the use of Job titles (with politeness suffixes) is limited to adults only. In case of children, the variable of age is emphasised and children never call adults by their Job titles even with the politeness suffixes. It would be considered considerably rude for a child in Punjab to call a doctor as *Doctor Sahib*. Children are always supposed to address the adults with western Kinship terms *Uncle*/*Aunty* or western professional terms *Sir/Madam*. For example, the most appropriate way for a Punjabi child to address their doctor would be *Uncle* or *Doctor Uncle* or *Aunty* or *Doctor Aunty*.

4.2. *Personal Terms-of-address*

The Punjabi society traditionally has been an agricultural society and therefore supported a culture wherein personal relations enjoyed high value. In terms of Cate Poynton's model, it may be said that the contact among the members of the Punjabi community is high, leading to a high intimacy. This high intimacy is expressed through personal terms-of-address which include Kinship terms, Family names and Given names.

4.2.1. Kinship Terms

The variable of intimacy has significant social consequences because in Punjabi society kin get favoured over non-kin over the distribution of material as well as subtle socio-cultural rewards. Thus, kin-like intimacy is a desired trait across relationships in the Punjabi community. Consequently, often in purely professional situations also, kinship terms are used, in order to convey higher intimacy and solidarity. Another reason for using kinship terms at professional settings is when the role-relationship between the interactants is not well defined or the power hierarchy is ambiguous. Finally, the Kinship terms are also used when the professional terms-of-address are absent for certain professions. This is particularly the case with very low order jobs like janitors, for example. Amongst the politeness suffixes, only *Ji* is used with the kinship terms while *Sahib* and *Sir/Madam* are not used.

Amongst the Kinship terms, the most popular term used at Punjabi workplaces is *Bha Ji*. Literally it means an elder brother. *Bha Ji* along with other Punjabi Kinship terms for brother (like *Bhra Ji*, *Veer Ji* and *Bai Ji* wherein the latter term is specific to Malwa area of Punjab) are used both for brother and brother-in-law but as a term-of-address at workplaces, *Bha Ji* always implies brother. The widespread use of *Bha Ji* at Punjabi workplaces suggests the great importance attached to the blood ties between brothers and stands as the single most important interpersonal relation in Punjab. It is popular to address Punjabi men as *Bha Ji* all over India. The Hindi term for brother-*Bhaiya* is also used at Punjabi workplaces. But the use of *Bhaiya* for elder brother is interesting. Hindi is a sister language to Punjabi. But the voiced and aspirated plosive sound /bh/ of Hindi is pronounced as a tonal sound in Punjabi (Tone is a distinctively unique phonetic characteristic for an Indo-Aryan language like Punjabi.), either with low pitch or high pitch, and when *Bhaiya* is pronounced the Punjabi way, it refers to a migrant labourer from central Indian states and entails class difference as well as the regional and linguistic prejudices. *Bhaiya* along with the suffix *Ji* always has this latter meaning. *Bhaiya* pronounced the same way as it is done in Hindi i.e., with a voiced and aspirated /bh/ sound, and without the suffix *Ji*, refers to older brother and is often used at Punjabi workplaces for politeness and respect. For women *Didi* and *Di* are used but are less frequent.

The use of *Boy* to address and refer to adult black males has an equivalent use in Punjab also in the form of *Kaka* used as term-of-address by very high officials for adult men of lower ranks. The denotative meaning of *Kaka* is a baby boy making it both reductive in character and blatantly abusive of power.

The children of both sexes and even younger adult men and women are addressed as *Beta* or *Bache* (not *Bacha*). These terms are particularly popular in educational institutions. And, generally, all students irrespective of their age are addressed by these terms. Gender specific terms are less used for girls in Punjabi society. In fact, affection to a girl child is always expressed by addressing her as a son. Thus, in Punjab, girls are also addressed with the same terms-of-address as boys.

Further, while the English Kinship terms-of-address like *Bro* or *Brother* are never used as formal addresses at Punjabi workplaces, the older men in Punjab, if they are equivalent in age to one's father are often addressed as *Uncle Ji* at Punjabi workplaces, particularly, if the role relationship is not clear. The older women of the age of one's mother are often called *Aunty* or *Aunty Ji* even at workplaces. It is noteworthy that there is no western kinship term for a younger woman as there is *Aunty Ji* for older women. Probably, the reason for this is there are no equivalent terms-of-address used for sister or sister-in-law for such women in English which can be borrowed. It must be noted here that the term 'sister' is used as a term-of-reference but not as a term-of-address in Punjabi culture.

4.2.2. Family Names

Punjabi men are often addressed by their Family names suffixed by *Sahib* and *Ji* (*Randhawa Sahib*, *Sethi Sahib*, *Sharma Ji* etc.) but Punjabi women are never addressed by their Family names. In fact, traditionally women did not have family names. The reason being that Punjabi society has been a patriarchal society which implies that the family lineage was transferred from father to son in it. Women, traditionally, were not supposed to bear the Family name. Nowadays, women have started using Family name after their Given name, but they are never known by their Family name exclusively, although it is perfectly common to refer to a man by his Family name. As an example, from general Punjabi culture, *Sandhu* is a Family name in Punjab. There is a popular Punjabi film by the name *Ik Sandhu Hunda Si*

(*There Lived a Man Called Sandhu*). But the similar, usage for a woman *Ik Sandhu Hundi Si* (*There Lived a Woman Called Sandhu*) is unimaginable.

4.2.3. Given Names

But while solidarity is appreciated at Punjabi workplaces informality is not. Punjabi people prefer to use formal address system at workplaces and therefore differentiate between the home-spaces and workplaces on the basis of their linguistic choices. Markedly, in Punjabi society, mere First names are not preferred as terms-of-address at workplaces, as calling by name entails lower social status of the addressee (Bruns and Kranich, 2021). The lower status may be in terms of institutional rank or age and even gender sometimes. The asymmetric (non-reciprocal) use of names as terms-of-address is a clear indicator of power differential between different classes. This phenomenon is particularly important from the perspective of intercultural pragmatics as many of the major studies in the domain of interpersonal address are conducted in America, it is often assumed that calling by name may introduce ease and familiarity in communication and is therefore desirable thus ignoring the intercultural variations in interpersonal address (Formentelli, 2009: 181). The Given names are often suffixed with *Ji* for adding politeness for a person with lower rank. For example, *Baljeet Ji*, *Sarita Ji* etc.

5. Conclusion

The study concludes that there is a substantial use of kinship terms at Punjabi workplaces which points towards ineffective negotiation of professional ethic. In addition to uncertainty about the hierarchy of the person, the Kinship terms are also used at workplaces to indicate kin-like solidarity as well as lack of professional terms for certain professions or job ranks. Further, this linguistic evasion of some people at workplaces lead to linguistic appropriation of power and further translates into workplace discriminatory practices like lower wages and denial of other dues associated with life and dignity thus accentuating social hierarchies at work places. The changing address choices at workplaces lead to the flattening of overt power hierarchies and the concomitant phenomenon of democratisation, typically understood in linguistics as a rise of more congenial, less face threatening alternatives in a society apparently more egalitarian, democratic, and anti-authoritarian (Bruns and Kranich, 2021).

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Declaration of Conflict of Interests: The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Plurality of Space and Time in Paul Kalanithi's *When Breath Becomes Air*

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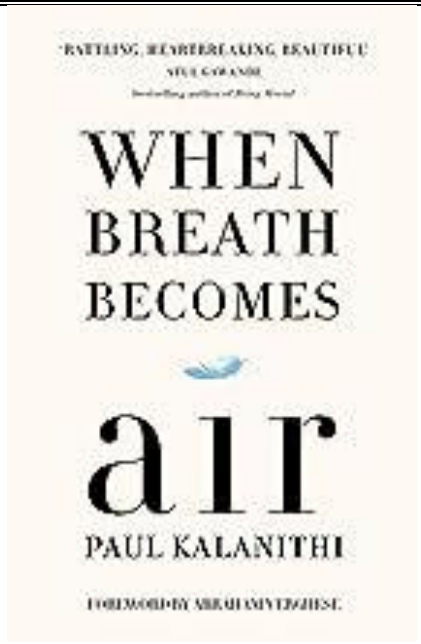

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Abstract

Narratives in medical humanities contribute to an ethical reformation of the medicine field. The experiences of patients and doctors make the reader aware of the pain and difficulties they go through. Since any narrative is placed in space and time with the diagnosis of a disease, it veers off making the reader realise the shift in outer and inner space of the doctor/patient. This paper will first discuss the experiences of a doctor-turned patient – Paul Kalanithi as given in his memoir, *When Breath Becomes Air* by showing how the changes taking place inside his body—innermost space—is affecting his personal space, outer space, and the absolute space. It will then move on to argue the presence of multi-layered space and time in the text and its effect on Paul. The paper will conclude by showing that the only thing that remains constant through these changes is his daughter and the memoir that he is writing. Both these entities are the constants that he leaves behind as his legacy in this ephemeral life while striking concessions with the limited time and space he is left with.

Keywords: Paul Kalanithi, *When Breath Becomes Air*, Narrative Medicine, Medical Memoir, Inner space, Outer space, Inner time, Outer time.

Narratives are nothing new to literature. It is a key feature of almost all that we read: novels, shorts stories, etc., and has spilled into medicine too. "Narrative medicine" gives subjective experiences of patients and doctors thereby contributing to a reformation in medicine, making it more ethical (Ahlzén 1). Narratives are "a temporal ordering of a sequence of events" as they are placed in a space and time frame (2). The narratives concerning serious diseases or life-altering diseases bring a halt to space and time in a patient/doctor's narrative, with changes in their outer and inner space due to disruption in various bodily functions. The inner space is a projection of the character, a site of conversation wherein the things around highlight the traits of the character. For instance, in *House of Liars* (1948) Elisa de Salvi, the protagonist, "is inextricable from the chamber in which she dwells" (*The Imagery of Interior Space* 15) or in Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things* (1997), Rahel on her return to her ancestral home realises that nothing has changed in the house in long thirty-one years as if time had stopped in the house.

This paper contends that in "narrative medicine" there is a plurality of space – one is change taking place inside the body and being reflected upon the outside world and second is the changes taking place in the personal space of the narrator being reflected again upon the outside world. This paper will argue the presence of multi-layered inner and outer space and time in Paul Kalanithi's *When Breath Becomes Air* (2016) and go on to depict Paul's adjustment with the internal and external space and time and the concession he strikes with the limited space and time he is left with.

Although there are no standard definitions of inner space and outer space and both are better explained as existing in a binary relationship to each other, it is the space where literary studies and geography intersect (Neal 39). The setting of a place or sense of a place in a narrative is developed through the spatio-temporal structure of it. Many genres are completely based upon spatial or geographical characteristics like travel narratives, utopia, dystopia, pastoral poems, etc (Tally 1). Historically, space for Plato is a homogenous, formless in-between place where binaries of something and not a thing intersect, a place between "becoming and being" (16-17 Spurr). This in-between – "neutral, homogenous, formless, unchanging" space became a "res extensa" as we adapted to the Cartesian concept in Renaissance period (18). It became a space that is "measurable as well as historically and geographically recognizable." (18)

For the scope of this paper the space will considered in the Cartesian and Newtonian sense where space is measurable and expands till eternity. Newton conceptualised space and time as – "absolute" and "relative" (An 892). The absolute space and time are like "containers into which all other things occur [or exist]" (892); "an emanative effect of God" wherein "by existing always and everywhere, God constitutes duration and space" (Thomas 306). Relative space on the other hand "is created through the relationship between objects rather than being a pre-existing container" (An 892). For Newton "relative space and time… are merely measures of absolute space and time" (Thomas 307).

Paul exists amidst this absolute and relative space and time. Absolute space and time form the outermost circle – the metaphysical circle; the second circle i.e., the outer circle is the public space; the third circle is formed by inner/ private sphere – the psyche and the home; and the innermost circle is inside of the physiological body. All these spheres form concentric circles. Time also exists as absolute time – the infinite time; public time – the outer time; personal time- the inner time and an innermost time that is specific to bodily functions. These concentric circles form concentricity in Paul's life and collectively form the absolute space and time. With the innermost circle disseminating – the cancer cells growing inside the body the other two circles start to widen too – mingling into the eternity of the external/ outer space. These spaces nest into one another and with the dissemination of the innermost circle Paul starts disseminating too into the larger circle of eternity.

When Breath Becomes Air begins at a liminal space lying between exterior and interior space. Paul's breath travels between this liminal space, between his being and becoming arising from the inner space (the body) and is released into the outer space (outer world). In this process, in an ailing body like Paul's, there comes a point when breath arises from the being travels up to the stage of becoming and then does not return into the body of the being – implying the transformation of breath into the air. His spatio-temporal world brings him into space between being and becoming – amidst life and death. With the metastasis happening, each healthy cell replaced by cancer cells inside his body he has to realign his outer space and time. He is pushed into liminal space and time, i.e., between a doctor and patient, between known and unknown, and between life and death. But this transformation of breath into the air is not sudden. In the first few lines of the text, we see that the author is looking at his innermost self - i.e., his body where a disturbance in functions of a few cells has altered affected other cells. This infinitesimal disturbance has led to some instant physical changes.

The author is not wearing a blue scrub, white coat, or radiology suit but a patient's gown (Kalanithi 3). He has read scores of such scans but now he is reading his own scans. These "widely disseminated" cancer cells growing inside his body are gradually going to occupy the space of other healthy cells affecting everything around them – tissues, muscles, organs, and all the space inside and outside the author's body. For instance, the hospital is a space that Paul has spent one-third of his life in, but this space has transitioned in the spur of a moment as the scans reveal the growth of "bastard offspring…uncontrolled mob of misfits" i.e., cancer cells (Nuland 3). With the malignant cells growing inside his body, the immediate environment around him changes. He is immuno-compromised due to cancer and his personal space must be adjusted according to the new developments taking place in his body. The innermost space – his body is guiding the outer space, i.e., his personal space.

Siddharth Mukherjee in his seminal work, *The Emperor of All Maladies: A Biography of Cancer*, says that a simple paper cut can sometimes be lethal (16), Paul too must remain extra cautious of his surroundings. Towards the end of the book as Paul's health was declining at a faster pace, his wife Lucy used to video record his daily activities to check if there is any "deficit in his speech or gait." (Kalanithi 205) The weather, food, even simple acts like typing on his laptop started to affect him. His outer space i.e., his personal space

must be altered according to his inner space i.e., his body; and the outer space like a hospital, park, etc. is constricted and gradually goes out of his reach limiting him more to an inner space i.e., mostly his home. It infers that Paul is adjusting/ altering his personal space according to the bodily changes implying a change in outer space according to inner space. At the same time, adjusting/ altering his body (by trying to gain physical strength in physical therapy) according to requirements of his personal space implies a change in inner space – his body – as per needs of outer space.

The human body helps us experience the external world, but it remains absent from our awareness (Leder 1). Similarly, in Paul's case, the multiplying cancer cells are not visible or part of his consciousness, but they overturn the course of his life and change his experience of the outer world. The metastasis i.e., movement of cancer cells from one body part to another body part reflects in his outer space as cancer hits his physical well-being, his occupation, his plans, and leaving him with a limited amount of time to live his life. He adores the exterior settings, the outdoor activities. The adventures he had while living in Kingman, Arizona amidst the desert and during his college days; his love for cycling, trekking, marathons, traveling, etc. are proof. When his physical strength starts to diminish one thing that he wishes to do again is a hike up to the mountains. Even before the final diagnosis of cancer, he decides to meet his friends in New York as he wishes to be with them one last time before the clouds part over to make his medical condition clearer.

Outer spaces play important role in his life and as the cancer cells start spreading in his body it binds him to indoors – home and hospital rooms. One chance that he gets to move outdoors was when he is offered his dream job, but he refuses it because he is reminded of his handicap to move out of his present location. Interestingly, the reminder comes as he was being shown around the new place of work by the employer. The employer told him that he could even swim or ice skate to work, and Paul is hit by the sudden realisation that he cannot shift spaces at this stage of his disease let alone swim or skate. The beautiful lake, the exterior ironically, make him aware of the fact that he cannot take up the job due to the limitations of his body.

Like space, time and temporality have always been part of literature. Time is an irreducible part of narrative beginning from "*adventure-time*" of Greek romances (Bakhtin 87), "everyday time" of adventure novels (111), "*biographical time*," (116) "historical time," (129) "*historical inversion*" or "*Trans-positioning*" of time (157), "*single time"* or synchronous time (157), "*allegorical*" time (162), "*collective*" time or "*temporal contiguity*," (206) "*interior time*," (206) to "*idyllic time*." (230)

In the modern period, time took a psychological turn in tandem with technological advancements but for a terminally ill patient even with the advancement in science and medicine there is still a race against time. The diagnosis has caused a disturbance in spatio-temporal setting of Paul's life. The things that he had planned for a later period of his life have to be prioritised right now. With cancer cells multiplying inside his body a timer has been set inside his body – a personal time of cancer cells that won't die after maturation

rather keep on "fornicating" and "raging against the society [of cells] from which it sprang" (Nuland 210).

This inner timer ticking inside the body left limited time for Paul in his external space. The effect of two clocks – one inside the body and another outside the body lead Paul to press his doctor, Emma, to discuss the Kaplan-Meier curve, a curve that "measures the number of patients surviving over time" (Kalanithi 57). He wishes to know his prognosis, how many years he is left with to plan his remaining life, and just like the inner and outer space, he has to readjust his inner and outer time as well.

This temporal tension is starkly visible in the book as it begins in the past tense and Kalanithi matter-of-factly explains his illness in the very first sentence. He explains cancer as "widely disseminated" (3) and it seems that cancer cells have spread so widely that everything that Paul had now became a thing of the past.

Before the diagnosis, he was a neurosurgical resident who has read scores of CT scans pointing presence of cancer in people but the scans he is reading now are different as they are his own. In the very same space and time i.e., the hospital room, the scans have revealed the presence of cancer leading to a shift in Paul's life from a doctor to a patient, from a doctor's scrub to a patient's gown. Paul must live in his present relishing and enjoying as many moments as he can along with planning for the future of his loved ones. His wish to meet his friends in New York one last time, attend his alumni meet at Stanford, cycle up to the mountain ranges are all ways to fill his present with moments that he has loved doing in his past as there is limited space and time left in his future. While reconciliation and creating a balance between the present and future he is sifting through things that are of utmost importance to him like his family, especially his wife.

Time and space are the agents that take away "life" from Paul, but they are slippery and do not necessarily conform with the regimented physical time and space. The seconds, minutes, hours, days, months, and years mean different things to different people depending on the place they are in their lives. For Paul time means the progress of his treatment and the duration he is left with. Time and space are shrinking for him with the cancer cells disseminating in the body taking up all the space and time – widening inside the body to a limit where innermost space merges with the eternal space. He knows that death lies in his future but how near or far is not known to him. His dilemma is explained beautifully when he quotes, "Before my cancer was diagnosed, I knew that someday I would die, but I didn't know when. After the diagnosis, I knew that someday I would die, but I don't know when" (Kalanithi 131-132). The irony is that Paul does not have much time and space, yet space and time are the only things he is left with – time to wait until death comes and the eternal space that will ultimately subsume him.

Gradually, he realizes the futility of knowing his prognosis and tries to make the most out of his leftover space and time, gradually keeps clearing space for death. He starts focusing on things that can be achieved in a limited time instead of worrying about the Kaplan- Meier curve or his prognosis. Death being a human universal, part of human

sociality and its contents being highly variable, Paul's position as a doctor gives him an understanding of profundity and discomfort associated with death. The life-threatening disease makes him apprehensive of obliteration of the relative space and time and culmination of his experiences, insights, wisdom accumulated over the course of his life. He nowhere overtly talks about space and time and his relative position in the various spheres of space and time but the experiences of birth and death he has had as a medical practitioner have risen his awareness towards the transitory space and time.

Further, he has always struggled with the question of meaning of life and his illness in a way bring him "physiological-spiritual" (Kalanithi 40) awakening. The term "physiological-spiritual" borrowed from Walt Whitman explains the vantage point where biology, morality, literature and philosophy intersect. Kalanithi is not spiritual in a conventional manner, but cancer and impending death allows him to keep following the question of what makes his meaningful; his spirituality helped him pursue "biological philosophy" (Kalanithi 43). It is his experience of mystery of death and manifestation of life which arises out of his profession as well as utterly personal experience that makes him tread a path of full of emotions, science, and spirituality.

Disease in some ways sets the time and space back where the patient has to learn and relearn certain things. Basic functions like how to keep the body moving, eating, sitting, sleeping, and even breathing – all have to be readjusted and relearned according to the complications arising out of the disease. At one instance in the book, Emma, Paul's doctor, offers him to just remain a patient and it comes as a strange revelation to him as he had never thought about it, being a doctor is something that comes naturally to him. He has to learn how not to be a doctor and relearn by going back into the time when he was not a doctor.

Paul's attempts at physical therapy are aimed at going back to the time when he could walk, run, trek, cycle, and work for longer shifts at the hospital. Even his body has to learn how to function with drugs and therapies that it is subjected to make space for them, alter functions so that his body remains comfortable in the space outside. These are all ways to relearn how to be; relearn to see life from a newer perspective. He understands his life in a linear frame of reference, moving from one point to another. From a young boy in Arizona to a college student exploring career options in Stanford, from a resident neurosurgeon looking forward to becoming a professor in neuroscience. With each step crossed he seems to be reaching a step higher on the ladder of life.

In reader's opinion, Paul is not moving linearly rather shuffling between different spheres of space and time. The diagnosis of cancer has restricted but sped up his movement in a specific spatio-temporal setting. Like a body orbiting in a specific orbit gains velocity, overcomes force(s) restricting its motion goes whizzing out of its orbit transcending into another sphere into a "strange and sparkling universe" (Kalanithi 20).

Paul's life takes a similar path – from an orbit complacently revolving as a doctor, cancer gave him the escape velocity flinging him into new orbit as a patient. These orbits interact with each other but if even a single element of these orbits / concentric circles

misbehave it may lead to life altering changes or even death thus, making death an integral part of the interaction between these concentric spheres. The interaction among these concentric orbits makes a collective effort to regulate death and promote life.

The different spheres of space and time act as boundaries with life beginning and flourishing in the innermost sphere and death becomes a part of the outermost sphere – the absolute time and space. The transition of Paul from innermost to outermost sphere is what is recorded in Paul's memoir and his daughter. His writing and his progeny remain constant amidst this transition. Paul understands this transition well – his constant occupation with life and death as a doctor, curiosity to understand the workings of human body and the role life and death partake in it, desire to understand the brain and its workings under the thick skull – exemplifies this enough. A scan or a medical report is not just a simple image or "squiggly lines" (57) on a blank sheet of paper but much more than that, they are the proof of suffering of a human body. The telemetry lines on screen that show Paul's scan form a pattern almost like words form a pattern to give meaning. The rays that travel from the outermost sphere to innermost sphere to weave this pattern of lines tell a story – a story of the inner recesses of the human body and its connection with the absolute space and time. The squiggly lines of the scan also symbolise the disturbance created by the cancer cells in all spheres of time and space in Paul's life.

Paul B Armstrong in his work *Stories and the Brain: The Neuroscience of Narrative* talks about contradictory human "need for pattern and constancy" in life on one hand and "flexibility and openness" on the other (1). Understanding this statement in Paul's context one can say that he sees life growing and moving in a linear pattern – completion of residency, lenient working hours for him and his wife, other plans about future, etc. but the cancer came into his life like a plot twist disturbing the set pattern compelling him to redo and reconsider the order of things in his life.

Paul's involvement in his patient's lives, their inner and outer space and time spheres allows him to peek into these spheres and gives a sense of authority to interpret the workings of the patient's innermost sphere. These interpretations affect the innermost to the outermost sphere of space and time of the patient. At one point in the memoir, Paul talks about his authority to take life- changing/ life- altering decisions for his patients, "…whose lives could be saved, whose couldn't be…" (Kalanithi 80). He talks about the prognostic decisions if a certain life "should be saved" (80) in cases where only heart beats but the brain is dead, the patient is condemned to an existence where tubes and bags attached to the body carry fluids in and out of the body.

As a doctor, Paul can see, feel, and touch a tumour, he can even remove it while the patient suffering from that tumour mostly remains passive in the whole process. This authority that Paul bears as neurosurgeon allows him to move in out of the innermost space of his patients i.e., their bodies. One may say that the courage for which Paul is lauded by the readers across the world and the bravery about which Abraham Verghese talks about in the foreword of the memoir stems out of the transitory position Paul stands in – meeting his patients in the outer space or public space i.e. hospital rooms, introducing them to possibility

of a life threatening disease, possible prognosis and surgical routes, etc., and then entering into their innermost space i.e. inside the body of the patient trying to remove the malicious cells. This transition of Paul's from his outer space i.e., OR (Operation Room) to innermost space of his patients i.e., their bodies lead to "human relationality" (96) – opening grand truths to both the patient and the doctor in a way binding them together.

Time has an altogether different role to play as Paul transitions from different spheres in his own and his patient's life. First is the outer time of the patient which has been abruptly affected by the diagnosis of the disease from their private or public time space they have shifted to a hospital ward or room where time runs differently in consonance with the time allowed by patient's body, doctor's time, hospital's schedules, etc. The time which had been very personal and private to the patient is now transitioned to public time and as a doctor, Paul too talks about topsy turvy time schedules of the hospital which affects his personal or inner time. Time spheres of a doctor and patient entwine even more when both reach an operation room as passing of time – innermost time i.e., time inside the body, private time and public time of the patient standstill because of anaesthesia given to him or her and for doctor innermost to outermost time depends upon the medical procedures, complications, the team of attendants, nurses, fellow doctors, residents working with him or her along with the frantic race against time to complete the surgery in order to save the patient. The doctor and patient are entwined in a way that millimetres of space and microseconds of time while they are in contact with each other can lead to success as well as failure.

The family, close ones, friends, etc., of a patient too suffer a change in their different spheres of time and space. They are shifted from their inner sphere of space and time to a public space, dependent upon outer time made to wait for hours sometimes outside a doctor's office or operation room. While patients go through physical and mental changes with the progress of the illness their family and friends too adapt themselves to witness these changes as mute participants.

For instance, in the memoir, *When Breath Becomes Air*, Paul's pockmarked face is not only an issue for him but for his wife and other closed ones who were habitual of looking at the smooth skin of Paul. These changes might be infinitesimal in comparison to the war of life and death that a patient is growing through but certainly mark the changes in identity and the perception of the onlooker. The inner and outer spheres of space and time of those members of family who are in direct charge of taking care of the patient like Lucy in case of Paul (his wife) go through many changes intersecting at many points with patient's inner and outer spheres of space and time.

The trajectories of lives of Paul and his daughter Cady are going in reverse directions while one is moving towards death the other is blossoming and growing each day. On one hand Paul is losing appetite, struggling with moving, walking, reading, writing or any other diurnal activity while Cady on the other hand is achieving all her firsts, the first solid food, the first step, the first smile, etc. On a deeper level while Paul's innermost space and time are shrinking, Cady's is expanding. Paul's otherwise sorrowful life is filled with movements of joy when the concentric spheres of space and time of Cady intersect with his space and time.

The book begins as a life narrative but turns into a death narrative with the limited time remaining in Paul's hands. With the internal space altering, the external space shrinking, Paul onsets to create two entities in outer space and time to make his days more bearable. First is the bearing of a child who filled his days with joy, "a joy unknown to [him]" (Kalanithi 199), and second is the memoir itself. Both are legacies that will go on living even after Paul's days are over, they are a proof and record of Paul's transition from different spheres of space and time. The repulsion, disgust, alarm, and unsettling profundity related to impending death transformed into a positive creative space with something to hang for people bearing the void left by him. Also, writing is a way for Paul to come to terms with the new identity forming as the changes in spatio- temporal spheres of his life are taking place. Kalanithi states multiple times in the memoir that identity alters with the changes taking place in out of body due to diagnosis of a life- threatening disease like cancer. It can be further elucidated as that by characterizing himself in the memoir he has transformed his "physiological- psychological" self into a textual self (Zoran 313). This textual self with descriptions, dialogues, actions place him in a "temporal verbal continuum" (313).

The act of writing or creating connects his innermost self to the absolute space/ eternity. A niche space is created for himself where even after his death his daughter and the book will survive him. From one type of spatio- temporal setting he has transitioned to another setting – the physical world to metaphysical world. Before succumbing to finitude, he gives birth to one that "cannot be robbed of her futurity" – his daughter, Cady. The last words by him in the book and for his daughter are that she has filled a "dying man's days with… joy" (199). He even dedicates his book to his daughter associating one eternal legacy with another. Through this book, Paul invites the reader into his space and makes them witness his story. It not only works as a therapy for Paul but also makes the reader humble and gives rise to humility. The reader is witness to his suffering, joy, illness, death, and everything life is offering him. The text written on the white pages of the book is involved in a "time-space complex" (Spurr 30) wherein the limited time and space available to Paul leads to a sad abrupt stopping of words, passing into the oblivion of page's whiteness just like Paul passing away into the oblivion of the eternity of the universe.

The innermost, inner, outer, and outermost spheres of space and time are common to all human beings. All humans exist in a space and time relative to the absolute space and time. The diagnosis of a life-threatening disease like cancer leads to a consciousness of innermost and outermost space and time thus, altering the relative space and time of an individual. In Paul's case too concentric spheres of space and time cause changes in Paul's life – simple things like food habits, clothing habits and diurnal acts like walking, reading, writing, etc. go for a toss. Amidst this chaos in Paul's life two entities that remain constant are his daughter and his memoir. Both bring some form of joy to a dying man and maybe that's why in last few hours before his death he expresses his desire to meet his daughter one last time and asks his wife to publish his unfinished manuscript in some form. Even in the weakest of moments of his life, Paul was determined to give birth to entities that could outlive him as well as give him relief in his otherwise painful existence.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Critique of Everyday Dalit Marginalisation Across Terrains in Ajay Navaria's *Unclaimed Terrain*

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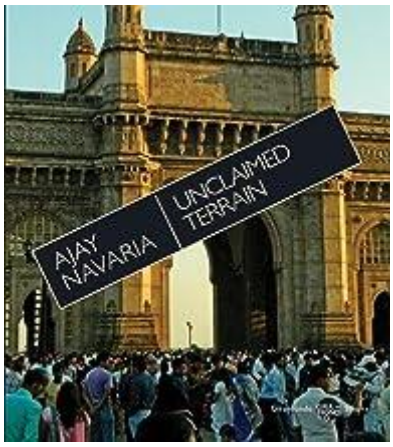

Courtesy: www.amazon.com

Abstract

This paper delves into the portrayal of Dalit everyday experiences in Ajay Navaria's short story collection, *Unclaimed Terrain* (2013). The study examines how Navaria's narratives draw from both real-life incidents and fictional storytelling to shed light on the struggles faced by Dalits in both rural and urban contexts. Through these stories, Navaria portrays the struggles of Dalits in rural and urban settings, critiquing the failures of modernity and the secular nation to provide social equality. The paper discusses how Navaria navigates the tensions between social activism and the art of literature, particularly within the context of Dalit literature. His stories reveal the complexities of the urban Dalit subject, caught between the allure of economic opportunities and the persistent anxiety of caste-based discrimination in the urban spaces. Furthermore, the study explores how Navaria's narratives reflects upon the failures of modernity and the secular nation in delivering on their promises

of social equality. Despite the rhetoric of equality and freedom, the contemporary nation-state continues to marginalise Dalits, leaving them to confront fear and exclusion in their everyday lives. In conclusion, Navaria's *Unclaimed Terrain* offers a compelling critique of the prevailing socio-political landscape. By delving into these complex themes, Navaria's stories call for an inclusive public sphere and underscore the need to redefine the concept of nation as a daily referendum based on shared suffering and collective consensus, ultimately paving the way for a more equitable and just society.

Keywords: Ajay Navaria, *Unclaimed Terrain,* Dalit experience, Dalit consciousness, everyday discrimination, social equality.

> "Ever since the family bought the horse, the Darbars had been threatening Pradip and Kalubhai. Once Kalubhai had even decided to sell the horse but Pradip cried for days and Kalubhai reluctantly agreed to keep the horse. In fact, Kalubhai was threatened last week. The Darbars told him to sell the horse as Dalits are not meant to ride horses," said Himmatbhai" (Dhar, "Family Alleges").

The above quoted statement is not extracted from the short stories which comprise the collection *Unclaimed Terrain* (2013) by Ajay Navaria, but are taken from a news report which had published an interaction with the kin of the Dalit boy from Timbi village in Umrala (Gujarat), who was killed by the Kshatriya caste Darbar community members last march for daring to own and ride a horse.

The above incident is almost a spectral repetition of a similar incident in the story "Subcontinent" in Ajay Navaria's short story collection, where the protagonist Siddharth is witness to the incident where the wedding party of the Dalit boy Bhima is disrupted by a mob of upper-castes, who terrorise the party into going ahead without the ceremonial horse. This is ostensibly a punishment for breaking the "traditions of millennia" (93), with the upper-caste mob collectively acting as the vigilante protectors of the caste hierarchies and status quo in the village setting. While the groom in the story is spared from any fatal consequences, the pall of violence that lies over the everyday life of a Dalit in the village setting is palpable throughout Navaria's short story collection. The *everyday* of the Dalit in the village, as well

as Dalit as an urban migrant are the subject matter of these stories with the two terrains marking the territories of the traditional and the modern respectively.

While the following two frameworks work in contiguous overlaps and continuities, the first part of this paper focuses on the intervention staged by Hindi Dalit Literary sphere in the 'mainstream' literary tradition, and Navaria's contribution in the former; followed by an examination of the dynamics of urban migration with which the Dalit subject is inserted into the urban capitalist modernity, and its concomitant failures to deliver a caste-less Universal subjecthood which was promised in the idea of a modern secular nation. The latter theme, as discussed by Aditya Nigam in the essay "Secularism, Modernity, Nation: Epistemology of the Dalit Critique", forms part of the larger critique of modernity and the nation in Dalit literature—specifically, the "two great artefacts of political modernity in India – secularism and the nation" (4256). The acclaimed Dalit writer Ajay Navaria through his stories highlights the shortcomings of the modern nation-state's public sphere which despite the language of equality, freedom, and dignity, has failed to provide the claims of modernity to the Dalit who is presented in his stories as struggling with elements of fear and anxiety in the contemporary nation-state.

In the twentieth century, there have been notable literary contributions of Dalit self-assertion as in 'Acchut ki Shikayat' written in 1914 in the Bhojpuri dialect by Hira Dom, a prominent proponent of Dalit consciousness in north India. However, the contemporary efflorescence in the Hindi Dalit literary tradition emerged only in the 1980s with the publication of early autobiographies, poetry, and short stories of eminent writers like Omprakash Valmiki and Mohandas Naimaishray. These writers were indebted to and paid tribute in their writings to the Dalit literary tradition of western India, which had developed earlier and had an influence on the former.

Laura Brueck in her seminal 2014 book on the emergence of Hindi Dalit literature *Writing Resistance*, reads a coterminous emergence of a Dalit Counterpublic space along with the literary efflorescence. This Counterpublic space becomes the site where Dalit literary voices along with readers and responders engage in productive debate and discussion which might otherwise be silenced by the hegemonic forces of universalist nationalism of the dominant public sphere, which refuses to recognize the distinct identities and perspectives of the Dalits. Two examples of such organizations given by Brueck are the Bhartiya Dalit

Sahitya Akademi and Dalit Lekhak Sangh – the latter organization also consisting of Delhi-based Ajay Navaria.

Navaria in the past also has been actively engaged in the intervention of the Dalit perspective in the mainstream discussion of literature as is seen in his presence in the Jaipur Literature Festival during 2010 and 2012. He was also invited by Rajendra Yadav to edit issues of *Hans* magazine twice, with one issue focusing on themes emerging in the current Hindi literatures, and the other one focusing specifically on Dalit matters.

While the real-life incident in the opening quotation finds a haunting precedent in Navaria's story, the author is deeply aware of what Laura Brueck calls the tension between social activism and the art of literature, especially in the context of Dalit literature, which has for a long time derived as well as departed from the realist mode of tradition, as examined in detail by the critic Toral Jatin Gajarawala. However, the complex boundary between characterization through archetypes and fully rounded characters is the challenge taken up by a writer of literature of protest and resistance. Navaria, who often incorporates in his writing experimental modes of narration thus pushing his works to a modernist stance critical of modernity in which the casteized body is 'othered', writes:

> "This minimal activism could irritate some, but on an artistic level a more activist stance than this would be the death of the work for me. The integrity of the work should not be compromised, maybe this is why I chose other areas for stronger social critique." (qtd. in Brueck 124)

However, this does not imply that Dalit consciousness, which could be understood as a position of strategic essentialism, is diluted in his texts. The contemporary understanding of Dalit Chetna or consciousness revolves around the Ambedkarite principles of political liberation, renunciation of Hindu identity as well as a struggle towards caste eradication from Hindu society—and many of these tropes are visible in Navaria's stories like "Tattoo" and "Sacrifice". While prioritizing the Dalit consciousness, or the Dalitness of Navaria's text, Brueck reads these stories as the diversification of the Dalit Aesthetic which departs from the realism bordering on sociological to a laudable strategy of "structural innovation, including obfuscating language that creates a sense of alienation, as well as regular construction of flashbacks, sequences of both narrative and traumatic memory, and liminal temporalities" (125).

The reader encounters the above discussed innovative structural techniques in the stories like "Sacrifice" where the narratorial 'I' shifts from the subject of Kalu to the city-based Ambedkar-follower Avinash. Avinash struggles with his father's rooting in the structures of caste within the village where discrimination between sub castes within the lower caste becomes a source of conflict between the father and the son – with the son resisting his father's understanding of caste with an assertion of Ambedkarite pan-Dalit identity. The story opens with the episode of a kid goat being chopped off described in linguistic terms which employ the technique of alienation to present a shock value in the narrative with a corporeality which is often silenced or goes unrepresented in upper caste narratives.

Navaria's deployment of conventions of literary modernism to effectively present a reconsideration of the promise of modernity and the secular foundations of the nation-state to deliver Dalits from marginalization becomes prominent in the story "Hello Premchand", which is an "Uttar Katha", or answering tale to the archetypal helpless characterization of Dalits in Premchand's oeuvre. This particular revisioning in the tale functions in a larger framework of the Dalit reclamation of the realist writing mode, as well as a condemnation of the stalwart of Hindi fiction and social realism by members of Dalit Sahitya Akademi who staged a burning of his novel *Rangabhumi* in 2004. The example of Premchand's fiction is also used to define the contours of the essence of Dalit consciousness, with the sympathetic portrayal of Dalits as staged in his fiction -which now finds a presence in all major school and university syllabuses – deferring and denying the conceptualization of a Dalit 'subjecthood', for there is no agency which stems from this humiliation, as highlighted by Gopal Guru.

The problematic representation of the Dalit archetypes in Hindi realist fiction of Premchand has also been noted by Toral Jatin Gajarawala in her seminal text *Untouchable Fictions: Literary Realism and the Crisis of Caste*, from which the following succinct description of Premchand's oeuvre has been taken:

> "In addition to the material critique of misrepresentation, there is the question of the way in which the realist text configures its ethnographic authority on the basis of repetition of caste-based names, casteized paradigms, and the circumscribed narrative arc of the Dalit figure" (8).

Premchand's seminal 1936 speech 'Aim of Literature' which emphasized that the idea of literature was to defend the oppressed has been critiqued by the Dalit intellectuals for his bent towards Gandhian idealism and faith in the village economy. This critique is positioned in the fact that the more radical Ambedkarite faith in modern institutions had gained substantial leverage in the times of Premchand but was not engaged with by the literary stalwart.

In Navaria's story "Hello Premchand", many literary techniques like intertextuality are employed to affect a restoration of agency to the character of Mangal, the young boy who goes on to become a civil servant in the post-independence time frame, as well as to the character of Budhiya who does not die in childbirth and neglect in this re-writing. However, the new modes of subordination and practising caste hierarchies which emerge in the post-independence period are represented in the latter part of the story collection, in which the characters are often shown to move towards the urban metropolis. The revisioning of Premchand's story which ends on the note of the lookalike of Ambedkar, Premchand and the narrator heralding the new nation – places the story in the contemporary period of post Mandal Commission developments. This period has witnessed, as Nigam notes, an increase in the language which elides caste oppression by conflating caste with class in a hierarchization in the capitalist urban sphere which naturalizes extreme poverty and deprivation (4256). The language of class and merit is employed to divert focus from the casteist divisions of the society, and to instil self-doubt in the Dalit subject who might have received benefits from affirmative action policies, as seen in the stories "Subcontinent", "Tattoo" and "New Custom".

The move towards urban modernity guarded by secular institutions which was posited as a solution to structural casteism by Ambedkar is also assumed to be a solution by the Dalit migrants to the urban city space, but it fails to deliver the promise of modernity in the form of a casteless universal subject in the secular capital driven urban spaces. In the story "Subcontinent", the "same snakes" still hissed despite acquisition of monetary wealth by the upwardly mobile Dalit protagonist (100). While the city offers anonymity, it also becomes the cause of alienation from one's community as well as self which becomes fragmented in its loss of communal memory. The urban Dalit subject in these stories is occupies the liminal space between the city and the village in his struggle to find a place – with the urban space constantly marking the Dalit body in various ways ranging from 'the quota guy' to the

scientifically false anthropological derision directed at the Dalit protagonist in the story "Scream". The following quote from the story "Scream" in which the protagonist is debased by an anthropology Professor in the city-based university captures the everyday humiliation directed at the Dalit subject even in urban spaces.

> "One day in anthropology class, Kulkarni Sir was lecturing on human races. When he came to the Negro race, he looked directly at me and said, "You! Stand up." He pointed at me, smiled and said, "Look, here is the Negro race. Thick lips, wide nose, prominent brow, round skull. But with more height" (163).

The city which offers economic reward for 'labor' which acquires multiple meaning in the economy of the city, and an option of anonymity of caste, is also the space where the anxiety of caste is still very much palpable, even if by the error of omission as in the hiding of caste identity by the character Subhash Kumar Paswan in an upscale gym in the Khan market area in the story "Tattoo".

In the Counterpublic sphere discussed earlier, Premchand was relegated to the margins by figures like Valmiki, for failing to recognize the primacy of caste over class in the Dalit worldview—class is a symptom of caste inequality, and not necessarily its cause. If class positions were a solution to the caste problem as the conflation of the two categories in upper caste writings suggests, the move to the city and a successful insertion into capitalist modernity would have rested the matter. But it is not, as is visible in the Navaria's characters who have become successful in the city like Siddharth in "Subcontinent" and the Deputy General Manager Narottam Saroj in the story "Yes Sir" but are still rendered to the margins of the civil society discourse as the 'reservation' candidates whenever the dominant public opinion finds an outlet for expression. As also noted by Laura Bruueck, these dilemmas are the main thematics of Navaria's fiction:

> "Navaria's stories make it clear that the transition from village to city, from feudal caste hierarchies to the pseudo-equality of a secular modernity is fraught with conflict. Significantly, this conflict is domestic and personal; it is manifested in intergenerational divisions, misunderstandings, and aggression, or with a pervasive sense of alienation from oneself, one's community and one's environment. These stories are not cautionary tales from the dangers of leaving family, home, and tradition for a stake in the promise of casteless, classless, undifferentiated, and "universal" subjecthood of the modern nation state, but rather are introspective

meditations on the losses of self and community that necessarily come with doing so" (125-126).

Thus, the Dalit experience of the everyday in the city becomes a critique of the secular nation which has failed in its promises of social equality to its subjects. In this socio-political context, there is a need to re-invoke the concept of nation as "a daily referendum", defined by Ernest Renan and accepted by Ambedkar. In this nineteenth century articulation of the concept of the nation-state, the guiding principles are not race, religion or language but a daily consensus of its people to come together and participate in the common present, in which they are held together by a past of commonly shared suffering. While the Dalits have often been at the receiving end of violence in the history of the nation, a secular and democratic functioning of the nation cannot be envisaged in the absence of an inclusive public sphere; and the struggles to achieve that has been notably fictionalized from the Dalit perspective in Navaria's short stories in the collection *Unclaimed Terrain*.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Affirming Differences: A Critical Analysis of Sonia Sotomayor's *Just Ask: Be Different, Be Brave, Be You*

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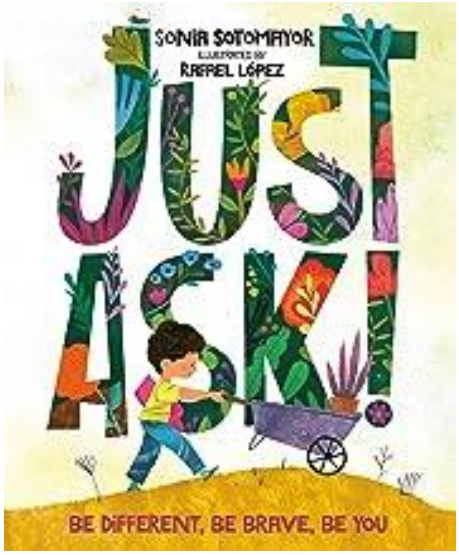

Courtesy: www.amazon.com

Abstract

Disability Studies is a multi-disciplinary area of academic study that examines the representation of differently abled individuals in literary narratives. Picture books hold significant sway in children's literary narratives by combining visual elements with textual content. The paper offers an analysis of the picture book, *Just Ask: Be Different. Be Brave. Be You* authored by US Supreme Court Justice, Sonia Sotomayor from the standpoint of the critical theory, Disability Studies. It delves into the Affirmation model of disability, which perceives physical and mental impairments as mere differences and advocates for treating differently abled individuals as part of the norm.

Keywords: *Just Ask: Be Different. Be Brave. Be You,* Sonia Sotomayor, Disability, The Affirmation model, Difference, Normalcy, Acceptance.

Disability studies has undergone various changes in its definition and treatment of disability with each new model that was developed to address various facets of disability. The Affirmation model of disability introduced by John Swain and Sally French in their theoretical essay, "Towards an Affirmation Model of Disability", stands out as a non-tragic perspective on disability and impairment. It champions positive social identities, both individual and collective, for disabled individuals, grounded in the unique life experiences associated with impairment and disability. In this model, Swain and French describe "impairment" ("Affirmation Model of Disability") as a physical, sensory, and intellectual difference to be acknowledged and respected on its own terms in a diverse society. Unlike previous models of disability, The Affirmation model places emphasis on the positive aspects of disability and even encourages differently abled individuals to take pride in their own physical or mental impairment.

The oldest model of disability, **The Moral or Religious model**, views disability as an act of God and often associates it with the sins of individuals or their ancestors in their former births. This viewpoint has potentially destructive consequences since it could cause the impaired person's entire family to be excluded from social interactions. With advancements in the medical sector during the 1800s, The Moral Model was supplanted by **The Medical Model**. The Medical model treats disability as a disease and portrays it negatively, characterising it as a tragic and pitiable condition. This model also positions the disabled individuals as inferior to their normal able-bodied counterparts.

The limitations of the earlier Medical model paved the way for the **Social Model of Disability** in the 1960s and 1970s. The Social model examines how society mistreats individuals with impairment and critiques the concept of disability itself. Subsequent models include the Identity model, which treats disability as an identity, the Human rights Model, which treats disability as a human rights issue, and the Cultural model, which treats disability as a cultural aspect. In contrast to the earlier models of disability, The Affirmation model challenges these negative connotations and stereotypes associated with disability emphasising the need for a positive self-image among disabled individuals. Advocates of the Affirmative model claim that disabled people's beliefs and feelings about themselves, their impaired bodies, and their lives can affirm the value of their unique experiences.

Lennard. J. Davis, an American specialist in disability studies highlights in his theoretical work, *The Disability Studies Reader*, the unfortunate practice of ranking children in school, "Our Children are ranked in school and tested to determine where they fit into a normal curve of learning, or intelligence"(1). This early pruning of differences in children aims to conform them to the society's norms and moreover, they are expected to think, learn,

and act in a certain way as dictated by the society as normal. Rarely are children taught to embrace and respect both their own and others' differences.

Just Ask: Be Different. Be Brave, Be You is a picture book of 25 pages that celebrates the lives of children with disabilities. The author of the book, Sonia Sotomayor, reflects on her own experiences as a child with differences in her Letter to Readers. When she was diagnosed with diabetes as a child and had to give herself needle shots of insulin, her classmates would often give her curious stares. These stares made her feel different, and as if she were doing something wrong. Throughout her picture book, Sonia Sotomayor exhorts children to 'just ask' when they encounter children with differences. On a positive note, the author refrains from using terms like 'disabled children' or 'handicapped children' or even 'differently abled children' in her book but just refers to them as children with differences.

The author, Sonia Sotomayor, employs a simple yet thought-provoking style of writing in her picture book. She skilfully strikes a balance between conveying profound messages about diversity, disability, and inclusion while writing in a language that resonates with the experiences of the children. The questions at the end of each account encourage young readers to reflect on the experiences and perspectives of the characters, fostering empathy and critical thinking. By incorporating this interactive element, Sotomayor creates a participative reading experience effectively conveying the book's central message of understanding and embracing differences.

At the beginning of the book *Just Ask! Be Different. Be Brave. Be You*, Sotomayor brings in the symbol of a garden to illustrate the world of different children, she says "Hi I am Sonia. My friends and I are planting a garden. Gardens are magical places. Thousands of plants bloom together, but every flower, every body, and every leaf is different" (Sotomayor). This analogy of the garden emphasises that just as thousands of plants bloom simultaneously with different smells, different flowers, different leaves, berries, and different colours, each different child will flourish with their unique happiness and success in their own time.

Sotomayor extends this idea beyond differently-abled people, highlighting that all of us possess differences in our own ways. She also notes that while some differences are easily noticeable, others may be more challenging to identify. She encourages her young readers to just ask if they have any questions or doubts about the differences they observe in other children. This message reinforces the idea that a kid will remain different and mysterious to us only until we gather up the courage to inquire about how and why they are different.

Anyhow, Sonia Sotomayor acknowledges that not everyone will be comfortable answering questions about themselves or sharing personal information. However, considering the author's own experience as a different child, it becomes apparent to the readers that Sotomayor might have had an easier time if any of her inquisitive classmates had inquired about the additional doses of insulin that she needed.

Before the end of each chapter, Sotomayor poses a question to her readers. After describing about how she too had to take her medications, she asks the reader, “Do you need to take medicine to be healthy?” (Sotomayor) This question posed to the readers also serves as a connecting thread between the author’s descriptions of each of her character’s impairments. From her narration about her own difference as a child, she transitions to recount the story of a boy named Raphael who is dealing with asthma. The book’s adopts a first-person narrative style characters’ for each of its characters’ stories, fostering a sense of intimacy and affinity between young readers and the characters. This approach enables children to better comprehend and relate to the differences in the characters.

Rafael, the second character in the book, relies on an inhaler with medication to manage his breathing difficulties. Similar to Sonia Sotomayor’s own narrative, this account about Rafael also concludes with a thought-provoking question, “My inhaler is like a tool to help my body. Do you use it tool to help your body?” (Sotomayor). Contrary to the Medical model of disability, which often perceives practices like taking medication to maintain health and using tools to assist the body as signs of weakness or disability, Sotomayor argues that these are entirely normal aspects of life that anyone, regardless of ability, may occasionally require. She emphasises that differently-abled individuals should not be seen as victims or tragedies solely because of their medical difference.

The accompanying illustration of Rafael using an inhaler while sitting on a flower symbolises the idea that Rafael, like all other children in the garden that Sonia planted, has the same potential for growth and flourishing despite his differences. This reinforces the notion that, despite their unique characteristics, all children have the same potential for development.

The third different character that Sotomayor brings in her book is a boy named Anthony who uses his wheelchair to move around. Anthony shares “I’m Anthony and I use a wheelchair to get around. Even though I can’t run with my legs. I can go super-fast” (Sotomayor). Instead of depicting Anthony as an unhappy child in his wheelchair, Sotomayor provides an illustration where Anthony is portrayed as speeding in his wheelchair alongside his friend. Through this illustration, Sotomayor urges her readers to recognise the normalcy of children with different abilities rather than seeking to elicit sympathy toward them. Additionally, an illustration of a bird is included to symbolise the freedom of mobility that Anthony enjoys. This chapter also ends with a question directed to the readers, “How do you get from place to place?” (Sotomayor).

This question serves as a bridge connecting the account of Anthony to the story of a blind boy, Madison, who relies on his guide dog for safe travel. Madison mentions his yet another blind friend, Artura, who uses a cane to move around. The author introduces two distinct types of visually impaired characters, highlighting the difference within the

differently-abled community. Madison further mentions, “Even though we can’t see, we strengthen our other senses and notice lots of details others may miss; we can hear with our ears, smell with our noses, and feel with our hands” (Sotomayor). Rather than characterising visual impairment as a disability, Madison describes it as a sort of superpower that enables them to hear, smell and feel things with a level of detail that even a person without visual impairment might overlook. Moreover, it empowers them to harness their senses more effectively. The description underscores the positive aspect of having a different ability and hints at the enhanced sensory perception it offers.

Sotomayor then introduces a child character who experiences hearing loss, saying, “I am Vijay. I learn about the world differently because I can see, but I can’t hear - I’m deaf” (Sotomayor). Vijay’s disability is also portrayed as a tool that enables him to perceive the world uniquely. Being deaf, he communicates with his friends through sign language, and he does not seek sympathy but instead finds it “cool to know another language” (Sotomayor). Through a question that is put to the readers, “I also love reading and writing. What about you?” (*Just ask*) Sotomayor moves on to an account of Bianca, a child with Dyslexia, a learning disorder that causes difficulty in reading and interpreting words. The author maintains a positive perspective on Bianca’s impairment stating from the point of view of Bianca, “I love learning by doing things. My imagination is full of ideas, and I’m very good at making art from the pictures I see in my mind” (Sotomayor). Disability is not presented as a hindrance but rather as an advantage.

Sotomayor also includes characters with Tourette’s syndrome and Hyperactivity Disorder in her book. Because of her Tourette’s syndrome, Julia is unable to control her recurring wiggles and inappropriate sounds. Through Julia’s story, the book sheds light on how society perceives disability and children with special needs. While the Social Model is considerate about how the differently abled people are ill-treated in a society it falls short of acknowledging their normalcy. The Affirmation Model, conceals this limitation of the Social model by encouraging disabled individuals to embrace their differences and to love their impaired bodies rather than viewing their bodies as obstacles to their dreams.

Julia discusses how she is mocked by the society for being different, “People may look at me funny because they think I am not paying attention or just acting out. But it’s not true; I am listening” (Sotomayor). Even though explaining herself to people can be frustrating, she believes that it might help if she explains to people how her body reacts differently. This portrayal underscores the idea that differences in the body should be treated as something normal and natural, and thus it challenges societal misconceptions about disability.

Manuel is a character who suffers from Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder. He says, “I can get frustrated, when I really feel the need to move around even though I am supposed to sit still. When my teachers and friends are patient with me if I forget something

or get distracted, I can get myself back on track"(Sotomayor). Sotomayor tells about how our patience while dealing with disabled children can actually get them back on track. Nolan, a character who is allergic to certain food items is also brought in the book. He has to regularly explain to people about his food allergy and inquire about food ingredients to ensure his well-being and health.

Sonia Sotomayor's book also addresses Down syndrome through the character of Grace. Grace begins with an entry that reflects her love for singing, talking, making new friends, and desiring inclusion, "I love to sing and I love to talk. I love to make new friends and be included" (Sotomayor). This highlights that children with Down syndrome share common desires for social interaction and inclusion. However, they are often discriminated against and mocked even in their own friend circle. Grace says, "I can do anything any kid can do, though learning new things can take some time" (Sotomayor). She confidently asserts her capabilities, yet society often labels her as a disabled and abnormal child for being a slow learner.

"***Just Ask: Be Different. Be Brave. Be You***" by Sonia Sotomayor serves as a powerful and affirming testament to the diverse and unique lives of children with disabilities. Through a cast of characters representing various conditions and abilities, the book embraces the Affirmation model of disability, emphasizing that differences should be celebrated rather than pitied. Sotomayor's narrative not only challenges societal misconceptions and biases but also encourages readers, young and old alike, to embrace diversity and engage in open dialogue about differences. The characters in the book show that disability is just one facet of their identities and that they possess talents, strengths, and aspirations that are just as valid as anyone else's.

The situation for disabled individuals in India remains complex, marked by both progress and persistent challenges. The country has made strides in enacting legislation and policies aimed at safeguarding their rights and promoting inclusion. The Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016, marked a landmark development in this regard. However, challenges such as limited access to quality education, healthcare, employment opportunities, and social stigma continue to hinder the full integration of disabled individuals into mainstream society. The need for continued efforts to bridge these gaps and promote a more inclusive and equitable environment for disabled individuals in India remains a critical concern.

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Dracula: A Historical Figure

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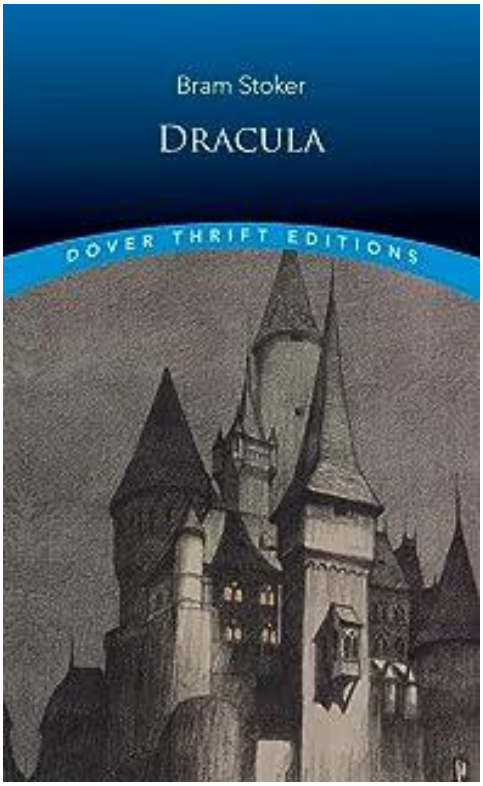

Courtesy: www.amazon.com

Abstract

Bram Stoker gave breath to Count Dracula in his Gothic, connecting historical correlation to his creative approach. An account of mystery and realism imbibed within an epistolary novel that dates back to a specific historical context of fifteenth-century Romania. This paper focuses on the revelation of facts and fiction regarding how a prince was *souled* in the *soulless* Count, and how Stoker sew traits in common with differences as a medium of suspense thriller, developing a diary of a moving historical figure.

Keywords: ***Dracula***, Historical, Superstition, Myth, Realism, Folklore, Vampire, Order of the Dragon, Voivode, Witch, Psychology, Facts, Fiction

Introduction

Dracula is a word of much contemplation ascending in the Goth environment as human foe, bloodthirsty, dark entity, immortal, sun fearing, supernatural, and evolving to many interpretations. Since the publishing of Bram Stoker's *Dracula (1897),* society imaged the mystical figure with such connotations and somehow studying with an eagle eye one finds out that the supernatural being is inspired by a historical warrior prince of *Walachia, Vlad III or Vlad the Impaler. Vlad III Dracula or Vlad the Tepes (born 1431, Sighișoara, Transylvania (now in Romania)—died 1476, north of present-day Bucharest, Romania)*, the infamous bloodthirsty emperor quite resembling the thirst of Count but in a much different way. Referring thus, to the history and the aspect of the word, Romanian language says Dracula means "son of Dracul", where Dracul further explains itself as the Devil (drac- devil, ul –the) evolved from Latin Draco meaning dragon. Satan of the undead, murderous in sentiment for survival coincides with the Wallachian prince who inflicted inhumane and sadist punishments on enemies and even on civilians. In this paper, we deal with two figures (**Count Dracula** and **Vlad Dracula**) coinciding each other in given aspects. We shall be holding onto the darkness of the Count who says *"the blood is the life"* and of the Emperor **Vlad Dracula** "*eating bread dipped with the blood of sufferers".* Throughout the years the vampire breed subsists in fears of people fanged with more superstition and myths which indirectly inspired Stoker in the creation of his work.

Beginning with the title of the novel "Dracula", history reflects a figure of profound stature and horror, an enigma of mystery and a supreme sadist. In the fifteenth century, Romania was powered by a prince who inherited his sobriquet of Dracula from his father Vlad II Dracul, who received his infamous sign after joining a member of the Order of the

Dragon (monarchical chivalric order for selected higher aristocracy and monarchs, founded in 1408 by the king of Hungary to save their sacred Catholic Church and defense against Ottoman Empire) which Vlad III later joined as a military commander. Second born in the hierarchy of four brothers, Vlad embarked on revenge his whole life and was a victim of the loss of his family one by one in the hands of his enemies. Scholars regarded him as a warrior of utmost valor but extremely cruel because of his pain for revenge which consumed him throughout his days. He ascended the throne of Wallachia three times with durations of exile and prison, ultimately beheaded and gifted to his enemies. *(Arie Kaplan, 2012, Dracula, the Life of Vlad the Impaler)* Whereas on the other side, we have Count Dracula also belongs to an aristocratic hierarchy when he dialogues *"We Szekelys have a right to be proud, for in our veins flows the blood of many brave races who fought as the lions fight for lordship" (Jonathan Harker's Journal continued, 3).* Here Stoker coronates his character on the throne of aristocracy similar to Vlad, and rightfully remarks Wallach and Szekelys as Romanian ancestry. Although we didn't witness direct connotations to the said historical king, but Count Dracula denotes him indirectly,

"Who was it but one of my own race who as Voivode crossed the Danube and beat the Turk on his own ground? This was a Dracula indeed! Woe was it that his own unworthy brother, when he had fallen sold his people to the Turk and brought the shame of slavery on them"

(Jonathan Harker's Journal continued, 3).

Vlad III being a Voivode for his army was against the Ottoman Empire after spoiling terms with them and ambushed them with a Night Attack of Targoviste. He slayed the Turks and destroyed the army, impaling them on stakes and mocking the Ottomans. Later, the betrayal of Radu (Vlad's brother) is included to depict the historical event. *(Vlad the Impaler, Wikipedia)*

Another reference made by Bram Stoker from the mouthpiece of Van Helsing states yet again an aristocratic and warrior background coinciding with Vlad the Impaler,

"He must, indeed, have been that Voivode Dracula who won his name against the Turk, over the great river on the very frontier of Turkeyland"

(Dr. Seward's Diary, 18)

Stoker even mentions the popularity and warlord image of Dracula which was then Vlad's highest achievement, his supporters, even now, consider him as a supreme power for their countrymen and how he saved his land from foreign hands denoting him "cleverest and the most cunning, as well as the bravest" which shows the much-needed realism between the two. What Stoker does in his whole novel reiterates his character with dark, mystic, and devilish desires, even after showcasing the great valor and bravery of the ascended hierarchy.

> *"The Draculas were, says Arminius, a great and noble race, though now and again were scions who were held by their coevals to have had dealings with the Evil One."*
>
> *(Dr. Seward's Diary, 18)*

Here in the above dialogue, Stoker wanted to ascertain his view of how can a human be so bloodthirsty and so suspicious of nature, has he not done an occult practice or is he not devoted to Evil practices, offering them the blood of humans to feed, Stoker remains on a psychology of adopting Vlad as himself a conduit of a vampire who feeds on blood, and he who is a foe to humankind. The infamous doings of this so menacing a prince are more to be taken as "just sadist." Given dialogues describe Count in the novel too who stems from Vlad and his menacing stature. Van Helsing in his revelation speaks of Count being impaled to make this earth free from Devil, the denoting reference is very much visible.

Moreover, the inspiration for setting up a castle in Transylvania, Stoker was imbibed with notes of myths and superstitions of vampires in Romania with that of Vlad's history. Myths had it that vampires had their oldest origin in Romania where bloodthirsty spirits spread their fangs for millennia, folklore about them were so in name which gave rise to the tragic event of mass hysteria. *"Moroi"* and *"Strigoi"* were witches in Romanian myths who suck the blood of livestock in the dark and raise corpses from the dead which made the population aware of some dark entity inhabiting the nation. *(Vampire Folklore by Region, Wikipedia)* Such myths inspired Stoker to craft his nobleman in a guise with such qualities. History had it, that born in Transylvania and later on, was captured and made prisoner in one of the towns of the same, Vlad is connected with the place and thus, Stoker came up with Castle Dracula.

The fact that Stoker denotes his character as an evil vampire and gives references to Vlad, speaks his psychological agreement of the prince being not so human himself. With a

such thirst for revenge, blood, and sadism, a sobriquet of The Impaler was given to the Wallachian prince due to the practice of punishing his enemies and those who even oppose him by impaling them on stakes till their last drop of blood. These accounts were recorded by many scholars who studied Romanian history and especially Vlad Tepes where it is cited that Vlad once impaled two monks only to assist heaven to them and their donkey who was simply braying. (McNally, Raymond T. (1991). *"Vlad Ţepeş in Romanian folklore")*. Unable to satiate his thirst in prison Vlad would spew doom on rats, cutting them into pieces and impaling them on wood. (Andreescu, Stefan (1991)"Military actions of Vlad Ţepeş in South-Eastern Europe in 1476"). Antonio Bonfini in his *Historia Pannonica* talks of Turkish messengers coming to the court of Vlad denying getting turbaned but were punished by nailing the turbans on their heads (Treptow, Kurt W. 2000. *Vlad III Dracula: The Life and Times of the Historical Dracula. The Center of Romanian Studies*.)

... [Vlad] had a big copper cauldron built and put a lid made of wood with holes in it on top. He put the people in the cauldron and put their heads in the holes and fastened them there; then he filled it with water and set a fire under it and let the people cry their eyes out until they were boiled to death. And then he invented frightening, terrible, unheard-of tortures. He ordered that women be impaled together with their suckling babies on the same stake ... (Treptow, Kurt W. (2000). Vlad III Dracula: The Life and Times of the Historical Dracula. The Center of Romanian Studies.)

In Stoker's novel the evil nobleman is bloodthirsty to survive and to live forever, a characteristic of a vampire but resembling Vlad (who died though). Similar to him, Count is too bound for blood which tempts him throughout the novel -

"The mouth was redder than ever, for on the lips were gouts of fresh blood, which trickled from the corners of the mouth and ran down over the chin and neck" ...

(Jonathan Harker's Journal continued, 4)

Transformation of a vampire into a bat, but why bat? How come Stoker came up with the idea? What made him think of such an effect? We talked of the Order of the Dragon and how Dracul is inspired by the name which gives rise to many interpretations for Vlad and his father. Stoker in his novel used this reference in a unique way, which from thence became a connected sort of symbol for Dracula, the vampire. The emblem of the Order is a Dragon,

having extended wings and hanging on a cross, giving the reflection of a bat-like creature. Stoker was thus inspired; he made his Count Dracula transform into a bat who in search of conduit hovers over London. (Arie Kaplan, 2012, Dracula, the Life of Vlad the Impaler)

The positioning and the setting of the novel with circumstanced events taking place; Stoker used real places to make it more elite and eye-striking – Transylvania (the Birthplace of Vlad), Borgo pass (same distance to infamous Bran castle), Bistritz (real town of Vlad's legend), Snagov Monastery (where, according to legend, Vlad's remains were buried) and the city of Brasov (where Vlad led raids against the Saxons merchants). Exploring such places of history, the infamous horror legend gave many reasons to speculate the conditioning of the evil nobleman protagonist on the shade of Vlad the Romanian Prince.

A Dracula entry must be somewhat cinematic and supernatural, thus our author provides us with such an environment which was also present partially if not fully at the time of Vlad's birth, *"It is said that on the night Vlad was born the holy statues of the village bled from their eyes and mouths. The priests that witnessed the royal births took it as a sign from God. Many of the villagers, however, saw it as a mysterious and terrible omen, foreshadowing some unknown evil yet to come"*. (Comparing Impaler and Stoker's creation, ipl.org essays)

Similarly when the Count enters London he possesses powers to corrupt weather foreshadowing thus an unknown evil upon the city. ... *"and the sea for some distance could be seen in the glare of the lightning, which came thick and fast, followed by such pearls of thunder that the whole sky overhead seemed trembling under the shock of the footsteps of the storm.* (Cutting from the Dailygraph, 7)

How Stoker picks up minute details from Vlad's life is remarkably artistic, giving the historical emperor a new face with a glory of a vampire. Imbibing inspiration from such a man who was not only considered evil and sadist by means but by his physical appearance too, for his demeanor was somewhat of mean stature overflowed with general disgust. In his historical paper De Bellis Gothorum written in 1472 Nicholas of Modruš, Croatian bishop, describes Vlad the Impaler thus:

"He wasn't particularly tall, but sturdy and muscular, with a harsh and fierce appearance. His nose was aquiline, his nostrils flaring, his skin fine but ruddy, and he had very long eyelashes that framed large, green eyes. But his eyebrows, dark and thick, gave him a

menacing look. His face was clean-shaven, except for his mustache. His prominent temporal ridges increased his head's appearance and his neck, as thick as a bull's, ended in broad, strong shoulders on which his dark, curly locks rested."

Thus, inspired by mean stature and dark side of the prince, Stoker crafted Count Dracula as: "Tall and thin… waxen… old (although, after feeding, he may appear to be younger)… Nose: "aquiline … high bridge … thin… peculiarly arched nostrils"… Hair: scanty around temples, profuse elsewhere… Eyebrows: very massive "almost meeting over the nose"… Eyes: red… Mustache: heavy, concealing much of the mouth… Mouth: "fixed and rather cruel-looking" with ruddy red lips… Teeth: "sharp white teeth protruded over the lips"… Ears: pale, with "extremely pointed" tops… Hands: coarse, "broad, with squat fingers," hairs in the center of the palm, long and sharp fingernails…

(Alluringcreations.co.new-literary-comparison-bram-stokers-dracula-vlad-impaler)

Even the mention of St. George's Day in the novel deals with an iconic and much-believed myth prone to Romania. It is believed that the flames of the treasures hidden underground ahead of the Ottoman invasions of Wallachia show themselves in special blue light, and as Stoker took inspiration from Wallachian history and even the myths concerning it, he is very much present in creating an effect of life from it-

"Why the coachman went to the places where he had seen ***the blue flames****. He then explained to me that it was commonly believed that on* ***a certain night of the year****—last night when all evil spirits are supposed to have unchecked sway—****a blue flame is seen over any place where treasure has been concealed****".*

(Jonathan Harker's Journal Continued, 2)

The practice of impaling the enemies and even his own countrymen who oppose Vlad is a spitting image of how vampires must be driven to an end. If he was himself not so human who love to taste the blood of his breed, why would he only choose such means as impaling to get fulfilled? The sadist prince was kind of mocking the human punishments to vampires, in the novel; Stoker names such a practice done by Van Helsing to dead the Undead-

"I shall cut off her head and fill her mouth with garlic, and I shall drive a stake through her body" (Dr. Seward's Diary continued, 15)

"Take this stake in your left hand, ready to place to the point over the heart, and the hammer in your right. Then when we begin our prayer for the dead, I shall read him, I have here the book, and the others shall follow, strike in God's name, that so all may be well with the dead that we love and that the Undead pass away" (Dr. Seward's Diary continued, 16)

Stoker in his psychological way was denoting a practice of killing such beings with stakes that are parasites to humankind denoting this specific practice to be done on Vlad the prince himself. Every aspect of the novel is purely sewn with the content of knowledge and utmost information. Stoker designated every super humane and even inhumane practice somewhat regarding the prince of Wallachia. It is no lie to speculate that he possesses great knowledge about Vlad and even Romanian history, its facts, its myths, and even its said legend stories. With passing years came additions and more discoveries about this comparison and its revelation, many historians who studied Vlad and inked books on him and many scholars who studied Dracula the novel, were somewhere in clasping hands to its similarities and one leading to the other. Marc Lallanilla claims in his article:

"And if ever there were a historical figure to inspire a bloodthirsty, monstrous fictional character, Vlad III Dracula was one. Stoker drew inspiration from a real-life man with an even more grotesque taste for blood: Vlad III, Prince of Wallachia or — as he is better known — Vlad the Impaler (Vlad Tepes), a name he earned for his favorite way of dispensing with his enemies."

Pioneers in spreading the knowledge of similarity between the two Dracula, Raymond McNally, and Radu Florescu published their book "In Search of Dracula (1994)" a thesis, in which they both held that Stoker centered his character of Count based on Vlad the Impaler – *"…the amazing accuracy of historical, geographical and topological details lead scholars to accept much in them as fact."*

In *Rolandia*, a tourist magazine, it was advertised how Romania and Dracula are connected, "Stoker's Dracula became one of the most representative images of the rich and authentic Romanian folklore, a true ambassador of all the Carpathian vampires, a Romanian vampire with Irish roots."

Callum McKelvie, in his life science essay, remarked Stoker's creation as directly adapted from the historical entity, "Vlad the Impaler was a medieval prince whose bloodthirsty acts inspired the world's most famous Vampire, Bram Stoker's Dracula."

The notion of Vlad III as the model for Count Dracula emerged in 1958, with Basil Kirtley, who asserted that, without question, the biography that Abraham Van Helsing gives for the fictional Count Dracula is that of the Wallachian Voivode. His thesis became the center for Raymond and Radu for their statements and findings, giving more ideas to the said speculation. As history says Stoker was inspired and was clued by Romania and its powerful past, he somehow was struck by the name Dracula, seeing this as a sobriquet of Voivode of a fighting nation but was fearsome and not so human-like in sentiment.

Conclusion

The notoriously violent Prince and his so famous stature became a footnote of Stoker and his Count. A book by William Wilkinson is cited to be a turning point for the author and his character in making, who wrote about Romania and its history. To cite such a character who was considered most evil in Middle Ages and to give him the pedestal of a vampire, Stoker from his remarkable skills and his indirect connotations became successful in giving his message. Vlad and Count are not unlike, but one stems from the roots of another, to show what the reality was, to show what such demeanor means. Being designated in history as a legendary historical tyrant, Vlad became immortal in Count. A mass murderer, a legendary warrior, an evil sadist, a specimen of valor, such traits build up Vlad the Impaler which coincides with Count Dracula. Many cinematic adaptations are present to cite the comparison which after researching the infamous prince brings facts to light. With such an abundance of in-between dialogues and in-depth study, one can easily feel the identity of that mortal vampire in the immortal one. Bram Stoker gave such a spine-chilling draft of Dracula which through the ages remains the pioneer of horror classics, naming first on the list of adaptations (being 500). Only one such real character was present to give justice to this historical adaptation – Vlad the Impaler.

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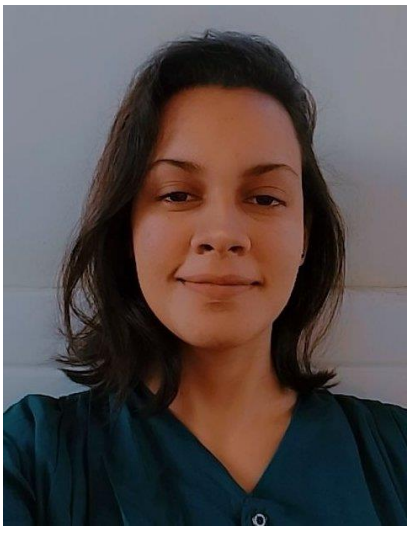

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Language in India www.languageinindia.com **ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 23:9 September 2023**
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Human Cloning in Nigeria Political Space: A Pragmatic Analysis of Selected Online Article on the Buhari/Jubril Dilemma

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Abstract

The online space has continued to be a platform for not only private and mundane discussions, but also a tribune for voicing critical political and national opinions. Nigerians and the international community have employed online media, as well as other media platforms to articulate their thoughts on the claims which favoured the possibility of the demise of the immediate past president of Nigeria, President Muhammadu Buhari, after a prolonged illness in the year 2007 and the ploy of a Jubril of Sudan clone in his place. This study examined the pragmatic strategies employed in the online articles on the national dilemma caused by the Buhari/Jubril claims and refutals, in response to the lacuna in the literature on such analytical investigations on the subject. An online article titled, "Buhari: The real, the fake and the dead" authored by a Nigerian writer, Tunde Odesola retrieved from the online page of The Punch Newspaper on December 3, 2018, served as data for the study. The article was analysed using insights from the Stance Theory and the Pragmatics in general. The analysis revealed eight pragmatic strategies utilised by the writer, namely Biblical allusion, evaluative stance and positioning, epistemic stance and evocation of sarcasm, metaphors, and derogative labelling as anti-Jubrilist positioning, epistemic stance, and evocation of (dis)alignment, antithetical evocations, evaluative stance and berating, evaluative stance and justifying. These result in a pragmatic reconstruction of the readers' views on the issue.

Keywords: Buhari, human cloning, Nigerian politics, pragmatic strategies, stance theory, online space.

Introduction

The online space has continued to be a platform for not only private and public discussions, but also a tribune for voicing critical political and national opinions. Nigerians and the international community have employed online media, as well as other media platforms to articulate their thoughts on the claims which favour possibilities of the demise of the incumbent president of Nigeria, President Muhammadu Buhari, after a prolonged illness in year 2007 and the rumour of a Jubril of Sudan clone in his place. Arising from the situation was the emergence of at least two extreme factions of public opinion: the pro Buhari/Jubril faction spearheaded by a popular ethnic leader, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), and Buhari/Jubril rebuttals spearheaded by popular journalists, newspaper columnists and other Buhari loyalists.

Many linguistic studies have investigated the way communication is done in the online media in Nigeria covering different scope including humour (Taiwo, Odebunmi and Adetunji, 2016); terrorism (Chiluwa and Adetunji 2013; Chiluwa and Odebunmi 2016); news reportage strategies (Arrese and Perucha 2006; Chiluwa 2011) and the political discourse in Nigeria (Opeibi 2005, 2009, 2011; Adegoju and Oyebode 2015; Omidiora, Ajiboye and Abioye 2020; Chiluwa, Taiwo and Ajiboye, 2020); Stance taking (Biber, and Finnegan,1989). From the foregoing, it is evident that no known linguistic investigation has been done on the discussions of cloning in the Nigerian political arena and especially on the rumoured cloned substitution of former president Buhari.

Adegoju and Oyebode (2015) examine the patterns of humour in the use of Internet memes in the online campaign discourse of the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria and they found that memes deployed in the online campaigns of the presidential election mainly served subversive purposes. Oyebode and Adegoju (2017) investigate appraisal resources on WhatsApp political broadcast messages in the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria. Their study reveals that in appropriating evaluative strategies, online text producers inscribe and invoke both

negative and positive instantiations to portray an ideological stance about the contenders. Omidiora, Ajiboye and Abioye (2020) examine political discursive practices and their socio-cognitive functions in the political jingles of the 2015 general elections in Nigeria. Chiluwa and Adetunji (2013) investigates pragmatic acts in the discourse of tweeters and online feedback comments on the activities of Boko Haram, a terrorist group in Nigeria. Opeibi (2011) examines the communicative strategies deployed by political candidates during their campaigns in seeking political power. Chiluwa and Odebunmi (2016) investigate stance and engagement on conversations on terrorism attacks on Nairaland. From the foregoing, it is evident that no research effort has been given to the recent discussions on cloning in the Nigerian political space. This study thus examines one article on the human cloning claims against Nigeria's former president, Mohammadu Buhari with the aim to examine the pragmatic strategies and the stance acts employed by the writer in achieving his goal of rebuttal.

Methodology and Theoretical Insights

An online newspaper article titled, "Buhari: The real, the fake and the dead" authored by Nigerian journalist and newspaper columnist, Tunde Odesola and retrieved online from the online page of The Punch Newspaper on December 3, 2018, served as data for the study. The article was analysed using insights from the Stance Theory and the Pragmatic Act Theory.

According to Du Bois (2007), stance is a public act by means of which social actors dialogically evaluate objects, and position themselves in (dis)alignment with other actors with respect to any salient interactional endeavour. DuBois outlined three kinds of stance in his paper: affective stance, evaluative stance, and epistemic stance. Evaluative stance is explained as the most widely recognised form of stance-taking in that it reflects the opinion of a speaker (also called a subject) about an item of discussion (also called an object). When a subject evaluates an item, s/he orients to it and characterises it as having some specific quality or value. Through such an evaluation, a subject displays a positioning to such an object such that a positive dialogic positioning translates to an alignment.

The affective stance encapsulates the attitudinal and emotional orientations of interactants which can be expressed through verbal and nonverbal resources (Du Bois, 2007). The third type

of stance is the epistemic stance, and it refers to interactants expression of certainty or doubt about the item of discussion. In order words, epistemic stance relates to the dialogic display of the degree of knowledge a subject possesses about an object.

Human Cloning in the Nigerian Political Space

The Former General, Mohammadu Buhari was elected President of Nigeria in 2015 in his fourth attempt at leadership since he was ousted from power in 1985 during the military administration (Cullinane 2018). He further secured the votes of the masses for a second term between 2019-2023. However, from the middle of 2016, the health of the former president deteriorated until eventually he was flown out of the country for intensive medical care for months in 2017. During this period, the rumour appeared on online media spaces of the death of the president and the secrecy surrounding his purported death (Davies 2018). Different conspiracy theories evolved on the subject for several weeks afterwards. According to Davies (ibid), 'the conspiracy has been fanned by members of the political opposition and the separatist Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) party, who claim there is evidence that the president has been replaced by Jubril, a man that was believed to have been imported from Sudan'. Several weeks passed however before former president Buhari responded to the rumour which he dismissed as 'ignorant and irreligious' (BBC, 2018). There are various opinions on the ethical (Ogar 2019) and political implications of having a clone replace the president of a 'constitutional democracy' (Toomey 2019). According to Ogar (2019) cloning means to make an exact genetic copy of an existing organism. Individual human cloning occurs naturally in the case of identical twins (Ayala, 2015). Ever since the cloning of the sheep Dolly, in Scotland in July 1996, through an adult cell as the source of the genotype (Ayala, ibid; Johansson, 2003), both the excitement of human cloning and the ethical concerns have not dwindled.

Data Analysis

The author employs several pragmatic strategies in achieving his goal of rebuttal in his online article, "Buhari: The real, the fake and the dead". The title itself suggests a dilemma as

there is a hint of the possibility of multiple identities for Muhammadu Buhari, during his tenure as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The writer employed pragmatic strategies such as stance acts, metaphors, biblical and political allusions, derogative labeling, and antithesis to achieve his intention of refuting claims of the death of president Buhari and the possibility of a clone in the person of a Jubril el-sudaniya. Some of the strategies are discussed shortly.

Biblical Allusion

This involves reference to Biblical events or characters for the purpose of creating some imagery or corroborating a point. An example of biblical allusion is presented in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 1: He is awesome. He is God. His awesomeness flows from an amazing simplicity, which created Man – the ultimate mammal – from mere clay and breath, after forging the universe and everything thereof with the 'Let-there-be' phrase. The beauty of creation laid in its simplicity and sophistication until Man murdered simplicity to worship eternally at the altar of complication… But complication soon set in and the hue of governance changed from light to darkness.

The author begins his article by alluding to the personality of the God deity and ascribing to him the antithetical qualities of awesomeness and simplicity with respect to the creation of man from clay. He alludes to the Biblical phrase, 'Let there be light' and he also creates an imagery with biblical presentation of the pre-creation earth as being filled with utter darkness. Through the Biblical allusion, the author creates a deliberate background for his story and a foundation for his subtle judgement of the public opinion of the possibility of a cloned Buhari as emanating from the departure from nature's simplicity to complexity.

Stance Acts

Stance acts refer to the communicative means by means of which social actors express their subjectivity over a topic of discussion in relation to the subjectivity of other social actors on the same subject. These acts may be evaluative, epistemic, and affective and it could reflect their positioning in alignment or disalignment with the opinions of other interactants on the same topic or object. In the data, different stance acts are utilised by the author. These will be discussed below.

Evaluative Stance and Positioning

Evaluative stance refers to the dialogic effort of a subject in attributing some qualities or values to an object. A subject's evaluative positioning stems strongly from their personal assessment and subjectivity about the object in relation to the opinions or claims of others interactants on the object. The excerpts below exemplify this:

Excerpt 2: Though simple in outlook, Nigerians loved and respected their President, on whom they showered enormous goodwill.

Excerpt 3: It was his beautiful wife, Aisha, who, in October 2016, noticed the fire dying out in the old Buhari, and she screamed on the top of her voice, alerting the nation that her once-upon-a-time tough-talking soldier-husband had been hijacked by a cabal and turned into a dripping sponge. Aisha lamented, "I have decided as his wife, that if things continue like this up to 2019, I will not go out and campaign again, and ask any woman to vote like I did before. I will never do it again. The President does not know 45 out of 50, for example, of the people he appointed, and I don't know them either, despite being his wife for 27 years. I may not back him at the next election unless he shakes up his government."

In his evaluation which is foregrounded in the excerpts 2 above, Odesola bestows upon president Buhari the quality of simplicity and modesty as a precursor to his epistemic stance which is captured in the past tense, to express the love and respect that Nigerians possessed for the President. This view also implicates a change in the affective positioning of Nigerians from "love" and "respect" for Buhari to the opposite qualities of "hate" and "disrespect" or "despise."

In excerpt 3, the author further provides his evaluation of the former first lady, Aisha Buhari as 'beautiful' and implicitly as being observant, supportive, and proactive. He goes on to reveal her efforts to notify the public of the decline in vigour and helplessness of her husband in matters of governance and in the selection of his cabinet. This revelation of the author about the former first lady of a public confession about a purported hijack of her husband's administration by a cabal is deliberate but a subtle strategy to absolve the former president of the public opinions about the weaknesses and failures of his administration. The author also indirectly positions himself in strong alignment with Aisha Buhari's report of her husband's administration in such a way to attract the sympathy of the public to the former president and diffuse their judgment and criticism.

Epistemic Stance and the Evocation of Sarcasm

Epistemic stance refers to a speaker's claims of certainty or doubt about a proposition. It is usually characterised through the use verb forms and modal verbs that reflect the degree of knowledge possessed by a speaker and their level of commitment to the truth or falsity of such knowledge. In the data, Tunde Odesola presents certain claims about the former president however as a strategy to evoke sarcasm about the public opinion of a possible cloning of former president Buhari, as presented in excerpt 4 below:

Excerpt 4: President Muhammadu Buhari is dead. He died since early last year. He's cloned. A certain body double and Sudanese Fulani prisoner, Jubril, is bestriding Aso Rock, the nation's seat of power in Buhari's stead. The rumour mill is busy. However, conspiracy and whispering, the two ancient companions of gossiping, are missing in the Buhari-is-dead rumour-mongering.

Excerpt 5: I know the dead Buhari. He is the creation of the aggressively greedy opposition bent on returning to power in 2019 through all means inglorious… Buhari has joined his ancestors, they insisted, quoting the time, the date and the circumstances of the death.

In excerpt 5 above, the author provides strong epistemic claims about the death of the president and his cloning into another double body in the person of a Jubril from Sudan. However, these claims are strategically deployed to register his harsh sarcasm about the incredibility of the cloning story. The real positioning of the author is revealed in the succeeding paragraph where he evaluates the story as a 'rumour' and as conspiracy theory. He also eventually reveals the sources of his purported strong and sarcastic epistemic claims through such formulations like, 'They said the real Buhari died a long time ago for the fake Buhari to germinate on the Rock of Aso' and arrogating the 'dead Buhari' as being the brain child of some mischievous and vicious imaginations in succeeding paragraphs of the article, where he also resorts to labelling and the use of metaphors to create vivid descriptions of the culprits.

Metaphors and Derogatory Labelling as Anti-Jibrilist Positioning

On the one hand, metaphors are figurative expressions of the semantic comparisons between two different notions. According to Grey (2008) metaphor is a tool of conceptual economy and discovery which provides a way of imposing or discovering structure within new situations. On the other hand, derogatory labels are expressions or names which reflect a

speaker's critical attitude towards the referent. Tunde Odesola employs metaphors and derogatory labels as pragmatic strategies to register his positioning regarding the story of a cloned Buhari as a Jubril of Sudan. The strategies are revealed in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 6: However, conspiracy and whispering, the two ancient companions of gossiping, are missing in the Buhari-is-dead rumour-mongering. These **rumour- mongers** don't beat silent gongs; they have modern mass communication gadgets. They don't whisper to the ears, conspiratorially; they roar on rooftops, defiantly. **They** belong to the political elite that have been feeding fat on the ignorance, illiteracy and vulnerability of the masses – long before Lord Frederick Lugard lowered the Union Jack in Nigeria on October 1, 1960. These mongers are bold and daring. Buhari has joined his ancestors, they insisted, quoting the time, the date and the circumstances of the death. Prominent among the rumormongers is a **pro-Biafra misfit leader**, whose name isn't worth dignifying with a mention. Another is **a former minister, a lawyer and backscratcher from the South-Wes**t, who has a penchant for speaking before thinking. Both are **self-seeking hustlers** who daily crave for media attention, which I'm not ready to oblige here.

Excerpt 7: While **the former is attired in a self-imposed, oversized pro-ethnic garment atop a pair of outsized shoes, the latter, a rabble-rouser, is just an opportunist on the trail of the whiff of money**. Going by his recent misguided messages online, **the so-called charlatan spiritual leader**, who spoke from a foreign land recently, is eminently unarmed for the great task which Igbo self-determinism entails. **This jester from the land of the rising sun and the hoaxer from the land of the setting sun** are only exploiting the self-inflicted woes President Muhammadu Buhari brought upon himself, his All-Progressives Congress, and the country, in general.

Excerpt 8: Buhari provided the **pseudo pro-Igbo activist**, the **Yoruba braggart** and their numerous co-travellers sufficient paint to write, "Rest in Peace, President Muhammadu Buhari: (1942-2016)," on a cheap coffin purchased in the nation's political arena, where commonsense is absent.

The author employs a range of pragmatic strategies in his rebuttal of the Buhari cloning story. He creates vivid pictures of certain individuals whom he identified as the peddlers of the story using derogatory labels and metaphors. The derogatory labels used by the author highlighted in bold font in the excerpts are: 'rumour-mongers', 'a pro-Biafra misfit leader', 'a former minister, a lawyer and backscratcher from the South-west who has a penchant for speaking before thinking', 'self-seeking hustlers','attired in a self-imposed, oversized pro-ethnic garment atop a pair of outsized shoes', 'rabble-rouser', 'an opportunist on the trail of the whiff of money', 'jester from the land of the rising sun' and 'the hoaxer from the land of the setting sun', 'pseudo pro-Igbo activist', and 'the Yoruba braggart' reveal the writer's tone of utter distaste and displeasure for the two individuals he described as the rumour mongers of the Buhari/Jubril cloning story.

In addition, the writer also employs metaphors, as revealed in the excerpts above, in creating a compelling refutation of the Buhari cloning story. Through the imageries of the ancient publicity channel of beating gongs and the mundane primordial act of gossiping and whispering to disseminate information and their comparison with the emergence of sophisticated mass media gadgets, the writer emphasises the force and frequency of the spread of the story through new media platforms.

Epistemic Stance and Evocation of (Dis)alignment

Speakers and writers alike sometimes display their knowledge of an object in a way as to position themselves in alignment or disalignment with an existing position on the same object. This can be dialogically achieved through various communicative means. We shall consider some excerpts below to illustrate this:

Excerpt 9: I know the dead Buhari. He is the creation of the aggressively greedy opposition bent on returning to power in 2019 through all means inglorious. They've since discovered that the bleating lion of Daura is crippled, after all. Now, they're closing in on the old beast with cudgels, spears and daggers as the feverish lion battles to rise up. They want him out of the villa: dead or alive, or both!

In the excerpt above, the writer displays strong epistemic confidence about his knowledge and opinions on the metaphoric 'dead Buhari'. He displays a pseudo-alignment with the trending opinion poll on the death of the President Buhari in 2017 after a serious illness which took him away from the country for months to get the necessary medical attention for his chronic condition. The insincerity of this alignment is immediately revealed by the writer's epistemic stance of accusing the opposition of being the creators of the 'dead Buhari' story. He employs pejorative terms such as 'greedy' and creates in the minds of readers vivid pictures of the over-ambition, ruthlessness, and viciousness with which the opposition party is determined to secure the presidency in place of the former president, Mohammadu Buhari.

The writer also utilises some epistemic resources as a strategy for registering his strong disalignment with the cloning story as revealed in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 10: **They** said the real Buhari died a long time ago for the fake Buhari to germinate on the Rock of Aso. No.

Excerpt 11: For me, the real Buhari is not dead. The real Buhari surfaced on the nation's political terrain on the last day of 1983 when he led a gang of military boys to overthrow the prodigal Shehu Shagari civilian administration. The real Buhari started the War against Indiscipline and brought back sanity to a corrupt nation, though some of his policies backfired, resulting in inflation and concomitant gnashing of teeth among the citizenry. The real Buhari was rigid and tough. He commanded respect and fear within the military and across the country. The real Buhari was the no-nonsense, low-profile Daura cattle owner, whose military pedigree Nigerians chose at the poll in 2015 over the corrupt, unimaginative, and small-minded Goodluck Jonathan administration…Buhari is not dead; he is only not real, and unfit to be President, like Atiku Abubakar.

Tunde Odesola associates the source of the death rumour of former president Buhari to some persons whom he refers to as 'they'. He refutes their claim boldly with a disaffirmation to positions him in disalignment with the rumour. He makes strong epistemic claims about his knowledge about the personality of the former president by first establishing his perspective and stance poise with the perspectivization marker, 'for me' as a foreshadow of the epistemics-laden expression, 'the real Buhari is not dead'. He continues to provide personal opinions using historical allusions (the military overthrow of 1983 in Nigeria, War against Indiscipline campaign in Nigeria) and political allusion (Buhari's victory in the 2015 election over the then incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan) to recount the past achievements of the former president and his integrity and personal values of whom he portrayed as, 'the no-nonsense, low-profile Daura cattle owner'. It is also noteworthy the fact that Odesola presents this information about Buhari in the past tense as a tactful way of evoking the admirable qualities of Buhari which secured him the mandate of the people in the 2015 polls and a strategic contrasting of those qualities with the disappointing realities that discoloured his administration. Odesola employs this style to attract the sympathy of the public for the former president and a subtle effort to shift the blame of Buhari's failures to the cabal hijack as revealed by Aisha Buhari and previously illustrated. He concludes his article with a bold epistemic assertion that Buhari is not dead.

Antithetical Evocations

Antithetical statements contain two contrasting ideas that are juxtaposed in parallel form (Wiktionary). Tunde Odesola, the writer of the data in this study employed the use of antithetical statements articulating his rebuttal claims about the cloned Buhari story as presented in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 12: Nigerians voted for security; they got blood on their streets.
They voted for prosperity, but poverty stalks the land, increasing suicide rate.
They voted for unity; they got clannishness.
They voted for justice; they got selective justice.
They voted for the uprooting of Boko Haram; Boko Haram flourished and gave birth to killer herdsmen.
They voted for compassion; they got cold-bloodedness with the President condoling with Rivers people over the fatal collapse of a seven-story building in Port Harcourt, seven days after the incident! But governance stood still immediately Yusuf, his son, had an okada accident in Abuja last December as top medical consultants speedily attended to him before he was flown to Germany for further treatment. ..

Excerpt 13: The prevarication in Buhari's popular line, **"I am for everybody. I'm for nobody**," cemented the insincerity and confusion of his government, as it let out a sign of weakness which political hounds exploited.

In excerpt 12 above, Odesola displays some epistemic awareness of the situation in Nigeria with respect to the failed expectations of the masses in their election of Muhammadu Buhari as their president between year 2015 and 2023. He adopts the perspective of the populace to construct seven antithetical statements that summarise the highlights of the failures of the Buhari administration including Buhari's trademark slogan, **"I am for everybody. I'm for nobody**,". These statements however are deliberately deployed to secure the trust and agreement of the readers with his stance and positioning on the Buhari cloning in such a way that the credibility of the writer's opinions is accepted. In essence, Odesola tactfully creates these antitheses to register on the minds of the readers a positioning of objectivity to achieve his goal of rebuttal of the cloning story.

Evaluative Stance and Berating

The writer of the article, 'Buhari: the real, the fake and the dead', Tunde Odesola also employs the evaluative stance to demonstrate his shock towards the section of the populace who believes the cloned Buhari story. An excerpt illustrating this stance is presented below:

Excerpt 14: It is, however, laughable and sad that some Nigerians would believe that Buhari would die in a London hospital, and would be flown to Saudi Arabia for burial, without the press knowing. And Aisha, her children and all extended family members would keep quiet? Nothing can be more stupid. One fellow even said that a minute silence was observed for the repose of Buhari's soul when African leaders met recently in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, even as there was an imaginary letter ostensibly from the Queen of England, condoling with Nigeria over the passing of Buhari. The pictures of Buhari writing with his left and right hands are no-brainers for any eight-year-old who can manipulate a simple camera.

Odesola describes the thought process that accommodates a cloned Buhari as 'laughable', 'sad' and 'stupid'. He berates some Nigerians for allowing themselves to believe such a ridiculous story as he also probes the possibility of the death of a nation's president without the knowledge of the press and more importantly, his immediate and extended family. His choices of words with reference to different claims ranging from some reports by 'one fellow' and the purported claim which Odesola refers to as 'an imaginary letter ostensibly from the Queen of England' etc. condoling the death of Buhari and the subsequent cloning as a Jubril of Sudan also reveals his aversion for the pro-Jubrilists. He also vehemently debunks the viral evidence of Buhari's pictures writing with his left and right hands as a mere manipulation of the digital representation.

Evaluative Stance and Justifying

The writer further takes an evaluative stance by describing the moral inadequacies demonstrated by Buhari as a justification for the masses' acceptance of the cloned Buhari story and opposition's a strong reason for the opposition to launch the attack against his administration. We shall consider an excerpt below:

Excerpt 15: But by being deceitful, ineffective, insincere, unfeeling, non-proactive and distant to the masses, Buhari provided the pseudo pro-Igbo activist, the Yoruba braggart and their numerous co-travellers sufficient paint to write, "Rest in Peace, President Muhammadu Buhari: (1942-2016)," on a cheap coffin purchased in the nation's political arena, where commonsense is absent.

Excerpt 16: Though a creation of the political elite, the masses believe in the existence of the fake Buhari because their hope for a better tomorrow through the real Buhari they voted for in March 2015 has been wickedly dashed.

The writer also employs the evaluative stance through his use of multiple synonyms to describe the unpopular attitude of president Buhari during his administration as being 'deceitful', 'ineffective', 'insincere', 'unfeeling'. 'non-proactive' and 'distant'. He explains that these attitudes of the former president provided the opportunity for the opposition to design their story of the former's death and cloning. He establishes the fact that the masses believe in the existence of a cloned Buhari because their hopes in the real Buhari whom they elected to power have been dashed.

Findings and Conclusion

From the forgoing, it is evident that the writers employed eight different pragmatic strategies in his rebuttal of the rumoured dead and cloned Buhari account. These strategies are: Biblical allusion, evaluative stance and positioning, epistemic stance and evocation of sarcasm, metaphors, and derogative labelling as anti-Jibrilist positioning, epistemic stance, and evocation of (dis)alignment, antithetical evocations, evaluative stance and berating, evaluative stance and justifying. The writer deployed the stances for positioning in alignment or disalignment with the existing claims favouring the death and subsequent cloning of former president Buhari; metaphors and derogatives were utilised by the writer in creating a compelling refutation of the cloned Buhari story and the writer's displeasure for the Jubril-Buhari claimants. The writer tactfully creates antithetical statements to register on the minds of the readers a positioning of his objectivity to achieve his goal of rebuttal of the cloning story. These strategies result in a pragmatic reconstruction of readers' views on the claims of a dead and cloned Buhari, thereby restoring some confidence in the Buhari led administration.

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