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P J D S

C O N T E N T S

HYPHENATED ADJECTIVES FOR THE CULTURE-SPECIFIC EXPRESSIONS*

S. Vasu
University of Madras, Chennai.

Introduction

Hyphenated adjectives are compound words made by combining two or more words with a hyphen or hyphens. For example, *long-distance* as in 'long-distance runner' is a hyphenated adjective. It is made by combining *long* (an adjective) and *distance* (a noun) with a hyphen(-). In the phrase 'long-distance runner'*,* the compound *long-distance* acts as an adjective, describing the noun *runner.* Similarly, more than two words can be linked together to make a hyphenated adjective. For instance, *salt-and-pepper* as in 'salt-and-pepper hair' is made with three words and two hyphens.

It should be noted here that this paper limits its focus to 'hyphenated adjective', which is one of the forms of compound words. Other forms include compound noun (*mother-in-law*), compound verb (*double-check*), and compound adverb (*matter-of-factly*). Further, the subtle difference between the terms *compound adjective* and *hyphenated adjective* has to be explained here. 'Compound adjective' is a broad term for any adjective made of two or more words, which may be linked with hyphen(s) or may be not. On the other hand, 'hyphenated adjective' (or hyphenated compound adjective) must contain a hyphen to be called so. For instance, both *heart warming* and *heart-warming* are compound adjectives; nevertheless, only the latter can be called hyphenated adjective. This distinction is significant, because initially compound adjective has a hyphen as people are not familiar with the juxtaposition of two different words. Then, familiarity with the newly-minted compound breeds contempt for hyphen – it is dropped.

This paper prefers *hyphenated adjective*, as it aims to enable its readers to coin hyphenated compound adjectives. These adjectives describe specific qualities of nouns and evoke vivid images of the same; '*snow-covered mountain*', for instance. Consequently, studying them can help one mint new hyphenated adjectives, and through them capture some of the culture-specific expressions, particularly in translating texts into English and in making special bilingual dictionaries like collocations dictionary.

Encountering the Culture-specific

When working as one of the translators to English in மொழியின் தற்காலத் தமிழ்ச் சொற்சேர்க்கை அகராதி (தமிழ்–ஆங்கிலம்) [*Mozhi's Contemporary Tamil Collocations Dictionary (Tamil–English)*] (2016), I encountered the Tamil expression – பூப்போன்ற இட்லி (idli that is as soft as a flower) – under the entry இட்லி [idli]. Translating the expression into English posed a few challenges. First, should the word 'idli' be italicized or not? The Chief Editor of *Contemporary Tamil Collocations Dictionary* (CTCD), Dr. P. R. Subramanian, said that if a Tamil word is available in the 9th edition of *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD) (2015), then that word need not be italicized in CTCD. Surprisingly, OALD lists a number of food items from Indian cuisine(s): 'bhaji,' 'biryani,' 'chapatti,' 'dosa,' 'idli,' 'samosa,' and so on. The solution to the first challenge, hence, was that 'idli' should not be italicized in CTCD.

Secondly, the expression, பூப்போன்ற இட்லி, can be translated as 'idli that is as soft as a flower'. This descriptive translation may work well in a general dictionary, and not in a special dictionary like CTCD, which compiles the habitual combinations of Tamil words and their nearest English equivalents. Thirdly, the phrase 'flower-like idli' was coined. OALD defines the suffix *-like* as 'combining form (in adjectives) similar to; typical of: childlike, shell-like'. However, the hyphenated adjective in 'flower-like idli' is ambiguous, because the phrase can suggest the following: 'idli that smells as sweet as a flower', 'idli that looks like a flower', and 'idli that is as soft as a flower'. The Tamil expression in question refers specifically to the last meaning. Fourthly, 'flower-soft idli' was minted, but there was a doubt whether the coinage was acceptable. It might be termed Un-English. Even OALD did not come to the rescue. It does not specify whether the word *soft* can be used as a suffix, *-soft*, and the same be employed in a compound adjective. Finally, the doubt was dispelled when I came across the expression "feather-soft kiss" in the (in)famous novel *Fifty Shades Darker* by the English author E L James. Thus, the culture-specific Tamil expression, பூப்போன்ற இட்லி, was translated into English as 'flower-soft idli' in CTCD.

After the above said encounter, I realized the need to collect and study in detail the hyphenated adjectives in English. Doing so would result in understanding the logic behind how hyphenated adjectives function, how they can be coined, and how they can be used to capture some of the culture-specific expressions. For this purpose, data has been collected from dictionaries, fictions and translated works in English, newspapers and commercials.

Studying Hyphenated Adjectives

Exploring hyphenated adjectives shall reveal how they work. For instance, some hyphenated adjectives are used only before nouns. OALD states this restricted use:

- long-term *adj.* [usually before noun]: a long-term investment
- round-the-clock *adj.* [only before noun]: round-the-clock nursing care

So, using *round-the-clock* after verb is not acceptable: *Nursing care is round-the-clock. Nevertheless, certain hyphenated adjectives can be used both before noun ('She is a *good-looking woman*') and after verb ('She *is good-looking*'). Hence, before using a hyphenated adjective, one had better look it up in a dictionary.

Significantly, modifiers that come before noun are hyphenated ('She is a *well-known poet*'), whereas modifiers that come after verb are not hyphenated (The poet *is well known*). In '…a *well-known poet*', the noun 'poet' is qualified by the compound adjective 'well-known'. By contrast, in 'The poet *is well known*', the adverb 'well' does not qualify the noun 'poet' but the verb 'known'. Similarly,

- 'It is a well-written answer', but 'The answer is well written'.
- 'The worn-out shoes', but 'The shoes have worn out'.
- 'He is a five-year-old boy', but 'The boy is five years old'.

Another feature is that plurals are hardly used in hyphenated adjectives. One cannot write *'**leaves**-strewn path' or *'ten-**years**-old girl'. They should be written as '**leaf**-strewn path' and 'ten-**year**-old girl' respectively, both of which imply the plural sense. Plurals, however, have to be used in certain contexts to avoid confusion. For example, to refer to a tradition which spans many centuries, one should use 'the **centuries**-long tradition', because writing it without the plural form ('the **century**-long tradition') conveys a different meaning: a tradition which spans a century. Similarly, there is a difference between 'the year-old wine' and 'the years-old wine'.

Usually, modifiers that contain an adverb ending in *-ly* followed by a particle are not hyphenated. In 'a smartly dressed kid', there is no hyphen

between the adverb 'smartly' and the particle 'dressed'. However, not everyone strictly follows this rule; thus, we find a hyphen in 'a fully-fledged chick'.

Not just two words but a series of words can also be joined with hyphens, and be used as hyphenated adjectives. In 'a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity', four words are joined together with hyphens. Similarly, in 'She…gave a serves-you-right look' (Ian McEwan's *Atonement*), the hyphenated adjective 'serves-you-right' is coined from the predicate of the expression: 'It serves you right.' The method of stringing together many words, therefore, encourages one to be creative. And creative coinages can be useful in translating the not-easily-translatable words or expressions into English.

Classifying Hyphenated Adjectives

There are numerous types of hyphenated adjectives and classifying them can help understand in great detail how they really work. Consequently, one shall imitate the examples and gain confidence in coining new compound adjectives. Here are some notable types:

1. Noun + Past participle   :   *rat-infested* storehouse
2. Noun + Present participle   :   *back-breaking* job
3. Noun + Adjective   :   *knee-deep* water
4. Adjective + Noun   :   *early-morning* walk
5. Adjective + Past participle   :   *short-lived* ecstasy
6. Adverb + Past participle   :   *hard-earned* money
7. Preposition/Adverb + Noun   :   *in-house* editor
8. Past participle + Adv./Prep.   :   *unlooked-for* trouble

Searching for Hyphenated Adjectives

Not all available hyphenated adjectives can be easily looked up in print dictionaries. Some hyphenated adjectives occur as separate entries (headwords), some as sub-entries, and some no entries at all. This is due to their prominence, derivative status, and idiosyncrasy. Of course, there are variations regarding the entry status across dictionaries.

The ones that enjoy the privilege of being headwords are well established and can often be seen in everyday or specific use. Here are a few that have separate entries in OALD: 'time-consuming', 'half-hearted', 'half-timbered', 'clear-cut', 'do-or-die' and such. Of these, all except 'half-timbered' are in general use. 'Half-timbered' is used in a specific context: "(of a building) having walls that are made from a wooden frame filled with brick, stone, etc."

Next, there are those which may be well established, but are listed as examples or sub-entries because of their derivative status. 'Class-ridden' as in

'class-ridden society', for instance, does not have a separate entry, because it is a derived one. And it can be found under the headword 'ridden' (adj.), which OALD says:

- (usually in compounds) full of a particular unpleasant thing: a disease-ridden slum

However, there are compounds which are derived ones, yet have separate entries. For example, 'grief-stricken', 'horror-stricken' and 'panic-stricken'. These are derived from the adjective 'stricken', meaning (in compounds) seriously affected by the thing mentioned.

Then, there are those which rarely find entries in dictionaries. This is because they are idiosyncratic; they are the unique coinages of certain writers. 'Thought-charged', for instance, is not found in dictionaries, because it comes from the expression "thought-charged silence" in the novel *Petals of Blood* by the Kenyan author Ngũgĩwa Thiong'o. This peculiar adjective – "thought-charged" – has been coined in comparison with the pattern: Noun + Past participle. 'Thought' is a noun and 'charged' is the past participle of the verb 'charge' (= to be filled with an emotion). If 'thought-charged' is picked up and used by many, it may enter dictionaries. This is possible because Shakespearean expressions like 'star-crossed' and 'green-eyed' have entered dictionaries a very long time ago. The former is from "star-crossed lovers" (*Romeo and Juliet*) and the latter is from "the green-eyed monster" (*Othello*).

Furthermore, searching for hyphenated adjectives should not be stopped with general dictionaries. Special lexicons like thesaurus and collocations dictionary have to be browsed through. In *Oxford Paperback Thesaurus* (OPT), numerous hyphenated adjectives can be found as synonyms and antonyms to particular entries. Hyphenated adjectives also come as separate entries. If one looks up the word 'irritable' in OPT, one can find, among other synonyms, the following compound adjectives: 'bad-tempered', 'short-tempered', 'ill-tempered', and 'ill-humoured'. The adjective 'bad-tempered' itself has a separate entry.

Consulting collocations dictionary is equally important as it offers natural combinations of words in a language. It also provides hyphenated adjectives that go naturally with certain words. For instance, consulting *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* and *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* for the word 'story' shall yield many hyphenated adjectives that collocate with it: 'real-life', 'feel-good', 'heart-rending', 'well-known', 'cock-and-bull', 'coming-of-age', 'rags-to-riches' and so on.

Capturing the Culture-specific

With the understanding of hyphenated adjectives – how they work, how they are classified, how they can be looked up in dictionaries – one can attempt to coin new hyphenated adjectives, or can identify the existing ones, specifically to capture the culture-specific expressions. The attempt to translate the Tamil expression – பூப்போன்ற இட்லி (flower-soft idli) – has already been related to in the beginning of this paper. Apart from this, there are others.

To translate some Tamil expressions, the already-existing hyphenated adjectives can be identified and used. For instance:

- பச்சை வாழைப்பழம் (a banana whose skin is green) can be translated as 'green-skinned banana' in parallel with 'green-skinned orange'.

Searching the internet reveals that the expression, 'green-skinned banana', has been in use. Similarly, the phrase கணக்கில் வராத பணம் (the money that is not accounted for) can be translated as 'unaccounted-for money' in comparison with the adjective 'unheard-of'. If one browses through the newspaper articles on income tax raids, one can find 'unaccounted-for money' being used.

So identifying the existing hyphenated adjectives and relating them with the cultural expressions play a vital role in translation. Here are some such English–Tamil equivalents:

- blood-curdling (இரத்தத்தை உறையவைக்கும்)
- eye-catching (கண்ணைக் கவரும்)
- gun-toting (துப்பாக்கி ஏந்திய)
- gut-wrenching (குடலைப் புடுங்குகிற)
- heart-rending (மனதை உருக்கும்)

In translating some of the Tamil expressions in *Contemporary Tamil Collocations Dictionary* (CTCD), similar approach – using the available hyphenated adjectives – is used. The following are some of the examples: வாட்டசாட்டமான உடம்பு (well-built body), நிறைமாதக் கர்ப்பம் (full-term pregnancy), ஆளுயரச் சிலை (life-size statue), ஓலைச் சுவடி (palm-leaf manuscript), செல்லரித்த சுவடிகள் (termite-eaten manuscripts), நூலிழை வித்தியாசம் (hair-thin difference), அடிமட்ட விலை (rock-bottom price) and so forth.

Then, for certain Tamil expressions, new hyphenated adjectives have to be minted. How can ஆறின காப்பி (the coffee that has gone cold) be translated succinctly into English?

- The descriptive translation – the coffee that has gone cold – will do in some contexts. For instance, the statement – எனக்கு

ஆறின காப்பி வேண்டாம் – can be translated as: I don't want the coffee that has gone cold.

- If the same Tamil sentence appears in a story in which the character is upset about the state of the coffee and storms out angrily, then the descriptive translation may not be helpful to capture the mood. Of course, including an exclamation mark at the end of the sentence – I don't want the coffee that has gone cold! – will do some justice.
- Nevertheless, let us try to make the descriptive translation a brief one. ஆறின காப்பி cannot be translated as 'cold coffee', because it means 'iced coffee', a coffee that is prepared with crushed ice-cubes.
- Maybe, we can turn to the verb *cool*, and find the phrasal verb *cool off*, meaning 'to become cool or cooler'. So we can say, 'I don't want the coffee that has cooled off!' From it, the hyphenated adjective 'cooled-off' can be coined.
- The result: 'I don't want the cooled-off coffee!' Thus, CTCD offers the translation 'cooled-off coffee' for ஆறின காப்பி.

Coining Hyphenated Adjectives

There are two important steps to dispel one's inhibition and coin hyphenated adjectives. The first step: to imitate. For instance, one shall imitate the available expression 'class-ridden society' and try to apply it. In the Indian context, one can describe society as 'caste-ridden society'.

Further, to boost one's confidence, look up the word 'ridden' in a dictionary and familiarize oneself with its usage. *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* says: 'ridden' is a suffix, meaning 'full of something unpleasant'. The examples given are: 'superstition-ridden', and 'guilt-ridden'. With these, one shall infer the following:

- All the examples have the pattern: Noun + ridden
- Specifically: Noun + Suffix
- More specifically: Noun + Past participle

This understanding shall help one to handle available suffixes with ease. Let us take the suffix or past participle *bound*. OALD defines it as: 'travelling, or ready to travel, in a particular direction/place'. E.g. Paris-bound plane. With this, one can confidently coin: Chennai-bound bus, Delhi-bound train, Ponneri-bound auto.

The second step to dispel one's inhibition and coin hyphenated adjectives is: to describe. Before one starts coining hyphenated adjectives, one shall describe the features to be captured in the coinage. Let us mint:

- Description: 'a body that is riddled with bullets'
- The noun 'body' has to be qualified. So keep it aside.
- Remaining: 'that is riddled with bullets'. Eliminate function words (that, is, with)
- Keep the essential words: 'riddled', 'bullets'
- Eliminate '-s' from 'bullets' as plurals are hardly used in hyphenated adjectives
- Remaining: 'riddled', 'bullet'. Preferred pattern: Noun + Past participle
- So, bullet + riddled. Insert a hyphen between them. Coinage: bullet-riddled
- Result: 'a bullet-riddled body'

Similarly, one can coin the hyphenated adjective 'comma-laden' from the description: 'a sentence that is laden with commas'. 'Tear-stained' can be minted from 'a face that is stained with tears'. Besides, one should remember that different descriptions demand different patterns of hyphenated adjectives. Examples:

1. Description: 'an app that teaches French'
   Coinage: French-teaching; Pattern: Noun + Present participle
   Process: French + teach + ing
   Result: 'a French-teaching app'
2. Description: 'a person of sharp wit'
   Coinage: sharp-witted; Pattern: Adjective + Past participle
   Process: sharp + wit + ted
   Result: 'a sharp-witted person'
3. Description: 'the lakes that have dried up'
   Coinage: dried-up; Pattern: Past participle + Adv. /Pre.
   Process: dried + up
   Result: 'the dried-up lakes'

In sum, the two steps – to imitate, to describe – can enable one to coin hyphenated adjectives with confidence. The same steps can be used as a method in language teaching. Teachers shall provide 'descriptions', from which students shall be encouraged to mint hyphenated adjectives.

It should be noted here that certain descriptions go beyond the patterns discussed – under the section "Classifying hyphenated adjectives" – in this paper. Nevertheless, the patterns discussed shall initially help one to make an attempt to coin hyphenated adjectives. By and by one shall identify new patterns, know the knack of creating compounds, and develop an instinct for hyphenated adjectives.

Practising Hyphenated Adjectives

I teach Applied Linguistics to the students of MA at the Department of English, University of Madras. To encourage them to mint compound words, I give them some descriptions, from which they have to come up with hyphenated adjectives. Before I ask them to do the exercise, I teach them what hyphenated adjectives are and how they function. The following is one such exercise, and the readers can try to coin hyphenated adjectives from the given descriptions:

1. a monster who is obsessed with money
2. the door that faces south
3. the changes that are as quick as lightning
4. her patience is as vast as the sea
5. a statue that is 133 feet tall
6. the sum we have agreed upon
7. a rule that we have never heard of
8. a translator who has won so many awards
9. a group that is often ignored
10. a difference that is as thin as a beam of laser

The answers to the above are given at the end of this paper. Once my students finish the exercise, I review their answers and give my feedback. Further, I point out that some of the hyphenated adjectives they have coined are actually English equivalents to Tamil expressions (see the end of this paper). I do not reveal this before the exercise (of course, some find out), because the class is composed of students from different language backgrounds (Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Hindi, Saurashtra, Urdu, French...). The method – coining hyphenated adjectives from descriptions – works beyond language boundaries. Moreover, these students can use hyphenated adjectives as one of the translating tools to capture the general and culture-specific expressions in their respective mother tongues.

Conclusion

Since hyphenated adjectives describe specific qualities and evoke vivid images, they help capture culture-specific phrases, concepts, collocations and so on. An understanding of how these adjectives work can enable one to come up with context-demanding coinages. The ability to coin these adjectives shall be primarily useful in two instances: in conveying complex thoughts lucidly in one's writing, and in translating everyday and unique expressions into English. As one of the translating tools, hyphenated adjectives, therefore, can also play a key role in the making of special bilingual dictionaries like collocations dictionary and thesaurus.

Besides, hyphenated adjectives help to make thoughts brief and crisp: 'an alcohol-fuelled rage' (குடி வெறி), for instance. By employing hyphenated adjectives, translators can avoid lengthy descriptions – 'a rage that is fuelled by the consumption of alcohol' – unless the story/situation demands them. Moreover, the culture-specific expressions demand footnotes or glossary, but the use of hyphenated adjectives for the not-easily-translatable phrases can help reduce the number of footnotes/glosses. Therefore, being aware of how hyphenated adjectives function shall enable one to mint creative coinages, and bridge lexical gaps between languages.

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Answers to the exercise under "Practising hyphenated adjectives":

1. a money-obsessed monster   (பணப் பேய்)
2. the south-facing door   (தெற்குபார்த்த கதவு)
3. the lightning-quick changes   (மின்னல்வேக மாற்றங்கள்)
4. her sea-vast patience   (கடலளவு பொறுமை)
5. a 133-foot-tall statue   (133 அடி உயர சிலை)
6. the agreed-upon sum   (பேசின பணம்)
7. an unheard-of rule   (கேள்விப்படாத விதி)
8. an award-winning translator
9. an often-ignored group
10. a laser-thin difference

TOLKAPPIYAR'S CONCEPTUALISATION OF GRAMMAR AND ITS APPLICABILITY FOR NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING

L. Ramamoorthy
Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

Introduction

Each innovation in technology has brought a paradigm shift in the society. Computer is one such technology which has brought in many changes in the world order. The information revolution of this era, is the consequence of digital technology and computers. Computers are indispensible technology and artificial intelligence i.e., making computers to think like human being is the challenging task of this era. Since the machine understands the binary codes, human-machine interaction is possible when certain programs are written in computational formulism.

Natural Language Processing (NLP) is one task where computer are used to process/understand human language and to get output in the required language. For making computers to understand and react to any query, in general two methods are followed. They are statistical method and rule based method. The statistical and neural network methods are used by the technical people with some training data for imparting human knowledge. The other method is to frame linguistic rules from data/corpus to arrive at generalisation in language with certain exceptions.

Since language is a system, one can generate infinite sentences through finite rules. In computational methods for natural language processing it is the other way round where the finite potentials are created to arrive at possible rules. For human processing or machine processing of natural language, grammar is very essential. The grammars written for natural language has some specific objectives like for preserving religious texts from change as in the case of Sanskrit or preserve the aesthetic literary texts and their interpretations as in Tamil. However, the underlying logic of grammar can be deduced for making computer formalisms. An attempt is made in this article to understand the natural language processing and the computational logic to be given for computer from Tolkappiyam.

L. Ramamoorthy, e-mail: ramamoorthyciil@gmail.com

Natural Language Processing (NLP)

Natural Language Processing (NLP) is the computerized approach to analyzing text that is based on both a set of theories and a set of technologies. 'Natural Language Processing' is a theoretically motivated range of computational techniques for analyzing and representing naturally occurring texts at one or more levels of linguistic analysis for the purpose of achieving human-like language processing for a range of tasks or applications (Liddy: 1998). A full NLP System would be able to:
1. Paraphrase an input text
2. Translate the text into another language
3. Answer questions about the contents of the text
4. Draw inferences from the text

Language Technology

Language technology comprises computational methods, computer programs and electronic devices that are specialized for analyzing, producing or modifying texts and speech. These systems must be based on some knowledge of human language. The following are some of the areas of language technology:
1. Speech recognition (spoken language is recognized and transformed into text as in dictation systems);
2. Speech synthesis (utterances in spoken language are produced from text (text-to-speech systems) or from internal representations of words or sentences (concept-to-speech systems);
3. Text categorization (this technology assigns texts to categories);
4. Text summarization (the most relevant portions of a text are extracted as a summary);
5. Text indexing (as a precondition for document retrieval, texts are stored in an indexed database. Usually a text is indexed for all word forms or – after lemmatization –for all lemmas. Sometimes indexing is combined with categorization and summarization);
6. Information extraction (relevant information pieces of information are discovered and marked for extraction. The extracted pieces can be the topic, named entities such as company, place or person names, simple relations such as prices, destinations, functions etc.);
7. Machine translation (One of the original aims of Language Technology has always been fully automatic translation between human languages).

Since natural language is used by the computer as the subject of analysis, the system has to be trained with rules of the language and

corpus. The rules for language are normally described by the grammar of that language. But, the written grammars have specific functions like preserving the purity of a text, teaching a language, composing poems etc., Hence, the available grammars may not be helpful for making computers to understand the grammar of the language. But, Tolkappiyam, the earliest extant grammar available for Tamil has surprisingly described the language and formulated rules which are very much helpful for natural language processing.

Tolkappiyam

Tolkappiyam not only describes the structure of language, but also, maps it with the landscape, flora and fauna along with the human emotions in the context of speech and composition. It is a holistic grammar that deals with articulation of sounds to composition of poetry in a systematic and schematic way. The corpus for Tolkappiyam was taken from the usages and literature. This grammar is user-friendly and simple in the ordering of topics with its brevity.

Tamil grammatical tradition is self-contained in its treatment of Tamil and ignored Sanskritic and Prakritic elements in the language. Tolkappiyam seems to be an attempt to provide a unified description to both verbal and non-verbal human behaviour. Balasubramanian (2001) observed the reason for Tolkappiyar to include theory of literature and behaviour under the rubrics of grammar. The nature of the ancient Tamil poetry, which formed the basis for Tolkappiyam, involving speech and related activities might have prompted the Tamil theoreticians to include a theory of poetry and thereby aspects of culture within grammar. Annamalai (2000:2) also observes, 'Tolkappiyam codified the language in which the orally composed and transmitted literature, called Sangam literature, came to be written'. The process of codification by Tolkappiyar resulted in a grammar of Tamil, that surpassed the constraint of time in its standard.

Tolkappiyam has three components. They are: (i) *eluttatikaram* (phonological structure of Tamil); (ii) *collatikaram* (morphological and syntactic structure of Tamil); and (iii) *poruḷ atikaram* (literary content, form and rhetoric aspects of literary texts in Tamil). There are 1600 sutras as a whole out of which *eluttatikaram* consists of 483 sutras, *collatikaram* 463 and *poruḷatikaram* 654.

Tolkappiyars Concept of Grammar

Tolkappiyars concept of grammar can be understood if one observes the text as a whole. The arrangement of sutras and the logical connection between

each sutra are helpful to arrive at the conceptualization. Tolkappiyar in majority of the cases, presents generalized statement of a particular concept in beginning, and then moves on further to its specificity and speciality.

Tolkappiyar mentioned several concepts in all the chapters viz. *e l u t t u* , *c o l* and *p o r u l* . The significance of presenting the particular concept in different chapters may also help to arrive at the overall conceptualization of grammar.

In order to understand Tolkappiyam, the interpretation of commentators is very essential. But, the commentator with their other language scholarship mainly Sanskrit, interpreted Tolkappiyam in the light of their scholarship. They overshadowed the actual conceptualization and curtailed further possible interpretations. Many renowned scholars from linguistics also interpreted the text with modern linguistic principles for better understanding of Tolkappiyam. Any theory or grammar of a language should take both verbal and nonverbal behaviours of the language (Pike, 1967: 26). Tolkappiyam discusses both verbal and nonverbal behaviours of Tamil.

The data for Tolkappiyam is taken from the usage and literature and hence, we can find rules on the following three aspects viz.,

      a.   language in speech form
      b.   language in written form, and
      c.   language used in composition of poetry.

The power of written language makes scholars to forget the potentiality of spoken language. In the case of Tolkappiyam also scholars have given interpretation or explanation by taking language in the written form. But, Tolkappiyar has given equal importance to spoken form of the language as well. The chapter on *p i r a p p i y a l*, in *e l u t u*, *v i l i m a r a p u* in *c o l* and *k u : r r u* in *p o r u l* are evidences to cite as examples for spoken language. Further the types of *e c c a m* in *e c c a v i y a l* also support the importance of language in spoken form and context in arriving at the meaning. This can be further strengthened from several sutras in Tolkappiyam (given in the later sections).

Grammars are either sentence based or word based. In the chapter on collatikaram *c o l* means 'word' and it gives the impression that Tolkappiyam is a word based grammar. Balasubramanian (2003: 71) states that Tolkappiyar has not stated anywhere something like sentence, but states such and such constituents or sentence will be rewritten by such and such constituents. There is also no term which can be equalled with sentence. But, Balasubramanian cited many points to support Tolkappiyar's grammar as a sentence based grammar.

Positive Evidence for Sentence Orientation of Tolkappiyam

1. Of the nine chapters of the second part col-l-atika:ram four (1,2,3 and 9) are concerned fully with sentence structures and other syntagmatic relations.
2. In other chapters also, except in the fourth chapter where vocative formation is explained, syntactic factors dominate the categorization and classification of words.
3. The concord relation between the subject noun and the predicate verb is given importance and becomes the basis of categorization and classification of words.
4. Case forms and case relations are given the place of prominence and are used to describe sentence structure. The chapters 2 and 3 deal with surface cases, their meaning, their overlapping, co-occurrence relations and deep semantic case like notions. Sentences are described as a concatenation of different case phrases in relation to the verb mainly (cf. Balasubramaniyan, 1978 and article 5 in this collection).
5. In the first part, *eḻuttatikaram* dealing with phonology, only external *sandhi* is dealt with and it is divided into casal and non-casal on the basis of the syntactic relation holding between the juxtaposed words.

Tolkappiyam: Not a Word Oriented Grammar

1. While the person, number, gender suffixes of the finite verbs which mark the concord relation between nouns and verbs are explained, tense markers are not explained. This is inspite of the fact that Tolkappiyam refers to tense as the defining feature of verb and speaks about three tenses.
2. The morphological structure of finite and non-finite forms of verbs are not explained. The non-finite forms are merely listed as patterns in the 'do' verb form (*ceytu, ceyyuḷ , ceypu, ceytena* etc.).
3. Derivational morphology is completely left out from the treatment of grammar. Even nouns derived from demonstrative and other bases are merely listed as belonging to various classes without explaining their transparency.
4. In phonology internal *sandhi* is completely ignored except when case suffixes are added to nouns. Internal *sandhi* of the case alone is treated, as *sandhi* relation between two words is classified either as casal or non-casal which is expressed with or without case markers.

It is clear from the above points that Tolkappiyam is not the grammar based on words. Controversial Sutra 112

Vinaiye : ceyvatu ceyapp   ttu porul-e:
Nilane: kaLlan karuvi y-enra:
Innatar k-itu-paya n-a:ka v-ennum
Anna marapi n-irantotun tokaii
A:y-et i-enpa tolin-muta nilaiye:

(*Learne*d men) say that there are eight things that should precede an action:- verb, doer, object of a verb, place, time, instrument, the recipient and the purpose of doing.

The conceptualization of Tolkappiyam can be explained through the above sutra 112 of col. Balasubramaniyan states that, this sutra constitutes the quintessence of Tolkappiyar's concept of sentence structure and his theory of grammar. All scholars starting from commentators and linguists discussed about the inclusion of verb among the eight tolil-mutal-nilai as problematic. They have given some explanation taking sentence as the basis unit even though Tolkappiyar has not stated anywhere.

From the above discussions, it is also clear that basic unit of Tolkappiyam is neither word nor sentence. The concept of sentence is again the influence of written version of language.

Utterance as the base

From the spoken dimension of language and also several sutras for the interpretation of meaning in context, it can be substantiated that basic unit of Tolkappiyar is 'utterance'. Utterance is higher level of unit than sentence and it includes pragmatics, entailment and gives clue to the interpretation meaning in the context. The sutras 13, 14, 15, 17, 35, 55, 60, 97, 101, 153, 389, 390, 439, 440 and 442 clearly show the role of context in the derivation of meaning.

The entailment, implication and presupposition are the defining characteristic features of utterance and that can be understood from the sutras 31, 32 and 60.

The use of one tense instead of other tense is also sanctioned in Tolkappiyam with extra-linguistic context in the sutras 241, 242 and 246. All these sutras substantiate the point that the unit of analysis for Tolkappiyar is the utterance.

Parts of Speech

Though utterance is the basic concept of Tolkappiyam, the core grammar can be understood from the organization of the chapter on col. *Collatika:ram* consists of 9 chapters:- *KiLavi-y-a:kkam, ve:rrumai-y-iyal,* ve:rrumai-mayaṅkiyal*, vili-marapu, peyar-iyal, vinai-y-iyal, ịtai-y-iyal, uri-y-iyal* and

e c c a - v - i y a l . Of those the first four deal with the formation of sentences: the first, with the concord of the subject and the predicate; the second, with the meanings of all case except the vocative; the third, mostly with contamination; and the fourth, with the use of the vocative case. The first five su:tras in *Peyariyal* deal with the definition of col and its classification, and the remaining su:tras with peyar or noun; *V i n̠ a i y i y a l   I t̠ a i y i y a l* and *Uriyiyal* respectively deal with *v i n̠ a i* or verbs, *i t̠ a i - c - c o l* or suffixes and particles and *u r i - c - c o l* or roots; and the last deals with miscellaneous topics:- native words, borrowed words, compounds etc.,

From the above points in *collatika:ram*, it is understood that the basic categories of grammar are parts of speech. Though Tolkappiyar classified parts of speech into two major division like noun and verb, several subcategories are given under them. Tolkappiyanar divides *ítaiccol* into seven sub-classes. They are: 1. the sandhi or flexional increments (çariyais');
2. the verbal terminations which occur with tense markers;
3. the case markers;
4. the expletive particles;
5. the euphonic particles;
6. the suggestive particles; and
7. the particles of comparison.

In the chapter on *Uriyiyal* Tolkappiyanar specifically states that there is no necessity to explain the words easily known (common words) and that only the difficult and obscure words form the subject - matter of the chapter. Thus it is obvious that the chapter on *uriccol* is not exhaustive but it contains only a select 'hard words' which were not easily understood at the time Tolkappiyanar.

Tolkappiyar's Concept for Application of NLP

The knowledge about phonetics and phonology are very important as far as speech technology namely speech synthesis and speech recognition are concerned. This level deals with the interpretation of speech sounds within and across words. There are, in fact, three types of rules used in phonological analysis: 1. phonetic rules-for sounds within words; 2. phonemic rules-for variations of pronunciation when words are spoken together, and; 3. prosodic rules - for fluctuation in stress and intonation across a sentence. In an NLP system that accepts spoken input, the sound waves are analyzed and encoded into a digitized signal for interpretation by various rules or by comparison to the particular language model being utilized. Tolkappiyam clearly gives the production of sounds and the occurrence of letters and their clusters in a neat pattern.

Rangan (2012) attempted to give linguistic formulism to the Tolkappiyar's chapter on eluttu. He has given the following generalization which will be helpful for developing speech recognition and synthesis and also word processor which includes spell checker, sandhi checker and grammar checker.

1. A list of vowels and consonants that occur in the final position of the preceding word;
2. A list of vowels and consonants that occur in the initial position of the following word;
3. Casal/non-casal relationship between the preceding word and the following word;
4. The grammatical information (whether a word is a noun/verb/any other category);
5. Semantic information of a word for the operation of rules, i.e. the rule operates only when the word in question is specified <+tree>, <+meas>, etc.;
6. Discourse information such as poetry, usage, etc.;
7. Specific lexical items are given for the operation of rules.

The chapter on *eluttu*, has rules operating on the basis of phonological information, grammatical information, syntactic and semantic information. For developing any word processor for Tamil all these rules have to be given. The conceptualisation of *eluttu* in terms of linguistic rules will definitely a major paradigms shift as far as the computer application is concerned.

The other Language Technology areas like machine translation, text summarization etc., needs information about parts of speech, inflectional, derivational, markers etc., As mentioned before the second chapter of Tolkappiyam deals with morphology, morpho syntax, word order and concord between verb and noun. At lexical level, humans, as well as NLP systems, interpret the meaning of individual words. Several types of processing contribute to word-level understanding – the first of these being assignment of a single part-of-speech tag to each word. In this processing, words that can function as more than one part-of-speech are assigned the most probable part-of speech tag based on the context in which they occur. The parts of speech as obtained from Tolkappiyam are as follows:

1. Noun   Rational : Masculine, Feminine and Epicene
                                  Non-rational : Singular, Plural
                                  Verbal noun,
                                  Participal noun
                                  Adjectival noun

	Kinship noun	
	Part whole noun	
2. Verb	Finite verb	
	Appellative verb	
	Non-finite verb	
	Optative verb	Ceyyum, Ceyyiya etc.,
3. Pronoun	Demonstrative	
	Interrogative	
	Inclusive	
	Indefinite	*Pala, cila*
4. Particles	expletive particles	
	euphonic particles	
	suggestive particles	
	particles of comparison	
5. Participles	Relative participles	
	Verbal participles	
	Conditional participles	
6. Nominal modifier	Adjective	
7. Verbal modifier	Adverb	
8. Reduplicative		

Normally, for developing any model for NLP application, lexicon with meaning, suffixes are given. Tolkappiyar deals with lexicon in a separate chapter but has given only rare usages and their meaning. The suffixes given are mostly morpho-syntactically significant ones. The plural suffix, case markers and PNG markers are examples for this.

Tolkappiyanar discusses the functional syncretism of cases in 've:<u>rr</u>umai-mayaṅkiyal'. These functional syncretism of cases can be divided into functional syncretism of case meanings and functional syncretism of case markers. Though Tolkappiyanar does not make such a classification, it is evident from his discussions on the subject that he treats them in different groups (Israel : 1973).

The seventh case called -*kan* denotes place and time. This is not only functions as case marker but also a lexicon. Tolkappiyar in the sutras 81 and 82 gives a list of post positions which expresses seventh case. In modern grammar for this seventh case and other cases many post positions are used in the place of case markers. They are all considered under a tag called nouns of specio-temporal. They functions as a kind of noun with lesser function. The idea of post position is prevalent in Tolkappiyam.

The order of case markers as (among second and seventh cases) second is used for word denoting whole and seventh for part, among sixth and second,

sixth case is used for whole and two in part (82-83). Tolkappiyar also talk about case elision. The conceptualisation of case and its relation with verb, post positions in the place of case by Tolkappiyar will be more or less equivalent to the computational rules.

Ambiguity and case syncretism are the major hurdles for making computers to process natural language. Tolkappiyam addresses this structural ambiguity and the meanings are also discussed. The sutras 142, 52, 53, 54 and 95 discussed about resolution of ambiguity.

Lexical collocation, polysemy, homonymy and their meanings in the syntactic context are explained in Tolkappiyam which will be helpful for NLP analysis.

Syntactic level focuses on analyzing the words in a sentence so as to uncover the grammatical structure of the sentence. This is required for both a grammar and a parser. The output of this level of processing is a representation of the sentence that reveals the structural dependency relationships between the words. Syntax conveys meaning in most languages because order and dependency contribute to meaning. Tolkappiyar did not talk about syntax and dependency directly but the chapter on *c o l l a t i k a r a m* , he mostly talks about the concord, order of words etc., which are syntactic in nature. Since his unit of analysis is more than sentence, he is much concern about the relation between words and their meanings.

Semantic processing determines the possible meanings of a sentence by focusing on the interactions among word-level meanings in the sentence. This level of processing can include the semantic disambiguation of words with multiple senses. Semantic disambiguation permits one and only one sense of polysemous words to be selected and included in the semantic representation of the sentence. Tolkappiyam provides a detailed account of the words and meaning in both the linguistic and speech context.

In several sutras Tolkappiyar talks about the meaning of a word directly as well as indirectly. The sutra (157, 193, 439, 440) in col give denotative connotative, contextual meanings. Pragmatic level is concerned with the purposeful use of language in situations and utilizes context over and above the contents of the text for understanding. The goal is to explain how extra meaning is read into texts without actually being encoded in them. This requires much world knowledge, including the understanding of intentions, plans and goals. As has been discussed before the Sangam text which is in the form of dramatic monologue and the usages are the bases for Tolkappiyar to write grammar. The social context in which a word should be used and the norms to use particles etc., in his grammar explain the pragmatic context of a word. The usage of pronoun, noun, anaphora in a sentence all concern about meaning

resolution. This will be helpful for some NLP applications which utilize knowledge bases and inferencing modules.

Liddy (2001) stated that current NLP systems tend to implement modules to accomplish mainly the lower levels of processing. This is for several reasons. First, the application may not require interpretation at the higher levels. Secondly, the lower levels have been more thoroughly researched and implemented. Thirdly, the lower levels deal with smaller units of analysis, e.g. morphemes, words, and sentences, which are rule-governed, versus the higher levels of language processing which deal with texts and world knowledge and which are only regularity-governed. The grammar of Tolkappiyam as discussed above is the grammar of unique nature. The purpose of Tolkappiyam is not to described lower level units like, morphemes and words but to discuss and describe the utterances in the context of usage. Hence the conceptualization of Tolkappiyam will also be helpful for higher level NLP analysis.

Appendix

Sutram 13   : Cepidum vina:vum vala:a l-o:mpal
                 Question and answer should be correct in form and appropriate in sense.

Sutram 14   : Vina:vun ceppe: vina:-v-etir varine:
                 Even a question may be taken as *ceppu*, if it answers a question.

Sutram 15   : Ceppe: vali:yinum varainilai y-inte
                 Apporul punaruta kilavi ya:na
                 It is not objectionable to use an answer in an irregular form, if it somehow suggest the answer.

Sutram 17   : Takutiyum walakkum tali:iyina v-olukum
                 Pakutik kilavi varainilai y-ilave:
                 Certain expressions (which do not conform to the previous rule) are not prohibited,if propriety demands or usage sanctions them.

Sutram 35   : E-p-poru l-a:yinu m-alla til-l-enin
                 A-p-poru l-alla:-p piritu-porul ku:ral
                 If one (a merchant) wishes to inform (a purchaser) of the absence of any commodity by using the expression allatil, he should associate that expression with a word denoting any commodity (that he has), and not with that denoting the commodity asked for.

Sutram 55   : Kuritto:n ku:rran teritiu-moli kilavi
                 The idea of the speaker or writer should be definitely expressed.

Sutram 60   : Etutta moli-y-inan ceppalu m-uritte:
                 A sentence which is expressed may suggest related ideas.

Sutram 97   : Ku-t toka varu:un kotai-y-etir kilavi
                 A-p-poru l-a:rar k-urittu m-a:kum
                 The word denoting the recipient of a gift which can afford to
                 have the suffix ku dropped may take the sixth case-suffix also.
Sutram 101   : Anna piravum tonneri pilaiya:tu
                 Urupinum porulinum mey-tatu ma:ri
                 Iru-vayi nilaiyum ve:rrumai y-ella:m
                 Tiripita n-ilave: teriyu mo:rkke:.
                 There is no confusion in the minds of the learned with regard to
                 the use of one case-suffix for another or of one case-suffix
                 similar to the cases mentioned above, if it is in conformity with
                 the ancient usage.
Sutram 153   : Amma v-ennu m-acai-c-con ni:ttam
                 a-m-murai-p peyarotu civana: t-a:yinum
                 vili-y-otu kolpa teliyu mo:r-e:
                 Scholars take that the word amma used to draw the attention
                 lengthen its final though it is not included among words of
                 relationship.
Seyyul col
Sutram 39   : Mur-pata-k kilattal ceyyul-u l-uritte:
                 The pronoun referred to in the previous su:tra) may precede the
                 noun which it refers to in Poetry.
Sutram 108   : Ku-ai a:n-ena varu:u m-iruti
                 A-v-v-otu civanun ceyyu lulle:
                 The words having suffixes ku, ai and a:n at the end of a line
                 may be appended by the particle a in verse.
Sutram 211   : Pa:l-ari marapi n-a-m-mu: vi:rrum
                 A:-v-o: v-a:kun ceyyu l-ul-l-e:
                 A: in those endings a:n a:l and a:r denoting pa:l may change to
                 o: in Poetry.
Verb
Sutram 241   : Va:ra:-k ka:lattu nikalun ka:lattum
                 O:ra:nku varu:um vinai-c-cor kilavi
                 Iranta ka:lattu-k kurippotu kilattal
                 Virainta porula v-enmana:r pulavar
                 Learned men say that a verb is used in the past tense instead of
                 in the present and future tenses to denote haste.
Sutram 242   : Mikkatun marunkin vinai-c-cor cutti
                 A-p-panpu kuritta vinai-mutar kilavi
                 Ceyya t-ilvali nikalun ka:lattu

Mey-pera-t to:nrum porutta: kum-m-e

The verb that is used in a general statement to denote the fruit of an extra ordinary action (whether noble or heinous) is used in the present tense, even though a particular man has not done it.

Sutram 246 : Ceya-p-patu porulai-c ceytatu po:la-t

Tolirpata k kilattalum valakkiyan marap-e:

There is usage where object is also used as subject.

Context

Sutram 389 : Mey-pera-k kilanta v-uriccol l-ella:m

Munnum pinnum varupavai na:ti

Otta moliya:r punarttana r-unarttal

Tattamarapir ro:nru man porul-e:

The meanings of all uriccols which have been mentioned can be determined through the context.

Sutram 390 : Ku:riyakilavi-p porunilai y-alla

Ve:ru-pira to:nrinu m-avarrotun kolal-e:

One should take in meanings other than those mentioned above if such are determined from context.

Context

Sutram 439 : Enciya mu:nru me:l-vantu mutikkum

Encu-porut kilavi y-ila-v-ena molipa

They say that the meaning three do not suggest anything to complete their idea (i.e). There is nothing in themselves to suggest anything. It is the context that makes the sentence suggest other meanings.

Sutram 440 : Avai ta:m

Tattan kurippi n-eccan ceppum

They will suggest through the speaker's method of expression.

Sutram 442 : Avai-y-al kilavi maraittanar kilattal.

One should not use obscene words and hence should fuse such words which can suggest them.

Semantic aspects like entailment and implication

Sutram 60 : Etutta moli-y-inan ceppalu m-uritte:

A sentence which is expressed may suggest related ideas.

Semantic anomaly

Sutram 23 : Pa:n-maya-k k-urra v-aiya-k kilavi

Ta:n-ari porul-vayir panmai ku:ral

When a speaker is sure of the tinai of the object he is talking about, but not of the pa:l, he should use a plural verb of the particular tinai.

Ambiguity

Sutram 42   :   Oru-porul kuritta ve:ru-peyar-k kilavi
                   Tolil-ve:ru kilappi n-onrita n-ilave:
                   Epithets denoting the same person or subject cannot denote one
                   and the same person orobject if each takes a different predicate
                   after it.

Sutram 95   : I:rru-p-peyar munnar mey-y-ari panuvalin
                   Ve:rrumai teripa v-unaru m-o:re:
                   The intelligent will discriminate from what follows after the last
                   word.

Sutram 52   : Vinai-ve:ru patu:um pala-poru l-oru-col
                  Vinai-ve:ru pata:a-p pala-poru l-oru-col enru
                  A:-y-iru vakaiya pala-poru l-oru-col
                  Pala-porul-oru-col-words having different meanings-are of two
                  kinds: (1) those which take different verbs after them and (2) those
                  which take the same verb after them.

Sutram 53   : Avarrul,
                  Vinai-ve:ru patu:m pala:poru l-oru-col
                  Ve:ru-patu vinaiyinu m-inattinun ca:rpinum
                  Te:rat to:nrum poruteri nilaiye:
                  Of them meaning of vtnai-ve:ru-potu:um-pala-porul-oru-col is
                  clearly determined by ve:ru-patu-vinai- distinguishing verbs, inam-
                  the words of its class used along with it or ca;rpu- context.

Sutram 54   : Onru-vinai marunki n-onri-t to:nrum
                  Vinai-ve:ru pata:a-p pala-poru l-oru-col
                  Ninaiyun ka:lai-k kilant-a:n k-iyalum
                  Words having different meaning should be clearly mentioned with
                  proper adjuncts to enable the reader to understand its exact
                  meaning, of they are followed by non-distinguishing verbs.

Presupposition

Sutram 31   : Ya:teva n-ennu m-a:-y-iru kilaviyum
                  A riya:-p porul-vayir ceriya-t to:nrum
                  The two (interrogative) pronoun s –*ya:tu* and evan are generally
                  used in questioning about unknown objects.

Sutram 32   : Avarrul,
                  Ya:tena varu:um vina:vin kilavi
                  Arinta porulvayi n-aiyan ti:rtarku-t
                  Terint kilavi y-a:talu m-uritte:
                  Of them, the interrogative pronoun *ya:tu* may also be used in
                  sentences where some doubts are to be cleared regarding the
                  particulars of an object whose general features are known.

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CAT-CROSSING, AN OMEN: SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL IMPLICATIONS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF TAMIL CULTURE

S. Pilavendran

Puducherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, Puducherry.

1. Cultural Cognition and Semantic Construction

The system of belief is found to be a general feature in all cultures of humanity. Beliefs are the essential dynamic force for the perpetuation of any social culture to have its continuous functioning. In its cultural collective consciousness any society preserves its experiential and mnemonic cognitions cherished in its long chronicles of history. As a result out of this kind of cognitive functioning, beliefs get evolved. Any society transforms the so-called experiential and the mnemonic memories into symbols and have them registered as the behaviours and customs of that specific culture. These kinds of registries could be found to be prevailing in vogue, in the present time cultural lore. These proto socio-cultural registries in all the cultural domains, present before us not easily decipherable cognitive connotations because of the long flow of time engulfed by innumerable epochs of Time. This time factor might have corroded the recesses of the ontological and semantical contexts as well, the social repertoire of the cognitive and mnemonic memories. Hence, the very system of belief appears to be mere skeletal frames having lost their proto archetypal essence. Therefore, nowadays, those beliefs of our ancestors seem to strike before us, as if they were superstitions; and, hence abandoned. However, the recent studies about the system of beliefs have given a fillip to rereading about them.

The study of Folkloristics takes into its consideration all the genres of folklore in vogue and the social behaviours in the perspectives of social, collective and empirical registries. Further, it treats the lore of the social in vogue as a social, collective and existential consciousness and as a collective consciousness and memory conveying the semantical significance to the lores of the specific society. We must bear it in mind, that, no society will carry on anything unnecessary as its cognitive essence. If we come to know about any society continuously bearing in vogue any lore, then, that unavoidable lore must

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S. Pilavendran, e-mail: pilavendiran@gmail.com

have been a kind of archetypal mnemonic memory emphasizing its semantical significance prevailing up till then.

Various changes have taken place in sequential layers in almost all domains of culture. Under those contexts, many items of folklore have become extinct; becoming extinct and many have been existing as mere paradigmatic frame structures. Even now, many of those items of folklore are undergoing various changes in form and get distorted in their central or core meaning and which lends to the analysts hard nuts to be cracked for their apt interpretations. Hence, these customary lores are to be analytically split into minimum meaningful units and ordered in paradigmatic and diachronic sequences to deduce the implied meaning lying underneath, lest they would become mere superstitions. This might be providing multiple possibilities to arrive at the exact interpretations of them.

There has been a trend for collecting the data of beliefs and expounding their semantics right from the scholars like Frazer, Tylor and so on. However, one can adduce from those collected corpuses of beliefs and their interpretations, that, none of them have tried to explore into the inner recesses of the formless collective unconscious, loaded with the susceptibilities of emotivity and also instead of unravelling their implied core of complexities, they have simply overlooked those beliefs. Even the Anthropologist and Folklorist like Alan Dundes (1975) had equated those beliefs, structure with linguistic structural units and formulated a paradigm of this Cat Omen belief as, *if A, then B, unless C* (See S. D. Lourdu, 2011: 237-254).

Further, the lores are to be treated as having registered the social mind under the schemata of cultural logic in formulaic structures. Society takes some of its basic elements as its life source which are categorised as concrete realities and are codified in logical concepts; Specifically, we can see this in the Tamil grammatical treatise of Tholkaapiyam as *mutal*, *karu* and *uri*. As they are the outcome of the social cognitions, they are the basic units of the social mind's epistemology. In the same way, they become the nodal nexus of all the other basic units of socially cognitive calibre of the cultural mind. Hence, any cultural text has to be treated under the scheme of intertextuality.

Among the folk beliefs, this paper has taken for its treatment specifically the systemic belief of omen and tries to delineate the semantics embedded in folklore. For which, a quest has been made to comprehend the logicality of space, time, nature, as well as the cultural epistemological concepts embedded therein. The meanings of this omen lore could be explored with the help of the methodologies of paradigmatic and diachronic and semiotic analysis.

2. Human Locomotions and the Portends of Omen

Cat-crossing, is treated as an omen, good or ill, whenever a person takes a journey or passage out. But, if it is taken as an ill omen, the journey or the passage out gets postponed or after giving a hiatus, it resumes or once and for all gets cancelled. Many consider that ill omen as superstition, where as the others consider that as a mere belief. Not only in India, but in almost all the continents of the world, this belief is prevalent. It is point blank that this belief is a symbolic form of the human experiential collective archetypal repertoire of memories. Tamil and Dravidian cultural paradigms are the backgrounds of this belief system and whose semantic domains are attempted to be identified in this paper.

Not only cat-crossing will be treated as an omen but also there are other interceptive crossings and encountering of various kinds of living beings' activities: crow's cawing and flying over the head, falcon's, black drongo's (bat or flying fox) and brown hawk-owl's flying over the head or hooting or entering into the house or building nest in the house; house lizard's and gecko's beckoning sounds; house lizard's falling on the body(the specific part of the body on which it falls signifies particular type of ominous portents); fox's howling, dog's howling and donkey's braying; turtle's entry into the house and humans meeting face to face the following entities such as a single cow, a single Brahmin, a widow, a man carrying a load of firewood, oil can, and clothes for washing. Likewise, any interception cutting across the human transit or journey becomes the sign of omen, symbolically.

Thus, the various movements and motions, tactile contacts, noises of interceptively interrupting the human actions are signifying omen symbols. Therefore, an omen will be nothing but any intercepting activity which changes the human acts either as an advantageous or disadvantageous one. It is mainly centred on the pivotal of locomotivity. Though, omens may be caused by different mediums by different means, the cat-crossing as a sign of omen is treated here as the central or axial text for analysis. The structural analytic frame deduced from this analysis may be applied to other texts of omen signs.

3. Interruptions as Omens

Let us assume, that, there are two movements. 1: made by a human person (undefined); This movement may be made from one direction to the other direction, either from east to west or west to east or even from north to south or south to north. Let us mark this move as *A*. 2: made by a cat (defined); This movement may be made perpendicularly cutting across the direction of the move *A*. Let us mark the second move as *B*. The move *B* happens by intercepting the move *A* and thus creates an interruption. Here, there involve

two primary factors i.e., 1. a human entity (undefined) and an animal entity (defined) and 2. move *B* confronting the move *A*.

Moreover, let us assume, that when the move 'A' proceeds from the point of place 'P' to a place of destination 'Q', the move 'B' simultaneously proceeds traversing i.e., from the point of place 'R' to the point of place 'S' undetermined, interceptively crisscrossing. This creates a traumatic shudder to the agent of move 'A'. The move 'A' could be deemed to be a voluntary one; whereas the move 'B', could be deemed to be an involuntary one. Besides, the move 'A' is a conditioned and cultural one, whereas the move 'B' is an unconditional and natural one. Even the domain of interpretation can be extended semantically as follows:

Move - 'A'	Move - 'B'
by a *human entity*	by either a human or an animal
determined	undetermined
voluntary act	unvoluntary act
conditioned	unconditioned
cultural	Natural

By way of explicating the laws of logic embedded among those moves in culture, one can expound the holistic dimension of the texts of the above-said omen. The move made from the starting point 'A' to the ending point 'B' implies two different points of place, lying upon the same landscape itself. Both the starting point of place and the ending point of place indicate one act of move occurring between two different abstract points conceived in the mindscape: those two abstract points are in a continuum. However, both the points of place may also be deemed under the norms of culture, happening in fragmented segments of space- one from the known socio-cultural space, the other one, the unknown natural space.

Let us assume, that, when the move 'A' gets intercepted by move 'B' or when the move 'A' gets temporarily interrupted before reaching its destination, that specific spatial sphere gets divided into two different domains. These two domains are bipolar: each is diametrically contrary-wise. Hence, the factuality of the spatial sphere divided into two domains demands a hermeneutical analysis in cultural studies. We are expected to consider the relevant relationships between the specified spatial sphere and the factual phenomenon of an unspecified man/animal versus specified man indulging in that traversing movement. Move 'A' is conditioned by the move 'B'. Move 'A' is done by a specified human and whereas the move "B" is made by either a specified or an unspecified human or animal. This binary duality reminds about the binary duality of nature and culture. Hence, in this text, there are two units of element namely, spatial spheres of point of departure versus point of destination as well

as the two units of doers i.e., human versus human/animal take place. This text of cat crossing is taken here as the pivotal or core text for further analysis.

4. Cultural Semantics of 'Space'

Conceptually, culture has divided the space into two units: both of them are diametrically and functionally contrary to each other in the cultural domain. And, which has been found manifested in the everyday life activities. By and large, the human society has apportioned the entities of everyday living comprising the sphere of space, time and things under variegated processes. This type of segregating the spheres of everyday activities seems to be occurring still in totality and all the dimensions have been assimilated into its epistemological functioning. It can be generally defined that any integral whole of any entity can be distinctly divided under the following fundamental elements of like *high* x *low, top* x *bottom, right* x *left, inner* x *outer, self* x *other* and so on. For example, the physical body of the human being could be divided into *higher* (upper caste) x *lower* (lower caste); *top* (upper portion of the body) x *bottom* (lower portion of the body); *right portion* (masculinity) x *left portion* (femininity); *self* (mine) x *other* (others). Besides, these diametrical pairs of opposites carry themselves diametrically opposite implications of characteristics.

In the same way, as per the formula of Tholkaappiyar, the *mutal*, *karu* and *uri* has been considered as the basic units of the human societies' multifaceted functioning. Though, they seem to be separate entities, there is a related affinity among them. It is highly apparent that the sphere of space and time lie as the fundamental units of functioning of human society.

4.1. *Naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*

Generally, all societies treat their territorial domain as their own living and functioning landscape. In the same way, each and every clan of the Tamil society dichotomizes its landscape into inner (living - psychocultural) and outer (socioeconomic cultural) locales: the inscape and exscape, i.e., *naaṭu* and *kaaṭu*. Between the two segments of the living spatial sectors, the whole landscape has been segmented into living domain and functional domain, the society ever considers that it fully belongs to it alone. Any person of any other society is allowed into the territorial domains of both living and functioning, he or she may be given access to the limited enclosed compartments of either the living or the functioning spatial spheres of the society. For instance, in the landscape of a home or a homestead, any person coming from other society would be allowed to enter or to move or to function within a strict restricted space of functioning. Therefore, we can come across even in a house or homestead there are various compartmentalised segments for specific functional

activities: cooking, dining, sleeping, bathing, worshipping, receiving the guests are allocated separate spatial domicile units. Hence, this same type of spatial differentiations are found rampant within the single restricted unit of dwelling place or house. We can come across the same type segregations found widespread in the macro level in the society as varied castes, as villages, linguistic and ethnic groups provincial as well as in the nations to they are found widespread.

Every small village is divided into two parts of landscape: one, the part where dwelling settlements of people is situated and the other where all the natural beings of flora and fauna are found to be existing along with the natural resources of waterscapes and hillscapes. The former is considered to be the core part and the later as the peripheral or the marginal. Even the core part where the people are living is also divided under the systemic institutions of caste, occupation, clan and family. In the same way, even the village-scape wherein lives the people, too, have been segmented into two so called segments of touchables and downtrodden. The former is the focal one and the latter is considered the peripheral or the marginal. Only the fabricating consciousness factitively ascribes the so called nomenclatures like *u:r* and *ce:ri*. This kind of classifying the one and the same sphere of living-scape comes into being simply because of the fictional attribution of being *high* and *low.*

In the village landscape, there are two divisions of segments: 1. the human habitat (cultural zone) and 2. the nonhuman beings and natural flora and fauna (natural zone). The cultural zone is meant for the economic and social activities of the folks and the natural zone is meant for the supposed activities of the natural sources of living beings like flora and fauna and the unnatural entities like deities, spirits and evil forces. The former cultural segment is called *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and the latter noncultured segment is called *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*. This act of segmenting the same landscape into two divisions such as *naaṭu* and *kaaṭu* has been deeply ingrained in the subconscious of the folkdom. Only out of this cultural consciousness has come an idiomatic phrase in Tamil, '*naaṭaaṟu maatam kaaṭaaṟu maatam*' which means: there are two inevitable morales of human activities interconnecting with the social - cultural and noncultural – natural. This could be manifested in almost all the social interactions of different cultural societies.

Naaṭṭuk kaḷam may be called as *panpaaṭṭuk kaḷam* (cultural zone) because only in that zone of human living very many social activities and cultural functions are being carried out, whereas, *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* represents the unconditioned and unsophisticated mileau of nature, i.e., the virgin mother nature rampant with flora and fauna and the supposed supernatural beings and entities. This *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* comprises the primordial consciousnesses and

functions, comprising the nature and the culture, immemorial as well. At times, this very field of *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* may also function as a supernatural sphere. The cultural conceptualizations of *kaḷam* could be briefed as follows:

1   *kaḷam* is classified as *panpaaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *iyaṟkkaik kaḷam*. In other words they are called as *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*. Both are diametrically opposite to each other in their cultural constituents.

2   There is an interspiercing field/sphere which is called *ellaik kaḷam*. It is this, which has been interacting and intertwining with the above mentioned *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*.

3   *Naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* have their distinctly respective characteristics and respective functions. In no way, there may be any kind of co-mingling or proxy-playing between them. There will not be any integration or unification between them, what so ever may be the factors. Perhaps, if there occurs any kind of mingling between their respective cultural *esse,* it is afraid that it will bring calamitous catastrophy (see. Peter Claus 1979; Pilavendran 2001).

5. *Kaḷam* Consciousness Embedded in Behavioural Paradigm

To understand the cultural concepts embedded in the cultural behaviours, one has to recognise the implied logics within the so called behaviours. Here, let us try to find out the core thought of the cultural cognitions with the aid of ever present socially and culturally observed norms of behaviours.

5.1. *Kaḷam* : Horizontal and Vertical Axial Planes

Our world abounds in all kinds of living beings. In the same way, the heavenly world is supposed to be the habitat of the supernatural beings and forces as well as the demised and deceased persons. Formless, ghostly apparitions, too, are supposed to be abounding in the above. The earthly world becomes the material world of the human beings i.e., *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and similarly, the immaterial heavenly world becomes the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*. Even the abstract is symbolically concretised by performances carried out through the cultural behaviours. Only these kinds of observances take place in the temple worshipping and in the ritual observances. In that way, both the axes are replacing each other alternatively, i.e., there is a mutual process of the vertical becoming the horizontal and the horizontal becoming the vertical and vice versa.

The horizontal axial plane being a flat one, though being one stretch of landscape, the core part of the landscape has been construed as the habitat specifically occupied by the humans; whereas, the rest of the landscape has been deemed as the space wherein live the other living beings together with the flora and fauna: the former is called as the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and the latter one as *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*. In this geographical landscape on the unfragmented flat plane and that, too, horizontally functioning and symbolically signified too, the same also gets symbolically signified in the vertical plane and signify so in the cultural domain by their exponential data. As it has been said before, in both the *kaḷam*-s and on both the axes, the conditions of the state of being the existent, moving and functioning are simultaneously replacing one another. These could be found clearly in folk religious behaviours.

The process of dividing the unitary space into two segments, viz., *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* could be easily comprehended, when one affords enough time to observe the ritual observances symbolically enacted at the time of village deities' festival. On the one hand, the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* of human cultural habitat and on the other hand, the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* symbolically signifies the vertical axis supposed to be signifying the divine original abode which has been symbolically imagined to be manifested in the perpendicular axis of the celestial abode above the earth. However, the horizontal plane, the abstract perpendicular axial plane wherein exists the divine, is substituted by the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* which is farther to the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* i.e., the ritual village habitat. That is the reason why almost all the village deities'(esp. the *kula teyvam*-s) worshipping spaces of shrines or even temples are located only at the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* areas wherein one can come across lakes, forests, thickets, rivulets, graveyards, crematoriums, virgin or pristine gardens, groves as well as amidst the green woods. To start the village deity festival the worshipping ritual becomes the curtain raiser of the festival activities. A metallic or earthenware pot is taken to the outer space of the village i.e., the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam,* wherein the ritual pot is being filled with purely fresh natural water collected from a pond, lake, well, rivulet or even a fountainhead of an oasis whichever is found in that *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam.* In that way, the divine entities are evoked and received down into the *karakam* of the so called ritual pot. Here, at the embankment or the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* the divine from the celestial abode is ritually contained for its presence. This could be comprehended as though the divine existent at the perpendicular axis of the earth is symbolically got descended into the horizontal axis, where lies the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* and where lies the cultural domain of the human habitat also. In the so called rituals the flight or the hovering of the crow or eagle in the sky signifies the descension of the divine into the ritual pot. Similarly, the sound

made by a wild gecko will be taken as an affirmative sign of the very descension of the divine entity. Here, also the gecko or the wild geckoning call is taken symbolically for the visitation of the divine entity from the perpendicular axis i.e., *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*, wherein the original abode of the divine is imagined to be existing. In this ritual performance, either the pot or the content of freshly natural water in the pot (*karakam*) symbolises the divine entity's presence.

At the time of laying the *karakam* on the head of the ritually designated bearer, a flag tied at the tip of a pole is being held and borne by another one, simply signify the presence and the descension of the divine entity. It is then carried ceremonially and ritually into the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and placed inside the temple reverentially. After having the *karakam* placed in the sacred spot, and the flag pole accompanied with it is tied on the spiral cone of the shrine or the temple to wag. From this, the movement of the divine entity's presence could be easily deduced, that, it happens from the horizontal axis as well as from the vertical axis simultaneously. In the same way, when the *karakam* is being brought into the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* i.e., the village or *u:r* and it touches the boundary frontiers of the *u:r,* a blood sacrifice or a surrogate sacrifice is given and the sacrificial blood of ablution is also sprinkled on the lines of boundary (at times blood speared cooked rice too is sprinkled over the line) and along with that ritual the frontiers of the *u:r* is also symbolically enmarked by the ritual decorations of tying neem leaf festoons which earmark the boundary confines.

In the rites and rituals of *Draupatiamman*, the *archunan tapas* episode lucidly depicts the above mentioned both the horizontal and vertical axial interlocutory symbolism. In the same way, one can find the interaction between the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* as semantically contradictory in the symbolisation. *Naaṭṭuk kaḷam* delineates the connotative cultural meanings of *life*, *love*, sense of *tranquillity*, *familial relationship*, sense of *security*, *cultural refinement*, sense of *sociability* and so on; Whereas, the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* stands signifying the following states of being and sensibilities: *death*, *hatred*, *confusion*, *family-alienation*, *phobia*, *virgin naturalness*, *furiousness* and so on (see. Peter Claus, 1979: 29-52; S. Pilavendran 2001: 78). These conceptually antithetical paradigms of both the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* are being found segregated either concretely or abstractly in culture. One can easily understand this, when he/she encounters the geographical space of a village (*sirṟuur*) he/she can comprehend the social apartitions being made therein. Almost all the life oriented social behaviours are being pivoted upon the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam*; Whereas, folk religion oriented ritual observances are being found pivoted upon the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*.

However, only the village boundary line stones demarcating the divider line earmarking the *ellaik kaḷam* is meant for the existence of *ellaik ko:yil*-s of the countryside. This *ellaik kaḷam* seems to function both the role of identifying and defining concretely as well as ritually both the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* and makes them ever-separated ones. Here, the interjuncture or the interaction occurs in between the *kaḷam*-s by the movement of human from one *kaḷam* to another by means of observing a ritual act.

5.2. Spatial Symbolism in Religious Rituals

In all the folk religious festivals and worshipping rituals the abstract supernatural forces are concretely transformed symbolically. This ransformation occurs in two ways. First, the celestial sphere is capsized from the perpendicular axis to the axis of horizontal in order to signify the descension of the supernatural forces supposed to be abiding in the celestial abode which have been drawn down to the earthly plane i.e., the horizontal plane by means of the ritual of invocation for the divine presence (*uttiravu ke:ṭṭal*). This juxtaposes the field of functioning of both the *kaḷam*-s on the horizontal axis itself. This type of enacting the juxtaposition of both the axes on the single horizontal axis itself could be symbolically adduced from the occurrences like eagles or crows hovering over the sky, the wild gecko's beckoning calls of lizards or a kind of dithyrambic dance (ritual dance in the state of possession/trance – *maruḷa:tal*).

Thence forward, the so called supernatural force or the power of the divine has been contained in water filled pot or *karakam*. In that way, the specific divine forces meant for the specific ritual context alone are ritually marked in order to be carried into the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam*. In that way, the supernatural beings' presence or manifestation is fetched into the human's dwelling sphere, i.e., the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam*. Thus, this spatial movement demarcates the boundary limit to the observances of the ritual like blood sacrifice and boundary defining (*ellai kaṭṭutal*). In that way, the ritual space segregates the other parts of the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* as inaccessible limits denying the entries of anyone either within or without.

When there is a village festival celebrated for a folk deity, the preliminary rituals of definitively confining the boundaries of the village i.e., *ellai kaṭṭutal* enmark the entire spatial domain of the village as virtually secluded one. From the so called ritually secluded space, no one participating in the village festival is supposed to breach the ritual confinement by his out passing; in the same way, anyone who does not belong to that village confined by rituals to enter into. Such kind of entry or exit may be permitted under certain conditions which virtually do not violate the laws of spatiality i.e., the one who exits the ritual space of the village at the festive time may do so in

the hours of dawn or dusk and also he/she may return before the hours of dusk or dawn; in the same way, anyone not belonging to the festive village may enter into the same festive village space before the hours of dawn and exit before the hours of dusk. Further, the same ritual code is being applied to the other unrelated evil forces/spirits, too, not either to enter or to exit the festive confines of the village. The blood sacrifices or the surrogate rituals performed at certain intervals of liminal periods at the boundary lines of the village fortifies the ritual boundary lines and enforces the vitality of ritual symbolisation.

5.3. House-warming Ceremonies and Spatial Symbolism

House warming ceremony (*taccu kaḻittal*) is an initiation ceremony meant for the first entry into a newly built house. In that ritual, all the parts of the house such as the threshold, the entrance-staircase, door-set, windows and walls are ritually consecrated. As all the constituent materials used for the construction of the house such as sand, soil, water, bricks, cement, limestone, stone, wood, iron and such other raw materials belong to *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* and as well as, are brought from *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* into the construction space. So, those evil spirits and supernatural spirits are supposed to be abiding in them. Therefore, the house warming ceremonial rituals are being held only to transform the *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* tinged ones into *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* tinged ones i.e., a house (tamed, domesticated- consecrated one) meant for human habitat alone.

5.4. *A a r a t h i* Ritual and Spatial Symbolism

Here, we have to take note of a specific ritual called *a a r a t h i*. This ritual is being in practice from ancient times onwards and found throughout the Indian subcontinent. This ritual is performed when a specific person/persons or any living/non-living being who/that are in a specific phase is/are received or admitted in inside the domicile of cultural space as a form of interfacing all with one another or for domestic utility. This ritual is made before that entity to be co-abiding with or for domestic utility by swirling a plate lit with camphor. This ritual functions as a intermediating agency in receiving the so-called specific entity into the cultural domain.

The ritual acts of swirling a camphor lit plate performed, at the courtyard, before the entities like the newly born babe and its mother, the puberty attained girl, the newly married couples imply a significant cultural conception; so to say, that, these entities are in a specific condition of being in an altered life cycle phase of persons. To be more precise, they are quite in a 'new', 'nascent' state of new born baby (*p a c c a i k u ḻ a n t a i*), wet mother (*paccai piḻ   ḷ a i k k a a r i*), virgin girl (*k a ṉ ṉ i*) and new couples (*p u t u m a a p p i ḷḷ a i* and *p u t u p p o ṉ ṉ u*). The core concept lying within this ritual act proclaiming about any newly born or brought or raw

living/nonliving being or nonliving thing, supposed to belong to the pristine *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* signifies the modus operandi functioning in the performance of swirling the camphor lit plate before admitting the entities into the cultural *naaṭṭuk kaḷam,* simply keeping the courtyard as a specific boundary line segregating one *kaḷam* from the other *kaḷam*.

In that way, one can strongly comprehend the *kaḷam* related contexts for cultural functioning by understanding the ritual behaviours practised therein. The intermediating boundary *ellaik kaḷam* helps us to grasp the conceptually segregated contrastive binary spatial domains, i.e., *naaṭṭu* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*-s. The movement or interaction occurring in between two *kaḷam*-s is being observed through the intermediating ritually symbolic performance. By and large, without any ritual performance being made at the intermediating boundary domain between the *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*, there cannot be found any interaction or movement between the two *kaḷam*-s. People believe that, there ought to be a perfect order and peace among the two *kaḷam*-s and that alone will keep the universal order without thwarting. If there occurs any disorderly manipulation of the rituals to the point of destroying the law of spatiality prevailing in between the two *kaḷam*-s *naaṭu* and *kaaṭu* will certainly demolish the total system of order and peace being so far maintained by the society.

6. Violating the Norms of *kaḷam* and their Cultural Implications

Space is primarily conceived to constitute the basis for social order, as well as for the harmony prevailing between the universe and the society. The space, though being a single entity, is consisted of the segmentation of two diametrically opposite categories such as *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam*. These two categories being concrete ones represent and constitute the physical landscape and a mental landscape for all the earthly living beings and nonliving things. Simultaneously, these two categories are impregnated with distinct social, cultural and psychological attributes which specifically characterise the bipolar segmental categories of space.

But, there are a few violations or trespassing which may be treated as deterioration by means of an interaction through some cultural behaviours that may be also rectified by the enactment of some atoning ritual activities either overtly or covertly. In the day to day activities, the Tamils are very conscious about observing the above said norms of spatiality. For instance, the following citable incidents are given:

1. It is strictly and sternly not to traverse over anyone lying on the floor by leaping or jumping;

2. No transaction or exchange of a thing or money is admitted between two members when it is not carried out in the same plane of spatiality;

3. No one is allowed to take in any newly bought or gifted cow or goat into the respective homestead without making a symbolic ritual of traversing over a large household pestle put forth on the foreyard of the entrance;

4. An enactment of permanently severing the sibling relationship between two affinal brothers is symbolically ritualised by breaking into two halves the single twig of any tree before the presence of the villagers or the village panchayat.

Similarly, there are a few cultural behaviours which may be deemed as wrong interactions, collapsing the established social and cultural order of the norms of spatiality, so far being kept intact. However, those negligent trespassing or violations may be considered to bring the harmony between *naaṭṭuk kaḷam* and *kaaṭṭuk kaḷam* systemic norms to jeopardy, as there are some kind of atoning rituals, such as: 1.Traversing over the shoulder towel or head turban being laid on the barren ground; 2. Leaping over a newly born babe laid on barren ground; and 3. Putting off a burning camphor by pledging on an oath of word or deed. These types of atoning performances is believed to be establishing the factuality and actuality that have to be restored, and, by such performances the occurrence of disharmony between the two *kaḷam*-s are.

At times, these kinds of behaviours may seem to be culturally meaningless and rationally superstitious. They are estimated by the concerned people as conventional and have been maintained by their elders for about ages together. At this juncture, one might be clear about the significations of the units of the cultural lore, which is embedded with the cultural mnemonics or memories of the concerned people.

It is common to note that people forget the signifiers overtly and are not able to expound the latent implications embedded; and yet, the signifiers follow the people covertly and do not become extinct. To be precise, let me quote Lacan, "As a child grows, he accumulates a sum of significant relationships, which find an important place in his unconscious. This process continues. With the passage of time, some of the signifiers are "forgotten" by the subject, but, the signifiers as such continue to inhabit the inner layers of the unconscious. The emergence of these signifiers obviously follow a temporal order of a sequence or a syntagmatic progression. …..Man forgets his signifiers, says Lacan, but, the signifiers can never forget him" (See H. S Gill 1996:196).

7. Omens: A Cultural Signification

If one wants to decipher the inner meaning of any omen, it demands a full understanding about the fore-mentioned lore and their social semantics. An omen is meant to be a semiotic behaviour or activity occurring in the onward spatial movement of a person towards his/her destination, wherein a stranger, either a human being or an animal intersecting on that movement. Suppose, the person moves in the space onwards and meets a man or an animal intersecting in between that intersecting man or animal poses an omen. Before his/her onward movement the space is considered to be a unitary whole whereas after the intersection that unitary one whole of *kaḷam* becomes divided into two halves.

7.1. An Animal Intersecting Human Movement

If the onward movement of a human being starting from its point of departure onwards towards the ending point of arrival encounters in between an animal intersecting that onward movement is taken as an omen. Why so? And why, more than any other animal, the cat alone becomes a specifiable one?

In all the omens, born out from the intersection of any animal into the onward movement of a person is taken as a omen heralding the future events which have been entirely deemed to be unforeseeable to the human person. This type of belief is often strengthened by the facts observed by the people who are of the belief, that, the nocturnal animals like cat or birds like owl, have extrasensory powers. The following list of both the diurnal and nocturnal animals, reptiles or birds is given in order to consider them as ominous ones:

The reason behind why the nocturnal beings are considered as omen portending lies in the folk's belief that they have extrasensory perceptions. Among those animals which possess the extraordinary (ESP) powers, the following are specifically taken into:

The specific way of communicating the ominous message through the following implicit functional activities are as listed below:

animal/ reptile/bird	*Signifier*	*Signified*
Dog	Howling	Omen (good/ill)
Fox	howling/encountering	,,
Snake	Encountering	,,
Turtle	entering onto the homestead	,,
Bat	patting on the head/dwelling in the house/entering into the homestead	,,
Falcon	Hovering	,,
Crow	crowing from the top of the hovel/ hut/ house	,,
black tail	Flight	,,

Owl	hooting	,,
Gecko	falling on the body/clucking	,,
Tree gecko	clucking	,,
Cat	Criss-crossing	,,

Among these portenders of omen, many of them are not domesticated pets. Further, the above listed functional activities which have been treated as omens are beyond the ken of *Homo sapiens,* specifically most of them are of nocturnal ones. The movements, activities or functions made by the nocturnal animals are purely invisible or imperceptible to the human beings. Hence, those are deemed to have the proposed supernatural powers of foretelling the good omens or ill omens.

7.2. Time: Familiar and Non-familiar

The concept of time is culturally perceived to be constituted of day time and night time: day time for the functioning; night for reposing especially for humans. But, the animals thought to have the supernatural powers of foretelling the future are seen to be functioning in the night, as they are nocturnal ones. During the dark hours, those nocturnal animals can move here and there, even though, there is lack of solar light, simply out of their faculty of seeing in the radiance of the infrared rays. Such kinds of special powers those nocturnal ones are having easily strengthens the very belief of the folk that they are considered to be having the supernatural power of predicting the future: foretelling either the good omen or ill omen.

8. The Ominous Crisscrossing of a Cat

The act of the cat's crisscrossing before a person's onward movement demands a special explanation. Except the cat, the other nocturnal beings presage beforehand an omen by making various communicative signs of movements by raising a sound, flying over the head, touching by flight or rubbing shoulders with, encountering these face to face and entering inside the homestead as well. Cat has been treated not only as a pet but also as a member of the family. It is a cosy creature and very lovably treated for its frolicsome behaviours. Often, one can see that the home-bred pets like cats entwine the persons' legs and there is also a special idiomatic phrase in Tamil *kaalai kaṭṭutal* i.e., entwining the legs or fettering. The very specific term *kaṭṭutal* can be meant as crisscrossing, blocking the way and prohibiting the movement or blockading. Hence, it has been vehemently taken as an ill omen portending the bad consequences to occur in the future.

Further, Cats, more than any other domestic animals share the domestic space and live in close relations with the human beings co-habiting the same space; and hence, cats are more symbiotic to human beings (For this flash of

thought I owe to my colleque Dr. Bhakthavatsala Bharathi, Director of PILC and an Anthropologist.). So cat omen is regarded very significant in the life of human beings.

9. Conclusion

To sum up the core point of the cat crisscrossing before a person has been treated here as an omen. This text has correlated the conceptual points on *space*, classification of space, *norms of spatiality*, *time*, time familiar, *time non-familiar*, *human*, *animal* and all the other cultural paradigms. A goal-targeted person's movement has been crisscrossed by a cat and that has been taken as an impediment by means of comprehending the crisscrossing of a cat as an ill-omen. Here, the point of space from where one starts has to be deemed as the point of departure and his/her point of arrival becomes the point of destiny as his/her goal-targeted terminus. The point of departure and the point of arrival constituting a unitary stretch of space getting segmented into two by the act of crisscrossing done by a cat and the point of departure is treated as $naat\underline{t}uk$ $ka\underline{l}am$ where as the point of arrival as $kaat\underline{t}uk$ $ka\underline{l}am,$ because, the point of cat's crisscrossing tears off that unitary space into two $ka\underline{l}am$-s symbolically constructs a virual boundary line. And, if any onward movement proceeds further by simply overlooking the norms of spatial order becomes a violation of the norm of spatiality which might be speculated as a harbinger of chaotic havocs; Hence, an omen. To be candid, the act of crisscrossing made by a cat signifies the cultural and the subconscious logic as well embedded in this text.

However, one cannot make any kind of significant interpretation by merely unravelling the so called embedded content overtly or covertly expounds neither any cultural nor any subconscious meanings from the similar beliefs of omen, since they might have been mere social fantasies and constructs.

There is more possibility to opine that the following texts of belief like the acts of facing 1. An oil vendor, 2. Faggot bundle vendor, a lonely loitering brahmin, a widow and such other ominously treatable persons might be analogically created by comparing of the cat's movement.

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MISREPRESENTATIONS LABEL A MARGINALISED COMMUNITY
An Interview with Narayan

Blessy John
St. Stephen's College, Kollam.

Narayan belongs to the Malayarayar tribe inhabiting the Western Ghats and is considered Kerala's first tribal novelist. He received the Kerala Sahitya Akademi award for his debut, novel *Kocharethi* in 1999. (The English translation appeared through Oxford University press, 2011). Most of Narayan's novels deal with the lives of the tribal communities of Kerala. He has published eight novels and five short story collections. His stories have been translated into several Indian languages and English. Narayan retired as Postmaster from the Department of Posts and lives at Elamakkara in Kochi.

BJ : *Your Kocharethi has opened up a world which has hitherto been unknown to most of us. The novel provides an insider's account of Adivasi life. Since it is your debut, work, does it have any autobiographical elements?*

N : No, it's not autobiographical. But, many of the events in the book are based on real incidents that I remember or what I have garnered from my elders' experiences, especially what my great-grandfather told about his life. My grandfather, a Velichappadu (an oracle, or a mediator between a deity and devotees at a Hindu Temple), used to sacrifice fowls for Puliambulli (an Araya deity) on Pathamudayam (the 10th of Malayalam month Medam), at his house. During such occasions elderly people from nearby places would come there and narrate stories of yore which fascinated me as a small boy. All these, residing in the recesses of my mind, might have helped me while writing.

I lived with my community till the age of 22 and have concrete knowledge about the systems and practices that existed and are still in practice amongst my tribal folks. Without those growing-up experiences, I wouldn't have been able to write *Kocharethi*. It talks about the story of the community only for a period of 60 years.

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Blessy John, e-mail:blessyjohn1@gmail.com

All the stories I have heard and listened to can't be written down as they can't be cross-checked with anyone since they are all dead and gone.

BJ : *Please talk about your early years, education and the hardships you faced.*

N : I was born in 1940 (as per the school records) in Kadayathur, Idukki district, Kerala. My parents, Raman and Kochooty, were agriculturists. My mother passed away when I was very young. So I used to frequent my grandfather's house to play with my uncle Krishnan who was two years elder to me. The priest of our neighbourhood Devi temple– a Namboodiri – was also the Head Master of the local government school. My grandfather used to go to this temple on the first day of Malayalam months with me and Krishnan. The priest-Head Master asked my grandfather to enrol both of us in school. That was how I joined school.

There was no mid-day meal system in those days. So, I used to remain in the class during lunch breaks. One day the Peon told me that this could land me in trouble since I would be held responsible if anything went missing from the class room. That terrified me and I went to the library opposite to the school. Then onwards all my lunch breaks were spent in the library. There were three or four newspapers, a few books and a periodical. I used to go there even on holidays. That might have kindled my interest in literature. After passing the school final examination I got a job in the postal service. Then I started buying books.

BJ : *Can you shed some light on the attitude of teachers/students towards Adivasi children during those days?*

N : Our area was inhabited by people belonging to different communities. The hungry children without good clothes might have been a subject of ridicule. It was a kind of astonishment for many that such a boy could pass the school final examination. But, then there were teachers like the Head Master of the school who encouraged us. I also had a supportive classmate, Ouseph, who dropped out after fourth standard. He later became an areca-nut trader and used to help me financially whenever I was in need.

BJ : *Do you think such attitudes have changed now?*

N : Discrimination still persists, albeit in subtle ways. Sometimes people envy us that we are getting government jobs without much effort.

That kind of attitude still exists in workplaces too.

Schools may be far off from tribal settlements and parents cannot afford to send the children to school. Other children may not understand their language. Some of the Adivasi children may not be good at studies. They may not have nice clothes. Some of them may even drop out fearing to be ridiculed. People used to ask this in my face, "Why do you come to school?"

BJ : *Can you describe your entry into writing and the people who encouraged it?*

N : While working in Kochi in the Department of Post, one day I received a phone call from a stranger in the office. The person on the other end told me, that, he had read about the Malayarayars through a novel serialized in a magazine from Kottayam. He told me in a very harsh tone that the novel revealed the true colours of my community. I was very much offended by his words and managed to collect the editions of the magazine. The utter disregard with which the novel referred to the varied customs and rituals of tribals made it clear, that, neither the writer nor the publisher had any understanding about the subject. I wrote a stern letter to the editor of that magazine, but,, there was no response.

I had a group of educated and employed Malayarayar friends in Kochi. We were annoyed and humiliated by the response. One of my friends, Narayan, suggested that a fitting reply would be to write a story on the life and practices of our people. I took it as a challenge and started writing *Kocharethi*. But,, once it was completed, I began to have doubts about its literary merits. So, I gave the manuscript to a friend of mine, a teacher. But, it was with him for almost six years, untouched. When I spoke about it to K. V. Kumaran, a friend of mine, he told me to get it back immediately. When it was retrieved, the pages had already turned yellowish. Then I had to rewrite it all over again.

BJ : *How did you get it published finally?*

N : Another friend of mine, a trade union leader named Govindankutty, told me that we could make it into a movie. He took me to a film production company, but,, it did not work out that way. He told me that we should first try to get it published. Then I made one more handwritten copy. I decided that if it were to be rejected, it should be done only by a well-known publishing house. So, I sent it to DC Books and to my surprise D.C. Kizhakkemuri accepted it. It took almost 15 years for the novel to get published eventually in 1998.

BJ : *Were you influenced by other writers?*

N : I was not influenced by mainstream Malayalam writers. I was not comfortable with their portrayal of tribals, especially in Malayattoor Ramakrishnan's (an Indian Administrative Service (IAS) officer) *Ponni*(1967), and in S. K. Pottekkatt's (the winner of Jnanapith Award in 1980) *Vishakanyaka* (1948). I wanted to read a book which sincerely presented the life of tribal people. The only book which impressed me was *The Good Earth* by Pearl S. Buck. Here was a writer who took the trouble of going and staying with those people to write her book. I was sad that our writers didn't take such efforts.

BJ : *As an Adivasi writer were you comfortable with writing in Malayalam, a language which you might have encountered for the first time in the school?*

N : Malayarayar dialect has some resemblance to Malayalam, but, several words we use are not found in Malayalam. Now we may have to listen very carefully to it to make out meaning. But, in schools our dialect is not used. The result: the present generation Malayarayars cannot even speak it. But, I have used terms from it in *Kocharethi* since I was with my people till 22 years of age and I have learned a lot of the stories and traditions of my community from my grandfather and his acquaintances.

BJ : *Please talk about the reception of the novel within and outside Kerala.*

N : In the beginning, there was mixed reaction from various sections. People from my own community did not take it seriously. But,, it received various awards in 1999: *Thoppil Ravi Award, Abu Dhabi Sakthi Award,* and *Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award*. Six editions of the book were published by DC Books. Another four editions were published by Sahitya Pravarthaka Cooperative Society (SPCS).

Articles on the novel appeared in various English dailies. That is how Ramnika Gupta, founder and President of Ramnika Foundation came to know about it. She came here to interview me and brought out the Hindi version of it as *Pahadin* in 2009 translated by Prof. V.K. Ravindranath. Yuddhrat Aam Aadmi, the publication division of Ramnika Foundation, serialized it along with the interview. The novel already has Tamil (as *Chinna Arayathi*bys Kulachal Mohammed Yousuf), Kannada (as *Kocharathi*by Na Damodar Shetty) and Telugu (as *Konda Dorasani* by Lakshmanayyar Rama Swamy) translations. Na Damodar Shetty won the Sahitya Akademi translation award for the best translation work of 2015. The Tamil version of the novel was brought out by Kalachuvad Pathippakam in 2010.

Now Sahitya Akademi publishes the Hindi translation. The Assamese version of the novel, based on the English translation, translated by Dr .Juri Dutta came out in 2018. "Thenvarikka", a short story of mine, has been translated into eight languages. The Kerala Sahithya Akademi brought out the English translation of my short story collection, *Nissahayante Nilavili*, as *Cries in the Wilderness* (2009).

BJ : *How did the English translation of Kocharethi happen? Who initiated the publication of the translation, the nature of the dialect used in it and the difference in reception between Malayalam and English versions?*

N: R&D Division of the Oxford University Press selected *Kocharethi* for translation. They also selected Catherine Thankamma, an English professor at RLV College of Music and Fine Arts, as the translator. Late Dr. Ayyappa Paniker (an eminent Malayalam poet, literary critic and an academician introduced the work to Mini Krishnan (Editor, Translations of Oxford University Press). Dr. Paniker told me that he wanted to meet me ever since he read my short story "Thenvarikka". He made one of his students, Dr. Sreela, to translate it as "The Honey Seed Jack Tree" which was published in *Indian Literature*, the bi-monthly journal of Sahitya Akademi. When we met in a meeting, he told me, "Only you can write like this".

During the translation, Professor Catherine Thankamma met me over a dozen times. She wanted to get the feel of each situation and the meanings of the words. She came to me with the first draft and discussed for hours, so that, the feel and taste of tribal-specific terms could be transliterated. Since, she hails from Pathanam thitta District, she could understand the context and the terms.

The English version *Kocharethi: The Araya Woman* published by Oxford University Press won the Economist-Crossword Book Award for the best fiction translation award in the Indian language translation category, in October 2012. With the English translation published by OUP, the novel got a wide readership in many foreign countries including Canada. The English version of the novel is also in the course on Subaltern Studies at the University of Calgary in Canada.

BJ : *Was there any support from the government after the release of the book?*

N : I signed an agreement with the Sahitya Akademi to bring about its translation in eight languages. But, the Akademi brought out the translation only in three languages – Kannada, Telugu and Hindi. But, the translations have given me wide publicity.

BJ : *What happened to the French translation?*

N : No idea. I don't think there is any progress. It was a project for cultural exchange by the Ministry of Culture, Government of India. In 2013, *Kocharethi* was selected from among Malayalam works. After the change of government at the centre, the book might have been shelved.

This is the kind of help I receive from the government. The translations published by the Sahitya Akademi are also out of print and I don't receive any royalty from the Akademi.

BJ : *Do you have any connection with tribal activists like C. K. Janu or G.N. Devy?*

N : Janu is a tribal rights activist, but, I am not. I only write stories about the things I know. So, there is not much interaction between us since
I am not politically inclined. I don't share her political ideology.

I have met Ganesh Devy in a writers' conference in Delhi organized by the National Book Trust of India. He spoke to me very cordially. I also got a chance to meet Mahaswethadevi in a writers' meeting organized by Sahitya Akademi. But, otherwise I don't have much connection with other writers.

BJ : *You have narrated life-cycle rituals of your community in the novel. Are such rituals practised even now?*

N : Yes, such rituals are still practised by some Hindu Malayarayars residing in the villages. But,, youngsters now have scant regard for them. However, the Christian Malayarayars have given up such rituals long ago. They are following the tenets, rituals, ceremonies and practices of the Church of South India (CSI).

BJ : *What are the major festivals of the Malayarayars?*

N : We have no special festivals, but, have temple festivals on the basis of Malayalam stars – Kaarthika, Bharani, Pooyyam, etc. Another important event is Vellamkudi Veppu, an occasion to worship the spirits of our ancestors once in a year on Karkadakavavu (Amavasi or New Moon Day on Karkidakam – July to August – the last month of the Malayalam calendar). Their spirits are offered whatever is prepared. Chicken curry, arrack (made of paddy, roots of coconut and areca-nut trees, cinnamon) and toddy are the favourite delicacies offered to the ancestral spirits. The people who attend the function consume it after the ritual offering.

On Vishu (the Malayalam New Year), Uralis, another forest-dwelling tribe, would bring special offerings made of reed to the

Malayarayars. They address them as *vazhikal* (rulers). This shows the special position enjoyed by the Malayarayars among the hill tribes. They never faced any discrimination from caste Hindus. They also do not consume the flesh of cattle.

BJ :   *Can you talk about the most important deities and sacred symbols of Malayarayars? Do they hold any significance to the present-day Malayarayan?*

N : Our important deities are Ayyappan and Puliambulli. We also worship the spirits of our ancestors. We never had concepts like sin, hell, heaven, etc. But, the youngsters these days follow either Hindu or Christian ways of worship.

The worship of the Sasta is an important feature of the beliefs of the Malayarayars. We worship the deity at Sabarimala. Our lores say that Ayyappan is the son of a Pandalam Princess and a Malayaraya Prince (Karimala Rajah's son). The Malayarayars inhabited the 18 hills surrounding the Sabarimala ruled by Malanadhan. Karimala and Chiganpara were sacred groves for us. Maravans, a marauding group from Tamil Nadu, abducted the Pandalam Princess. While they were passing through the forest, the Ulladan Chieftain of Karimala Rajah and his men who were hunting there saved her and the King's son married her. A boy was born to them who was later adopted by the childless Pandalam Rajah. Later, when a son was born to the Rajah, the adopted son left the palace. On reaching Sabarimala, he became one with the Sasta Moorthy as Lord Ayyappa. Our ancestors were residing there and the bonfire they made came to be known as Makara Villaku. But, they are all evicted from that area now.

Our belief systems have striking similarities with Hinduism. Onam and Vishu festivals, rites related to puberty are all common to both the Hindus and the Malayarayars. The practice of untouchability and avoidance of cow's meat are common. We worship clan gods, but, the place of worship is often not the temple but, the sacred grove (Kavu).

BJ :   *Please talk about the traditional dance forms and songs of the Malayarayars.*

N: We used to have folk dance forms like *Ayyarkali* and *Kaduvakali* in the Malayalam months of *Kanni* and *Tulam*. But, now we have groups who perform another folk dance form, Kolukali (Stick dance). A group of ten to twelve men stand in a circle with a lighted lamp in the centre. They are provided with sticks, each about a cubit long. One member of the group initiates the game by reciting a couplet from one of the folk

songs, after which the rest of the group try to catch him, singing all the while. They move in a circle striking the sticks, tapping the floor with their feet and singing at the same time. The circle alternately gets widened and narrowed. *Chavittukali* is another dance form. The songs in these dance forms are from Hindu puranas which can be taken as an instance to the long-term connection between Hindus and Malayarayars.

"*Tumpipattu*" was a folk song prevalent among our girls. In the Malayalam month of *Tulam* the girls of marriageable age used to stand in streams with water up to the level of their breasts along with their aunts. They would throw flowers into water and sing songs to get suitable husbands. After that, they would be given a feast. But, actually there was no freedom of choice for the girls to select the husband. The marriage was arranged by elders, often between cross-cousins. The boy should be older by at least two years to the girl. When a girl attained puberty, the boy's father would come to the girl's father asking the girl for his son. If he agreed, the date of marriage would be fixed.

BJ : ***What were the major changes brought about by the arrival of Christian missionaries and Hindu majoritarian groups to the hills?***

N : The Malayarayars had been nomadic agriculturists, though, they later became settled peasants. Rice was their staple diet. They cultivated paddy, cassava, plantains, and other cereals and pulses. A portion of the land was used for cultivating tapioca, ragi, gram, a variety of pulses and vegetables. They also raised cash crops, especially pepper. Now most of the Malayarayars grow rubber plants.

There was a time when they produced more than ten thousand 'parahs' (measure) of paddy. Some of them were quite affluent. One sixth of the total produce was to be given to the King as Rajabhogam. The official in charge of tax collection was *Mandapathum Vathukkal*. *Parvathyars*, similar to modern-day Tahsildars, were below them. *Chattambis* used to come to the hills for collecting taxes. There were also taxes on the count of able-bodied men (*talakkaram*) and women (*mulakkaram*). The illiterate Malayarayars were cheated by traders from outside who came for pepper. They were also exploited by the tax collectors. A short story of mine, "Taxes for Heads and Breasts", is based on real incidents I heard at my grandfather's house.

When the kingship was gone saffron-clad men came for collecting money for temple construction, renovation, etc. They told us that it was those deities in the plains who looked after our well being in

the hill slopes. We were forced to part with our agricultural products with them too.

   We do not get support from anyone, neither the government nor the political parties. We are marginalised by the State, its establishments and the organised religions. From being proud farmers, practitioners of traditional medicine and guardians of the land, we have become the displaced and dispossessed, relying on the State to protect our land and cultural identity.

   Following massive conversion to Christianity in the last century, there are now Hindu Malayarayars and Christian Malayararars. Our people were converted by the Christian missionaries, belonging to the Anglican Church. They are proud of being Christians and have severed their connection with the community. The church educated their children and helped them in securing government jobs. Even now Christian Malayarayars, roughly half of the population, are better off than us and in well-paid jobs. The Christian Malayaraya youth are given special training for getting government jobs. There is also an IAS officer, M.S. Joseph, from this group. There is not much social connection between us and Christian Malayarayars. "Birth of a Prophet", a short story of mine, is a response to the Christian conversions happened in hill sides. The non-Christian Malayarayars are ignored even by God.

BJ: I am sure you must have gained / lost many things because of modern education and the government job that made you leave the place of your ancestors.

N: I would describe it as a turning point. I do not think I could do anything for my community. I do not wish to be part of either the mainstream society or the modern world. In fact, I know that we (Adivasis) can never be part of the mainstream, as I see no one welcoming such an assimilation.

BJ : *What should be the role of the government in the life of a tribal?*

N : The governments should make efforts to bring the tribal people to the mainstream without compromising on their ethnic identity. The government lacks a comprehensive vision, while envisaging developmental projects for tribals. The policy-makers should get in touch with Adivasis before implementing projects for them. Educated people of the community could be made use for it. In schools, education should be imparted in such an environment that Adivasi children would be encouraged to learn. Preliminary education can be given in their

dialect and children should be given vocational training in their area of interest.

I was asked by a TV channel to comment on the murder of Madhu (an Adivasi who was tortured and killed for stealing food items from a shop by an angry mob in Wayanad District of Kerala). I told them that this was not the first incident and won't be the last either. When the so-called civilized people steal crores of rupees, a poor adivasi is murdered for trying to satiate his hunger.

BJ: *In writing Kocharethi have you employed any Adivasi ways of story telling?*

N: No, it gives the history of the community only for a period of 60 years. The stories of my great-grandfather might have helped me in recreating it. The rituals performed by my grandfather, the Velichappadu for instance, gave me an idea about our ways of worship.

But, I cannot write everything. If I am not sure about something, I normally don't write about it. The contemporary issues dealt in my stories, too, are also influenced by some incidents I know.

BJ: *You intended Kocharethi as a resistance to the misrepresentation of your community. Do you think you have succeeded in it?*

N: The misrepresentations label a marginalised community. I asked myself what I could do about it and that is when I decided to write what I knew the best. So, I chose to describe my life, upbringing and culture.

BJ : *Have you any plans to promote young talents in your community?*

N : I make it a point to encourage anyone who comes to me for guidance. Two women writers – Manjula P.S. and Shylaja Narayanan belonging to our community – have published collections of poems. I wrote the introduction to a compilation of songs– *Malayarayarude Anushtanaganangal* – for the observance of religious rites brought out by Shylaja Narayan

I am happy for the fact, that, the youngsters are proud of their heritage and the oral story-telling tradition of their ancestors. I am looking forward to the arrival of many more writers from the various tribal groups to show the world that the new generation is good at writing too. We are not illiterate, half-naked barbarians as projected in some movies, but, educated members of the society who contribute to the growth of the nation.

BJ : *Thank you very much for sharing your views with me.*

N : Thank you.

ELDERLY WOMEN STATUS, ROLE AND HEALTH
AMONG RURAL SCHEDULED CASTE IN PUDUCHERRY

V. Pragati

Puducherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, Puducherry.

Aging process is a universal phenomenon and inevitably this stage comes in every society. In Indian situation the aged persons are looked at differently in different society. In traditional Hindu society the elderly persons enjoy lot of respect and honour. Old age presents its special and unique problems but these have been aggravated due to the unprecedented change of socio-economic transformation leading to a number of changes in different aspects of living condition. The needs and problems of the elderly vary significantly according to their age, socioeconomic status, health, living status and other such background characteristics (Siva Raju: 2002). Changing traditional values, mobility of the younger generation, changes in family structure and role of women have contributed to a 'crisis in caring' for the elderly (Prakash 2005). Alam mentioned that For elders living with their families still the dominant living arrangements their economic security and well-being largely depends on the economic capacity of the family unit (2006).

There are only few studies done by some anthropologists and social scientist. Here mention may be made of Ahmed 1969; Ghosh 1990; Maldar 1989-90; Toppo 1989, 90; Kottkayam 1990; Mukhopadhyay 1989; Kumar *et al*., 1989 and Pragati 2009; 2013; 2013 etc., who have done some useful work in this direction. Among the Scheduled Caste communities the old people have varied statuses. The Scheduled Caste of our country constitutes an important population from anthropological perspective. In this perspective, there are only very few studies dealing specifically with the aged Scheduled Caste of our country. However, it is interesting to note that the existing health system policies, programmes and research address women in their reproductive role especially. But, maternity women and but do not reflect aged health of women population, moreover only their problems have been highlighted but the integration of aged women into the development process has not received

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V. Pragati, e-mail: pragathirajkumar@yahoo.co.in

serious attention. Realizing these serious limitations, this study makes an attempt to examine some aspects of their status and order of aged women of rural Scheduled Caste in Puducherry.

I have interviewed aged informants and some family members of some of the aged informants. Family members of the aged informants were interviewed deliberately in order to cross check the data. Anthropological techniques such as interview, observation and case study methods were used to collect data.

Being an Elderly Woman

After a woman has given birth to at least one child, preferably a son, she enters a period of symbolically stable motherhood wherein her social value as a woman is secured. She has fulfilled the womanly *dharmam*. She has gone through the central, auspicious rituals in her life, viz. *vayasukkuvandhadu* (coming of age), *Kalyaanam* (marriage), and *pracavam* (child birth). She is an established, benign mother (*amma*); she embodies auspicious wifehood as a married woman whose husband is alive (*kattukkaluthi*), and thus is respected and cherished by her relatives and the world around. Her social relations may alter as a result of changes in household composition, marital status etc., but as far as her womanhood is conceived, the identity of her as a mother does not change until her own children are old enough to marry. After a woman's children marry or have reached marriageable age, she accomplishes the apex of the feminine life cycle, senior womanhood. An elder woman (*paatti*) is expert in ritual practices, expert of the house she possesses knowledge on how to act in life-crisis and calendrical ritual; how to sacrifices to gods and goddesses perform; She is a decision maker, and plays generally perform role of the mother-in-law (*attai*) young daughter dominant in-law. She can move around in the village and neighbourhood more freely than younger women. A mother-in-law has many dependants; others depend on her decisions and orders, skills, care, and advice. Having dependants means having duties, but at the same, having influence and importance in society.

Although Tamils appreciate *kattukkaluthi* as auspicious symbols, they also accept the fact that widowhood is after all an unavoidable stage for many women. Widows are said to be ritually inauspicious, but they are not considered ritually impure. Indeed, elderly widows who lost their husbands in their old age are not particularly inauspicious and are treated with considerable respect.

In the cultural studies done so far, married women are considered to be representing auspiciousness and the widows representing inauspiciousness. Eventually, Reynold speaks directly about the powers of the chaste woman and

the auspicious married women. Barren women and widows are the most dreaded, feared and all too real status possibilities for females, the most inauspicious of all inauspicious things. Tapper claims that Telugu widows like the Goddesses, are believed to have an excess of uncontrollable and potentiality out of control. There upon where outward control is lacking and only inner self control, comparable to that of the ascetic path of the widow renunciation. Eventually, celibacy is crucial to this ascetic life style. Celibacy is intended to ensure the ascetic as high a degree of purity as possible (1970).

Socio-Economic Profile of the Informants

Out of the eighty informants, forty–six (57.5 per cent) are in the age group, thirty (37.5 per cent) are in the age group 70-79 and the remaining four (5 per cent) are eighty years or above. It is significant to note that all the informants have no exposure to formal education. As regards to employment sixty-six (82.5 per cent) are engaged in one of the major professional, domestic or agricultural activities. The remaining fourteen (17.5 per cent) are not engaged in any such major activities because of their poor health conditions. In terms of income, most of the informants are agricultural worker; some of them work as daily wage labourers and the rest play the role as helpers in household work. It is interesting to note that none of the informants is living alone because the rural Scheduled Caste aged have a traditional support systems. The aged parents usually stay away from their sons.

Contribution of Aged Rural Scheduled Caste Women

Aged rural Scheduled Caste women represent an opportunity rather than crises, a solution rather than a problem, an asset rather than a burden, a resource rather than a drain on resource and a group that cannot only make an economic contribution.

If present and future generations of older women to maintain their place in society their contribution must be made more visible and they must have a greater say in those issues which directly affect them.

Income Generation

Any efforts invested to empower older women through income generating activities will go a long way to develop their confidence and self esteem. This will enable these women to spend their last days in happiness and dignity. Almost sixty two (77.5 per cent) of the aged rural Scheduled Caste women said that they contribute something to the family income. They do all sort of works like weeding, transplanting and winnowing; many of them also go for wage labour and collection of several forest products. However, the

necessity for institutional support in terms of skill training, access to credit, raw materials and markets, as well as for support of the elderly themselves; for example by forming themselves into organized group that would enable them to plan, implement, monitor and evaluate their own programmes effectively.

Intergenerational Communication

The elderly woman is the main medium through which the inter-generational communication concerning procreation works. The elderly rural Scheduled Caste women are highly valued for their roles as advisers, customs and oral history. Younger people as well as the aged men themselves still consider these roles of the elderly women to be very important.

Emotional value is still attached to the role of elderly rural Scheduled Caste women as counsellors and advisers within the family as well as the community. About 9 (11.25 per cent) of the informants said that their family members usually honour their decisions/opinions on family matters. Their role as family doctors needs to be highlighted. Their knowledge in ethno medicine is just unimaginable. Almost all aged informants stated that they are consulted by the younger generation in matters of health care. Thus, in rural Scheduled Caste communities, which do not have its own written language the aged women's knowledge and wisdom, are respected by the younger generation. They are the ones who transmit such knowledge and wisdom to the younger generation through oral communication.

Caring of Young Ones

When younger rural Scheduled Caste women are entering the labour market or at least being employed gainfully outside their homes, the role of the older women in housekeeping and child care is gaining importance. Other young parents find employment far away from their homes, in such cases the grandmothers normally take charge of the children, thereby enabling the younger women to work. The caring role of the aged rural Scheduled Caste women is not limited to children. Of their family, but widespread amongst the only community.

Agricultural Work Participation

Agricultural labour and farm cultivation are the main areas of economic activities for rural women. The occupational structure of female workforce indicates the domination of women in agriculture. Even though there is an increasing trend in secondary and tertiary sector of the economy, agriculture has continued to be the main source of livelihood for all workers, especially for the majority of the women workers (Rao, 1983).

Most of the unskilled women workers are in agriculture sector. In India, agriculture accounts 65 per cent of the total employment, of which, the women's share is 82 per cent (Sundaram 1997). The growth rate of agricultural labourers among females is much above the percentage increase in the total female population.

Women are employed in various agricultural operations like from transplanting to harvesting and the level of employment of female agricultural labourers is mostly related to the extent and intensity of rice cultivation (Ganesh 1990). Their role in agriculture is so significant, that, without them almost nothing could be done on the farm, as traditionally majority of male worker of the regions do not participate in working on the farm except ploughing and related works. Women are employed in different activities in crop production such as land preparation, transplanting, weeding, harvesting, threshing and winnowing.

Environment Protection

The rural Scheduled Caste women play vital role in protecting the environment. Majority of informants felt that deforestation will have a tremendous effect in the Scheduled Caste way of life. As many as 69 (82.25 per cent) of the rural Scheduled Caste aged women advise the younger generation to protect the nature by making them aware of the evil effects of deforestation. By telling them folklore stories and proverbs related to environment, they tried to communicate the younger generation how important to the human life.

Health and Healing Aspect of the Aged Rural Scheduled Caste Women

Elderly women experience a high burden of chronic illness, disability, and co-morbidity, and this burden is the highest among socio-economically disadvantaged and minority women. The consequences of a mismatch between the organization, delivery, and financing of health care for elderly women and their actual needs fall disproportionately on low-income and minority women. These are the most frequently mentioned illnesses such as general weaknesses; breathlessness; headache (*talai vali*); leg and hand pain (*kai kaal vali*), and hip pain (*iddupu vali*). "Weakness" is usually associated with breathlessness, headaches, and leg/hand pains.

It was found to be very difficult to get informants to articulate the basic causes of different illnesses. In the discussions with the women, as well as health providers in the area, it appeared the concerns about witchcraft and related supernatural sources of illnesses are common among them i.e., witchcraft (*suunyam*) and evil eye (*dhristi*).

Most of the aged rural Scheduled Caste women believe that the reasons for their health problems are due to "improper food intake and it leads to their weakness". They usually mean inadequate or irregular diet or lack of strength giving foods like fruits, milk and plenty of vegetables. Many of them said that they cannot afford such foods. Other major causes for weakness were perceived to be physiological i.e. illness like fever and old age or social i.e. excessive household work and worries of life.

Pragati states that in rural areas of Puducherry, almost all the Traditional Birth Attendants (*maruttuvacci*s) are older women married or widowed women, menopausal women, and women were having three or five grown up children. Those sons and daughters have got married. Some of the *maruttuvacci*s are well respected by the community people, because of the repository knowledge in attending deliveries and in treating women and child health problems (2009: 2013). For ordinary health problem the rural Scheduled Caste communities at first try to treat with home remedies by consulting the *maruttuvacci* or any old women in the family or from neighbourhoods. Therefore most of the aged rural Scheduled Caste women also have the knowledge to work as *maruttuvacci*. The *maruttuvacci* apart from managing deliveries could address diverse health conditions such as infertility problems in female and male, dislodging of foetus, misconceptions, abortion, breast leucorrhoea, and haemorrhages, amenorrhea in unmarried and married women, pain with hardening of breast. *Maruttuvacci* expertly treats a wide range of paediatric problems pertaining to child's growth, cold, cough, fever, improving digestion etc.

Most of aged rural Scheduled Caste women function as the store house of traditional wisdom. Most of the medicines are accompanied with certain diet restrictions. Their medicine chest comprises of herbs, roots, tubers, barks, leaves, etc. Dumont also describes the remedy given by the *maruttuvacci*s to the mother after birth a concoction of palm sugar, garlic, pepper, and ginger, as well as the protective measures (1987:260). Thus, the aged rural Scheduled Caste women have better social status in contrast with other social groups.

Conclusion

In spite of the physical, economical and socio-psychological problems, the aged rural Scheduled Caste women contribute to their families' income and this contribution aspect need to be highlighted. The government often talks about developing human resources but does not know how to utilize this great untapped reservoir of elderly Scheduled Caste. The first step is to bring awareness ……….. make the aged that they need to work for themselves and that they can also actively contribute to development.

Elderly widow rural Scheduled Caste women spend most of years without serious infirmity or illness. It is to the advantage of the elderly rural Scheduled Caste women themselves as well their community that these years are spent usefully. The foregoing analysis clearly reveals that the Scheduled Caste women as such and elderly rural Scheduled Caste women play a significant role in the process of development. It is unfortunate that most of their contributions still remain unnoticed and unrecognized. Undoubtedly, this study makes a pioneering attempt to highlight the contribution of the aged women their community. It is the need of the hour that more and more number of scholars should come forward and try to conduct empirical studies on aged rural Scheduled Caste women of our country to make their contribution more visible to the world.

Good physical and mental health is essential for the integration of the elderly women development. It is also one of the good goals of development. Continuing participation in economic, cultural and community life is closely related to the maintenance of health and self esteem of older women. One does not grow old by living a number of years but by deserting his ideals and usefulness, by losing the will and faith to accomplish. Years may wrinkles the soul .One must remember that we are as young as our faith and despairs.

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CURTAIN CALL AND THEATRE EYRIE:
THE PROCESS OF ADAPTATION IN THEATRE

M. David Wesley
Madras Christian College, Chennai.

Theatre and adaptation are not different from each other. They are inseparable and are inextricably wound into each other. Adaptation is the veins and arteries through which the life force of theatre flows. It is indeed a common place to talk about theatre and adaptation in the same breath.

Generally, when one looks at adaptation in theatre, it is more or less about the alteration, modification, transposition of forms and genres. Hugh Holman, in *Handbook to Literature* defines adaptation thus:

> The rewriting of a work from its original form to fit it for another medium; also the new form of such a rewritten work. A novel may be "adapted" for the stage or motion pictures or television; a play may be rewritten as a novel; the new form of such a modification is called an "adaptation".

In general, the content of adaptations has been about epics (myths and legends) being turned into plays with particular alterations. The Greek tragedies and the classical Sanskrit dramas stand true in such a case. By virtue of its alteration from one form to another, the content of the myth in the new form is seen as adaptation. However, within the theatre form, the fact remains that performance plays a crucial role in the whole process of adaptation. Adaptation does not cease with the alteration from epic form to drama form. There is more to adaptation when seen from the theatre/performance perspective. Therefore, this paper is not so much about the content of adaptation as much as it is about the understanding of adaptation itself within theatre/performance.

Although contemporary theatres choose content apart from myths and legends, what remains the same is the notion of adaptation; that it is a shift from one form to another, one genre to another. This is only one layer of adaptation. When it comes to theatre, there is another layer of adaptation which needs to be observed. Theatre is a multi-generic medium involving several aspects apart

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M. David Wesley, e-mail: mdavidwesley@gmail.com

from stories. Content is only one dimension of theatre. Theatre involves content, text, rehearsals, actors, props, music, audience, space, specific contexts of performance, etc. It is important to observe these aspects, because, the process of adaptation can be learnt at these various levels, which can go unnoticed if focus is only on texts and content. It is all these aspects put together in the theatre that gives meaning and understanding to the audience, not to leave out the fact that it is the audience as well that gives completion to the performance. Through these, it can be said that adaptation is not only a shift from genre to genre or form to form (a point to point travel), but, also a stream that passes through various other paraphernalia (both organic and otherwise) of theatre.

Moreover, the culmination is not limited to enactment on stage but adaptation gives birth to newer estuaries every time the performance of the same play takes place. Although stage enactment (the ocean) can be seen as the destination of the stream of adaptation, it does not remain there for long but gets recycled perennially. In other words, adaptation in theatre is akin to water cycle. It goes into various forms and is constantly on the move. Such a notion is well-explained by Linda Hutcheon when she writes in her *A Theory of Adaptation*,

> "live performance works are likewise fluid in that no two productions of one printed play text or musical score, or even two performances of the same production, will be alike. But there is a break between the kinds of fluidity determined by (a) the production process (writing, editing, publishing, and performing) and (b) those created by reception, by people who "materially alter texts", who censor, translate, bowdlerize, and adapt them further". (2006: 170).

No two performances of the same play are identical. The question of adaptation always floats around with each new performance, even if it is the same play. The study of various rehearsals and performances of the same play can show that adaptation is not only an inherent quality of theatre, but, it also engenders alterations internally. With each rehearsal and each performance, theatre alters itself. As Kolatkar put it succinctly about the butterfly, theatre too 'is a pun on the present'. Theatre constantly adapts itself to conditions around it, and at the same time, adapts the conditions around it.

The process of adaptation can be observed clearly when we study the performance variables, apart from texts and content. Texts are constant. They change only when a human agent consciously changes them. But, performances are always changing, modifying and altering.

It is this notion of adaptation in theatre, that, this paper attempts to substantiate by observing its process in the making of theatre. It particularly focuses on the work done by "Curtain Call" and "Theatre Eyrie",

Theatre Wings of the Departments of English, University of Madras and Madras Christian College respectively. To be more specific, the paper focuses on four different performances of the same texts performed between Dec 2012 and July 2017 by these theatre wings. Moreover, the process of adaptation in these performances are analysed in the following categories. They are not strictly categorical. They often overlap each other.

1. Contexts;
2. Texts;
3. Space and Rehearsal; and
4. Time and Performance.

1. Contexts

It is important to understand the context for each performance. Contexts can vary for different performances. The general context here is "Curtain Call" and "Theatre Eyrie", the two theatre wings of the Departments of English, University of Madras and Madras Christian College, respectively.

Before venturing into the observation of rehearsals and performances of the said plays and performances, a brief look at the theatre wings, "Curtain Call" and "Theatre Eyrie" would help put things in perspective. In 1998, Dr. Rajani joined the Department of English, University of Madras as Professor Emeritus. He established "Curtain Call" and produced several plays, especially women-centered plays until 2010. In these dozen years, Curtain Call, as it focused largely on women-centric theatre, depended on adapting various materials to fit its agenda. Over these years, Dr. Rajani had adapted not only poems and novels into play scripts and performances but he also used letters written by Ted Hughes and Sylvia Plath to script out a performance. Some of the novels he had turned into plays are J M Coetzee's *Disgrace*, John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*, Toni Morrison's *Sula*, Beatrice Culleton's *In Search of April Raintree*, and so on. Rajani's theatre is primarily women-centric and therefore he chooses texts that foreground the issues of women. In such a case, he had never depended merely on play texts, he chose material from other sources which catered to his women-oriented plays. So, the novels mentioned above were mostly women-centric novels. The poems he had adapted as plays were also women-based poems. One poem that comes to mind immediately is Robert Frost's "Home-Burial" It can be seen that in his theatre, adaptation was a primary and regular feature.

Having been Rajani's student and acted in his plays from 2007 to 2009 in the University of Madras, I came back to join as, Ph.D scholar in 2012. When I began doing theatre with the students in the University, we began experiencing transformation in our play making process from a text-based to a

theatre that attempted to give space for performance elements. This was possible because we began mixing and matching English texts with Tamil texts. The bilingual theatre opened up several doors through which many modifications were possible especially in the choice of actors, choice of texts, use of space, and the treatment of audience. In the text-based theatre, it was essential that actors be proficient in the English language. Such a criterion was not strictly necessary in the performance-centered theatre. The personal skills of students and the local social and political issues were preferred over the text. In other words, the text went through such changes according to the particular capability of a student or a local political issue that the original text was unrecognisable in the final performance. Collage, pastiche, and appropriation were instrumental in this process of the shift. Since the students were representing their own issues, the performance carried a certain amount of authenticity. A purely text based theatre, on the other hand, was always conscious of the distance between the representation and the original.

It is in this context, that, we performed several times the native Canadian poems "The Cattle Thief", and "Cry a Chorale", and also the Greek tragedy *Antigone*, both separately and as a collage.

When I joined the Madras Christian College in 2016, the experiments continued. Theatre Eyrie, the theatre wing, Department of English, Madras Christian College, also performed the same pieces in new contexts and could experience a different kind of adaptation. Though they are same pieces performed over the years again and again and also with newer casts, adaptation process also went through certain tangible and also unconscious changes. The students in MCC who joined theatre influenced the process of play making. Since most students were relatively at ease with the English language, they gave an anglicized tone to our presentations of local issues. The students had to be trained to look at their own issues more closely so that they could become more aware and that their theatre true.

Four Performances and their Particular Contexts
Performances by Curtain Call

1) Dec. 2012: Performance of Emily Pauline Johnson's Native Canadian poem "The Cattle Thief" and Daniel David Moses' poem "Cry, a chorale". This was performed during the International Conference on Fourth World Literatures held in Acharya Nagarjuna University, Vijayawada.

2) Sep. 2014: *Antigones, a collage version* performed in the Department of English, University of Madras for the Refresher Course for college faculty on the topic "New Perspectives in Post-Colonialism". Portions from Sophocles'

Antigone, Anouilh's *Antigone*, McIntyre's *Irangani*, Badal Sircar's *Procession,* "The Cattle Thief" and "Cry, a chorale" were part of this collage.

Performances by Theatre Eyrie

3) Mar. 2017: *Antigones, a collage version* (the same play as the one mentioned before). It was performed in celebration of World Theatre Day and also the month of Women's Day. It was performed in a particularly interesting space in Madras Christian College. The section on 'Space' would elaborate on this aspect.

4) July 2017: This performance is a truncated version of the collage play *Antigones* performed in honour of Dr. Mangai, the well-known Tamil Theatre practitioner who was retiring that month from teaching in Stella Maris College. It was performed in Stella Maris College, Chennai. This performance is useful in the context of how 'time' can be a factor in adaptation. The section on 'Time' would elaborate on this aspect.

The awareness of these contexts is important because it informs the analysis of the process of adaptation through the other three categories. It also needs to be reminded that, for performance analysis, (here, to identify the process of adaptation in theatre) contexts and occasions of performance are important even in terms of methodology. It is only under these contexts that the remaining three categories (Texts, Space and Rehearsal, Time and Audience) can be studied.

2. Texts

When we talk about texts within the performance framework, it has to be borne in mind, that, text is subsumed into the idea of performance, not in a text versus performance binary. Therefore, we began seeing text as one of the variables in a performance, and not text as a dictator of performance. This became even more possible because of the mode of our use of texts. We began using collage as a mode of dealing with texts to achieve our ends in performance.

Text, when seen from the grounds of performance, assumes a complex position. Text, within an adaptation scenario, is not merely language on paper. It is difficult to distinguish where text ends and performances begins within the case of adaptation. A text, although belonging to a particular context when seen from the author's stance, is morphed into the context of the director and the actor, as it gets ready for performance. Performance has already begun even during rehearsals when the director and actor make visible changes or sometimes completely recreate the lines. It is at this point that one realizes that text is not mere language but a template, a blue print where another kind of language can be fixed, removed, and re-fixed. Text becomes that mould into

which new material is poured every time a change is made. This can be explained with two examples.

The first one is Badal Sircar's *Procession* which is one of the plays from which a portion was chosen to be a part of the collage play *Antigones*. Sircar's *Procession*, as a text, is a self effacing text. It invites the actors to replace the language by the actors' own lines. Since, the text or the language in the play does not assume, at any point, any sense of finality, it is always open to the actors to add, delete, superimpose, and juxtapose their own lines and scenes. In the play *Procession*, the sequence of events does not assume any fossilized state and hence, the text is always open to alteration and adaptation.

For example, the text *Procession* was complied in the 70s which had dealt with the socio-political issues of those times specifically in Calcutta. Particularly, there is a portion where the actors sell newspapers by shouting out the headlines of the day. The same scene can be done even this day by simply replacing those headlines with the ones that suit today's issues. What defines a 'text' here is not the language, but, the idea of such a scene. The concrete nature of the text remains not in printed language, but, in the carrying forward to modern times the idea of that scene. When text is 'open', as in the case of *Procession*, theatre becomes actor-centered. In an actor-centered theatre, the role of text is of a certain kind. How does adaptation function in an actor-centered play?

This question leads us to the second example: The influence of practitioners on text. The natural bent of an actor can sometimes influence the interpretation of a text. The body of the actor, although is controlled by his/her affectation of the text, still is an independent body. The voice and the body of the actor, its movement in a particular space may not be completely determined by the text alone. It is possible that the actor can sometimes influence the interpretation of the text. We have experienced such a scenario in the case of *Antigones*. When actor Uma essayed the role of Antigone in September 2014, she gave the character a certain tinge, which later in 2017, when three other actors (multiple actors for one character this time) did the role of Antigone/s, gave it completely another texture. To look at the difference between two actors playing the same character is a matter of adaptation, because we are looking at adaptation from the point of view of performance. When Uma did the role of Antigone, she was an M.Phil research scholar in English literature from the University of Madras. Her knowledge of classical drama tradition, and her exposure to classical art forms in Kerala along with her awareness of the contemporary gender discourse helped her internalize the character not only in a classical way, but also give the character as showing stern resistance to authority which is informed by her knowledge of the contemporary gender

discourse. The result turned out that her character stayed close to the Sophocles version and at the same was clearly taking into account the gender issues of the day. It was also because the intention of that production was to stay close to the Sophocles' version.

When we produced the same play the next time in March 2017, we had three girls from III B.A English from Madras Christian College to perform the role of Antigone/s. The idea that multiple actors would be donning the role of one character gave us several possibilities of interpretation. Each woman can represent women from different parts of the world and also women from different strata of society. With Aishwarya, Merlin and Manthrashree, Antigone took on a parallel dialogic mode. If one was dressed like Malala, another was dressed as an African woman, and the other as a free-thinking liberal western woman. These were not exact types given to them but they were given such costumes that they may implicitly carry the relevance of Antigone to modern times. They were sticking to the lines of Sophocles but their costumes, staging of their bodies, their individual body languages and more importantly their knowledge about who they are representing on stage – all these contributed to the interpretation of the character Antigone.

The collage play also had a portion from another version of *Antigone*. It was Ernest McIntyre's *Irangani* which dealt with the civil war in Sri Lanka. In Sep. 2012, Deepa played the role of Irangani. Since she was lean and had a rather feeble voice, she could, as she was speaking in support of dead bodies, also indirectly represent the emaciated state of Tamils whose voices were muffled. Though her lines have no direct reference to the Tamils, but her body and voice on stage had an uncanny suggestion to the plight of the Tamils. One can see such an interpretation in the painting on *Irangani* done by Rajan.

Rajan. *Irangani*, 2014, water colour.

However, in Mar. 2017, when Mohanapriya did the same role, another dimension of Irangani was explored. Since the actor was brisk and had energetic voice, Irangani took on the status of a social activist. The text *Irangani* does not explicitly suggest whether she is part of the victims or a social activist. It is the actors that feed such a dimension to the text through their bodies and voices. By studying different actors, the process of adaptation in theatre can be identified because adaptation in theatre is primarily a matter of performance.

It was not only in the case of Antigone, but such changes were seen even in the case of Creon. We had actor Sethu Darwin perform the role of Creon in September 2014. He is a tall man and fit the bill of a tyrant. However, in March 2017, we had three boys play the character of Creon. One was from II B.A. English, the other was from III B.A English and the third was from I M.A English. When Reuben, Joel, and Mohan performed Creon, they didn't look as tyrannical as Sethu did. However, they came across representing the soft power of the contemporary period. Wearing an Indian politician's dress, a corporate boss' attire, and the clothes of a regular husband of the house, they suggestively took the Antigone-Creon debate from the portals of classicalism to the everyday. The text here, especially the scene between Creon and Antigone had allowed us to indulge in such experiments. Although it can be said that the costumes were external addition to the text, it remains true that the scene by Sophocles has such universal values that it allows the debate to continue at every level of human interaction. Although the costumes, make-up, lights or staging of the actors' bodies may suggest primarily performance and not text, it has to be kept in mind that text has a crucial role to play in the possible interpretation and the resulting performance. It reaches a point that when we see the process of adaptation in theatre, from the perspective of performance, it becomes extremely difficult to extricate text and performance from each other. Where does text end and performance begin? Some of the tangible points to describe these points can be found in the act of reading, the use of space, rehearsal, time and audience. These points are not exclusive and may vary with different texts and performances. But it is certain that it is within this complexity of the identities of text and performance that the idea of adaptation lays.

Reading as Adaptation

Reading is not merely a loud or silent utterance of the words written but also an intonation (aloud or in the head) of the text. Especially the reading of a play text cannot be done without intonation. Intonation naturally assumes a certain context into which the text is being adapted. The act of reading for theatre itself can be seen as adaptation, at times.

Therefore, adaptation has to be studied from the performance perspective and not merely from the textual. It is so because much of the adaptation takes place because of the relationship between an actor and the text. It is only during the rehearsals one can identify this relationship. The actor, as much as the text, sometimes more than text, is a dynamic entity in the adaptation process. The body and voice of the actor becomes the catalytic space from where the text resurfaces into something real.

3. Space and Rehearsal

On March 27, 2017, we performed the collage play *Antigones* in Madras Christian College in celebration of World Theatre Day. Theatre Eyrie was observing the World Theatre Day for the second year successively. On March 23, 2016, it had performed monologues from Shakespeare because it was the 400th year of Shakespeare's memory. For *Antigones*, we chose a slightly odd place to perform. It was not an academic space. It perhaps lodged a classroom or a lab earlier because now it did not have walls but the circular space was covered (partially) by wooden panels. Some of those panels were broken. So, there were multiple entries into that space. It was very dimly lit. Students often occupied that space during their break time. When empty, it gave an eerie look. We particularly liked the ambience and wanted to perform in this space. When we asked for permission to perform in this space, we got enquiring looks. Since no one used that space for any important events and there was no competition to book that place, we found no difficulty in obtaining permission to perform in that space. But we were sure that space is an important contributor to theatre and its effect on audience.

So, this space gave to the entire play an effect that was quite different from the previous performance of the same play. The previous performance of the same play in September 2014 was in a well-furnished hall where the refresher course for English faculty was taking place. The participants of the refresher course were our audience. The hall, the occasion and the audience determined our approach towards the text and performance. Since the topic of the course was New Perspectives in Post-Colonialism, we strived to interpret the play in terms of contemporary views of Post-Colonialism. In the end, the performance turned out to be strictly academic, although it entertained the audience as well. The discussion that followed the performance was also highly academic. However, the performance in March 2017 was different. Both occasion and the place of performance pointed toward general celebration of theatre and discussion of present day issues concerning homogenization of religious and gender identities through establishing a central power.

Since the students involved in the production were also largely from the undergraduate level, the performance was also a pedagogic attempt. This performance was designed so that students may be sensitized about the issues pertaining to power and gender and other burning issues of the country and the world at large. Although this is the primary aim, the performance is complete only when it is received by an audience. The performance can be analysed only in terms of the effect and mood it created. In this sense, the space of performance was crucial for the creation of effect on audience. Having seen both performances of Antigone in the University of Madras and also in Madras Christian College, Dr. Azhagarasan comments in an SMS,

> There is a huge difference between the Antigone performance with univ[ersity] students and with the MCC students. It basically seemed a difference in the attitude of two groups of students. But it shows two different attitudes towards the play. To me, the difference got serious ideological implications. In the university production the idea of 'The Tragedy of Creon' emerged in Rajan's painting but the play revolved around Antigone. So she remained a sorrowful victim. The casual attitude of the MCC students seemed to give an impression that they were not serious. But their attitude threatened to subvert the whole play. It naturally gave a cynical tone in the character, Antigone and the play has become a perfect tragedy of Creon. The 'self-conscious' lack of love (not his assumption of power) becomes a tragic flaw of the hero, Creon. Here the MCC performance seemed to face a risk, by bringing back the hero-centric story. But such a reading will only be strict feminist view. I think, the MCC performance breaks such a binary anticipated in the text itself.

In July 2017, we performed a truncated version of the collage play *Antigones* in Stella Maris College for Women as a retirement tribute to Dr. Mangai. Since it was a shortened version of the collage play *Antigones*, we focused mainly on the Antigone-Creon debate in Sophocles and the poem "Cry, a chorale" which was used to represent the guilt-stricken Creon at the end. We were performing in a Women's College and especially for Dr. Mangai whose work on theatre and gender is well-known. To suit the occasion, we decided to emphasis on the voice of resistance in Antigone. We wanted to use Antigone's voice as representative of many voices of many women across the world. Therefore, we had multiple actors playing Antigone but only one actor playing Creon. A debate between multiple Antigones and a single Creon may emphasize the voice of resistance to authority.

In the Sophocles text, the debate between Antigone and Creon reaches a stichomythic point:

ANTIGONE: Give me glory! What greater glory could I win than to give my own brother decent burial? These citizens here would all agree, they would praise me too if their lips weren't locked in fear.

CREON: You alone, of all the people in Thebes, see things that way.

ANTIGONE: They see it just that way but defer to you and keep their tongues in leash.

CREON: And you, aren't you ashamed to differ so from them? So disloyal!

ANTIGONE: Not ashamed for a moment, not to honor my brother, my own flesh and blood.

CREON: Wasn't Eteocles a brother too—cut down, facing him?

ANTIGONE: Brother, yes, by the same mother, the same father.

CREON: Then how can you render his enemy such honors, such impieties in his eyes?

ANTIGONE: He will never testify to that, Eteocles dead and buried.

CREON: He will— if you honor the traitor just as much as him.

ANTIGONE: But it was his brother, not some slave that died—

CREON: Ravaging our country!—

but Eteocles died fighting in our behalf.

ANTIGONE: No matter—Death longs for the same rites for all.

CREON: Never the same for the patriot and the traitor.

ANTIGONE: Who, Creon, who on earth can say the ones below don't find this pure and uncorrupt?

CREON: Never. Once an enemy, never a friend, not even after death.

ANTIGONE: I was born to join in love, not hate— that is my nature.

As their confrontation reaches a high dramatic point (in terms of language), the action on the performance also joins in to intensify the drama when the multiple Antigones continue to dig the grave as Creon keeps speaking his authoritative views. The numerical majority gave Antigone emphasis over Creon. Moreover, the fact that we had a static Creon and mobile Antigones also suggested not only the irreverence to patriarchy but the irrelevance of patriarchy. Such a perspective was achieved through the use of space in rehearsals and replicating it on a larger scale during the performance. For this performance, we chose to rehearse on the corridor outside the Department of English at MCC. The idea was that this space, the corridor (the narrow alley)

can be interpreted as the grave itself which the multiple Antigones would be digging as they keep debating with Creon. This idea gave a physical and kinetic shape to Antigone's irreverence to the King's edict, so irreverent that she (they) could transgress the law right in front of the King's eyes. By moving around, Antigones used maximum acting space while Creon remained 'unmoved' thereby using less space.

As the corridor used in the rehearsals simulated a theatre aisle for us, in the actual performance hall, audience seats were rearranged so that chairs were made to face the aisle from both sides. The aisle resembled a grave. The rearrangement of the audience seats as facing the aisle from both sides gave the audience an impression that they were watching the scene from the edges of a grave – the aisle. Such an arrangement gave the performance a sense of the here and now. Thus, space became a character, a prop, a mood-setter. This shows that space plays crucial in adaptation in theatre. Without tampering the text, it is possible to adapt the text into a different performance using the space available. In the present case, though spatially and numerically, Antigone had more emphasis than Creon, this preference was unconsciously neutralized when it came to the idea of 'Time'.

4. Time and Performance

July 2017. We were given only 20 minutes to perform in the event organized to honour the retiring professor Dr. Mangai. The actual time of the play is 50 minutes. We had to slice down considerably. Therefore, as already mentioned, we decided stick to Sophocles' debate scene and the poem "Cry" for the guilty Creon.

It becomes interesting to see how adaptation is seen from a performance perspective, how it becomes sometimes unconscious as well. The performance of Antigones for 20 minutes had its own results. Although the intention of the performance was to give more emphasis to the voice of resistance in Antigone, Creon also ended up standing equal because of the time factor. In the earlier two performances of *Antigones*, the different Antigones had more stage time and they were able stake claims about their position. Creon was a symbol of tyrannic power and Antigone was the voice against it. The intention was the same in all three performances. However, we reduced the time for the third performance and the conscious adaptation gave way to an unconscious one. The reduction in the overall time of performance created a situation where both Creon and Antigones get equal amount of stage time. As performers, we were sure that Antigone's voice of resistance would be our thrust but what transpired on stage was that Creon was also able to put his claims across because of the stage time he had received. Audience responded more neutrally to both

Antigone and Creon. It brought back the Hegelian view about tragedy that it is a confrontation of good versus good. Several versions of Antigone performances across the globe in the twentieth century had responded to, and resisted against the fascist powers of the world. Despite all his justifiable positions within ancient Greek tragic discourse, Creon came to be largely identified with tyranny in the twentieth century performances thanks to the World Wars, dictators and fascist governments. In the earlier two performances of this play, audience were more or less on the side of Antigone. But here, the performance hit a neutral ground and that too, unconsciously. Adaptation can be quite unconscious and not deliberate in theatre as such capricious things are involved in the production and performance of a play. What happens on stage is an autonomous act. Although rehearsals and conscious design of the play is necessary to create a complete piece, it achieves its own life as it comes to life on stage in front of a live audience. Therefore, the question to be asked is: can adaptation in theatre always be conscious?

But what is certain is that adaptation makes theatre achieve an important feat. Through adaptation, it is able to bridge certain notional oppositions. In the context of the collage play *Antigones,* which included texts from Classical Greece and Folk Native Canadian literature, the distinction between the two is no more. The performance gives the impression of one complete whole.

It has been established that different performances of the same play brings about variations based on factors like contexts, occasions, texts, actors, space, rehearsal, time, audience etc. Therefore, study of adaptation in theatre has to go beyond texts and content and must include the performance elements to get a comprehensive view of adaptation in theatre.

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SPATIAL REPRESENTATIONS IN AMITAV GHOSH'S *THE SHADOW LINES*

P. Prayer Elmo Raj
Pachaiyappa's College, Chennai.

Space is foundational to any form of collective life and is connotative of power and truth. It is entangled with reality and the record of reality (history) along with social production and configuration of human geographies (Soja, 1989: 11). The interconnection establishes dialectic in its perceptions toward the geography. Literary representations of space guides "out of what is present, out of what is close, out of representations of space, into what is further off, into nature, into symbols, into representational spaces" (Lefebvre, 231-2). Space is an immensely abstract idea with contrasting implications. It connotes choice, free will, autonomy, risk and peril. Edward Soja identifies three different expressions of space: "space per se, space as a contextual given, and socially-based spatiality" (Soja, 1989: 79). Space has immense effect on its inhabitants, is open to mobility and has the possibility of extension as an enviable possession assuring rupturous constraints. However, it motivates search, discovery, exploration and the aspiration to colonize. Salman Rushdie identifies space as circumscribed and immutable: "We know the force of gravity, but not its origins; and to explain why we become attached to our birthplaces we pretend that we are trees and speak of roots. Look under your feet. You will not find gnarled growths spouting through the soles. Roots, I sometimes think, are a conservative myth, designed to keep us in our places" (1984: 85-6).

Nature of space represents power and knowledge. Omnipresence of power and knowledge, in an invisible manner, is encoded in spatial discourse. Space is not a domain but it represents place in an encompassing manner. As Derrida approaches the "margins of the text," critical cartography encourages reading between space and border through metaphor in order to discover the silences and contradictions. Moreover, spatial enactments are associated with cultural perspectives inspiring specific means of humans looking at the world. In explaining his "system of possibility for knowledge," Foucault reflects: "what rules permit certain statements to be made; what rules order these statements; what rules permit us to identify some statements as true

and others false; what rules allow the construction of a map, model or classificatory system...what rules are revealed when an object of discourse is modified or transformed...Whenever sets of rules of these kinds can be identified, we are dealing with a discursive formation or discourse" (Philp, 1985: 69). Production of map/space/border involves cartographies of treatises and cultural fashioning. The aim of spatial discourse is to relationally fashion a terrain model that is closer to reality. Space as an "authoritative image of self-evident factuality" (See. Balchin, 1988.) is considered closer to objective representation. Knowledge and representation of knowledge asserts truth that is inclined socio-politically.

Configuring Space

Geography is accentuated on its potential to systematize and organize space. Space, in its configuration, is arbitrary and it connects reality to truth. The narrator, in *The Shadow Lines*, recaps the conjectures of western geography: "I was a child, and like all the children around me I grew up believing in the truth of the precepts that were available to me: I believed in the reality of space, I believed that distance separates, that it is a corporeal substance; I believed in the reality of nations and borders; I believed that across the border there existed another reality" (Ghosh, *The Shadow Lines* [hereafter SL] 1989: 218-9). Western geography assumes space as "the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile" contrary to time which is rich, vivacious and dialectic" (Foucault, 1980: 70). However, it is explicit that the narrator believes in "reality of space" and "that distance separates" but anticipates the existence of "another reality." Separation of space fashions divided realities across borders affecting its inhabitants. Borders entail identities founded on spatiality. Therefore, reality (geographic or existential) is re-configured in shifting of borders. The power of border is descriptive of hyphenation, hybridity and fragmented identities. Real materialities of luminal border connote lived realities. Nevertheless, reality cannot be delineated in full because it is a double articulation involving multiple levels of reality, interfering the one who crosses borders (immigrant/refugee) with fragmented dreams. "We cannot know whether the things of reality are differentiated, first, because they are infinite in number, and second, because they are all equally transitory" (Groys, 2012: 30). Hence, border, more than material differential separation and categories, is a state of mind.

Configuration of space hierarchically is a conscious cartographic representation of knowledge. For instance, the royal premises are always attributed greater importance than a peasant's house or a slum. Spatial representation embodies social inequality and concocted distinctions of

class and power that is validated using cartographic signs. "To those who have strength in the world shall be added strength in the map. Using all the tricks of the cartographic trade--size of symbol, thickness of line, height of lettering, hatching and shading, the addition of color--we can trace this reinforcing tendency in innumerable European maps" (Harley, 1988: 7). Moreover, spatial representation, similar to art, has become an apparatus "for defining social relationships, sustaining social rules and strengthening social values" (Geertz 1983: 99). Space of the body is an exclusive category in our social course of action that enforces repression, socialization and disciplining. "Symbolic orderings of space and time provide a framework for experience through which we learn who or what we are in society" (Harvey, 1989: 214). When space is grasped by time and imagination, an individual cannot remain indifferent to the nature of space because it fixes the sequential stability in a being. Consequently, it is with space, we learn to imagine or dream. Our becoming is subversively transformed because of our spatial memory. Material spatial applications interact with social production encompassing the significations, meaning and knowledge associating social practices. Spaces of representation are psychological interferences allowing symbolic spaces that bring new possibilities of spatial practices. As in Bourdieu's *habitus*, it is "an endless capacity to engender products--thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions—whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioning and conditional freedom it secures is as remote from a creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from a simple mechanical reproduction of the initial conditionings" (1972: 95). Movements of opposition disrupts home, community, territory and nation by separation that constraints expressions of de-configurating space and time. Such movements are interfered by those who spatially determined by disrupting hegemonic/political enforcements. However, such resistances are subject to hegemonic powers that coordinate to fragment space in order to dominate. Accordingly, spatial practices are not a neutral social affair. They articulate specific motives of intense social struggles and challenges. "If space is indeed to be thought of as a system of 'containers' of social power (to use the imagery of Foucault), then it follows that the accumulation of capital is perpetually deconstructing that social power by re-shaping its geographical bases"

(Harvey, 1989: 236-7). Within the science of space, there exists the space of knowledge and the knowledge of space that influence the social organization. Space is not a scientific object that exists without ideology and politics. It is political and strategic that postulates rational perceptions and ideologically influenced and historically molded. Therefore, homogenizing effect of space determines objective historicity.

Imaginary Geographies

Characters in *The Shadow Lines* recognize space distinctly. Ila observes space from an Eurocentric experientialist manner. She questions: "why not just take the world as it is?" (*SL* 31). The narrator's enthrallment towards imaginary geographies is designated by Ila as "fairylands." Imaginary geography is integral to concreteness of the place. It is a complex fashioning of unstable conversion of culture and nature into a hybrid position to reconstruct a concrete place. Imaginary geography has social impacts, however, at "individual proxemics" where the subversion of everyday actions alter into a re-affirmed constitution of space. "Sites become symbols (of good, evil, or nationalistic events), and in tandem with other sites can be taken up in metaphors to express (gendered) states of mind, of affairs and different value positions" (Shields, 2013: 44). Ila indicts them as mystifying space rather than comprehending the actuality of what we experience with our senses and reason. Ila, however, aspires to rewrite her experiences in London. She narrates the story of Magda, a blue-eyed blonde, who is bullied and rescued by Nick Price. In fact, Ila imagines in Magda, the person she wants to be and her story expresses her own wish. However, later, Nick is ashamed to relate with Ila, an Indian and does not defend Ila against the bullies. Ila's spatial re-narration of experience is a distinct replica of Western realism because she perceives space as an uncomplicated imitation. She thinks that her fashioning of space as imaginative representations of the West is "practical, bustling London was no less invented than mine, neither more nor less true, only very far apart" (*SL* 21).

Ila's perception of space can also be understood as a "temporal master-narrative" (Soja, 1989: 11), located historically than a geographical imagination. Space, rather than disrupting the temporality and narration, merits the function by locating it historically. "It still comprehends the world primarily through the dynamics arising from the emplacement of social being and becoming in the interpretive contexts of time" (Soja, 1989: 15) continuing the temporal presence/ existence. When the narrator recollects the story of deaths during the Second World War to Ila, she imagines as how the people listed would have lived their life in Europe in relation to her life in London. The narrator wonders "at the easy arrogance with which she believed that her own experience could

encompass other moments simply because it had come later; that times and places are the same because they happen to look alike, like airport lounges" (*SL* 103-4). Ila's comparisons annoy the narrator but her reply is an anticipation of utopian future where "political people" from the Third World countries would look upon to the West to know how they ought to be. She considers "revolutions" and "anti-facist" wars as 'real' history and ignores famines, riots, and disasters as "local" events. 'Real' history occurs only in the West and what happens in the places like Nigeria, India and Malaysia are mimetically recreated by agencies.

Imperial Space

Imperial space is neither exclusive nor logical but configured by many "nested spaces." It is a symbol that exists "within and beyond" overlapping a trans-imperial vision finding parallel spaces in asserting dominance, knowledge and sovereignty. Imperial dominance assures irreversible fragmentation through colonial self-governance. "The intellectual unity of imperial history had been built on the assumption that the imperial impact was irreversible, so that colonial self-government would lead, not to fragmentation of empire, but to strong post-independence associations" (Fieldhouse 16). Significance of imperial space becomes transposable in the novel. For instance, May's visit to Calcutta's Victoria Memorial disturbs her because the statue symbolizes "an act of violence" (*SL* 170). Positioning of the statue, where Victoria royally facing the city is "obscene" and she could not stand the majesty of the authoritative colonial architecture. The statue is seen as a colonial instrumentation of space and imposition of power. However, for Tridib and the narrator, the Memorial is a memorable and enjoyable place because it is a place, the narrator expects to visit and have *chaat* and ice cream. Tridib explains to May that this Memorial "will do for our ruin" (*SL* 170). Colonial oppressive space is recovered by Indians as a place of eating and sexual activities. The family joke that Ila's mother looks similar to that of Queen Victoria is contrasted with the majesty of the statue. Rather than venerating colonial history, "there comes a point at which the formerly colonized people cease to perceive colonial history as colonial and start absorbing the colonial heritage as their own"(AlSayyad, 1992: 21).

The narrative in *The Shadow Lines* unravels oblique spatial correlations. Narration includes various historical and geographical spatial locations: the London Blitz, Calcutta of the 1960's, East Pakistan riot and partition of Bangladesh. Exploration about the reason for the death of narrator's favorite uncle guides the plot of the novel. Death has a

location appropriated in a social space. Otherwise, death is boundlessly ineffectual accomplishing nothing. However, it is consigned to an infinite realm to purge the finiteness occurring in social practices. Certain amount of singularities extends bodies connecting contradictory spaces. Consequently, knowledge or the search is veiled when representations of space are made to encompass lived experience. The object of knowledge is splintered and indecisive about the intersection of representing space and representational space. In his search, the narrator journeys from India to England to Dhaka garnering information about the murder of his uncle Tridib in 1964. Incidents are arranged laterally rather than sequentially breaking into geographical sites. In one of the climatic moments where Robi narrates the account of Tridib's death, the description meanders to bring together London and Dhaka, breaking down the spatial borders. The report of Tridib's death commences as follows: "The first time Robi ever talked about Tridib's death in London: at the end of that beautiful September day when Ila took us to Lymington Road to meet Mrs Price" (*SL* 240). The opening sentence of the account of Tridib's death is suggestive of the non-linearity of an anticipated narration. After eliciting interest, the narrator appraises the events that coerced Robi to narrate about the death. Robi, along with narrator and Ila, arrives at Ila's preferred Indian restaurant in London in order to celebrate the immediate visit to India. Depiction of the restaurant suggests its miscegenation. Curling among Guyanese, Turkish and other restaurants, the Indian restaurant is administered by a Bangladeshi, Rehman. The restaurant serves a composite menu that includes Indian spicy food, "cream and Worcestershire sauce" (*SL* 241). Rehman's memories about Dhaka remind Robi, the riot that killed Tridib. Coming out of the restaurant, Robi goes to a dilapidated church in Clapham where, he narrates the incident.

Space of Individuation

        We long for personalized space that is secure, obligated and familiar. Personalized space is a "space of individuation" (Harvey, 1989: 302). In space of individuation, we meet contradictory reactions in the search for personal or collective identity. These contradictory reactions are a collage of overlaying images inhabiting the space of individuation. "Place-identity, in this collage of

superimposed spatial images that implode in upon us, becomes an important issue, because everyone occupies a space of individuation (a body, a room, a home, a shaping community, a nation), and how we individuate ourselves shapes identity" (Harvey, 1989: 302). Therefore, in order to identify and know their place in this altering collage world, a secure social order cannot be fashioned and sustained. The ability of social movement to dominate a space envisages potential connection between place and social identity. Declaration of any place-bound identity has to incline on the power of tradition. It becomes complex to sustain the sense of historical continuity in the face of transition and fleeting accretion.

Domestic space is a location (house and home) implying space, "a feeling, an idea, not necessarily located in a fixed place (Briganti and Mezei, 2012: 5). Human experiences and practices explicate the dialectic of identity and shelter within domestic space. "Not only belonging but also exile, longing for home, homelessness, homesickness are incorporated in the idea and experience of home" (Briganti and Mezei, 2012: 6). Moreover, our existence is administered by oppositions that are inviolable connecting the past, present and future. Ila's favorite hiding place is beneath a huge table in her family house at Raibajar. The house is a restricted family space, where the thoughts of the kids wander through daydreams. Imagination drifting into reminiscences and dreams can be located within memory. A child's wandering into memories is conditioned within the domestic "resting-place," a space of individuation. When Ila visits the cellar in Mrs. Price's house, Ila reminiscences the experience of being under the table in Raibajar. The cellar is now used as a dumping place where unused household objects are stored. The transverse of the spatial and temporal locations challenges various aspects and perceptions of space. Cellar's alteration from that of the ghostly past reminds of how Tridib and Ila spend their time playing in the cellar and the children's hide out at Raibajar. Victoria Memorial and the table at Raibajar demonstrate that space and place are ephemeral and disconnected entities. Ila is annoyed when Robi prohibits her from dancing in a bar among the strangers. She wants to be free from "bloody culture,": "She wants to be left alone to do what she pleases: that's all that any whore would want" (*SL* 89). Conversely, Tha'mma's idea of liberty is freedom for Bengali community rather than self-liberation. (Hobbes idea of liberty). The narrator, however, strives for freedom from the "clamour of the voices within me," ego. Sometimes "the image of the dream house is opposed to that of the childhood home. Late in life, with indomitable courage, we continue to say that we are going to do what we have not yet done" (Bachelard, 1994: 61) or what we have done with a certain feeling of quintessence is expressed through reminiscences. There is a certain

"symmetrical relation to the house we were born in, would lead thoughts—serious, sad thoughts—and not to dreams. It is better to live in a state of impermanence than in one of finality" (Bachelard, 1994: 61).

Tridib, of all characters, perceives space as mimetically embodied rather an existent reality. While he agrees with cognitive mapping, his death happens in an intimidating space where communal hatred persists. His deep connection with knowledge leaves him uninformed of the political occurrences in Dhaka and it subsequently leaves him in danger. His indifferent response to the story of Ila's mother about the danger they faced in Sri Lanka makes the narrator to imagine the physical aspects of the house: "I puzzled over what Tridib had said, and in a while I began to imagine the sloping roofs of Colombo myself: the pattern they made if one wheeled in the sky above them, how sharply they rose if one looked at them from below, the moosiness of their tiles when one saw them close up, from a first floor window, and soon I felt that I too could see how much more interesting they were than the snake and the lizard, in the very ordinariness of their difference (*SL* 29).

Description of Tha'mma's ancestral home expresses symbolic representation of domestic space: "It was a very odd house. It had evolved slowly, growing like a honeycomb, with every generation of Boses adding layers and extensions, until it was like a huge, lop-sided step-pyramid, inhabited by so many branches of the family that even the most knowledgeable amongst them had become a little confused about their relationships" (*SL* 121). Tha'mma's domestic space is a typical Indian patriarchal household. Following the death of her grandfather, Tha'mma and Jethamoshai quarreled over trivialities concluding in the decision to divide the house with a partition wall. The wall "ploughed right through a couple of door-ways so that no one could get through them anymore; it had also gone through a lavatory bisecting an old commode" (*SL* 123). While bitterness increased between the families, the women continued to show interest in each other's affairs. Eventually, they "liked the wall now; it had become a part of them" (*SL* 124). The house gave sore memories to Tha'mma that she rarely visited her house again. She remembers her agonizing childhood days: "Everything's upside-down over there, I'd tell her; at their meals they start with the sweets and end with the dal, their books go backwards and end at the beginning, they sleep under their beds and eat on the sheets, they cook with jhatas and sweep with their ladies, they write with umbrellas and go walking with pencils…And when I'd finished, I'd make a ghastly face and say: If you don't go to sleep right this very minute I'll drop you over the courtyard wall, and then you'll have to become upside-down too" (*SL* 125-6). Later, when she wants to revisit her childhood home to rescue her uncle, she considers nostalgia "a weakness, a waste of time"

(*SL* 208). As she arrives at her childhood home, she found the house further divided to accommodate Muslim refugees who had fled from India during Partition. She persuades her uncle to go with her to Calcutta but he fervently refuses.

House becomes the locus of an imaginary space where the narrator envisages "sloping roofs" of various angles and painted with various hues. While Sri Lanka was imagined being filled with wild life, the narrator sees the replica of the sky in the roofs which makes the "worlds to travel and … given eyes to see them with" (*SL* 20). Tridib considers knowledge as imaginary and fashioned out of desire. Robi leads us into his dreams and subconscious to explain the frequent nightmare he experiences concerning the riots. Tridib's death, thus, is detoured into psychic space rather than the actual location. Tridib's death is demonstrated in Robi's "hyperreal and grotesque" subconscious. Tridib, in his real life, was involved with imaginative spaces but ironically his death is narrated in an excursive spatial scene. He argues that "we could not see without inventing what we saw, so at least we could try do it properly…if we didn't try ourselves, we would never be free of other people's inventions" (*SL* 31). Tridib associates knowledge to invention from simulated stories rather than verified facts. If "inventions" refer to those come from the West, then they connote hegemonic and imperial "desiring-machine" (See. Deleuze and Guattari, 1984, Young, 1995: 98, 175).

(Asymmetrical) Urban Space

Social inequality and poverty coupled with environmental deprivation dynamically configures uneven (urban) geographical development in the context of capitalism. Configuration of slums and procedures of exclusion and marginalization in the cities result in the *gentrification* of urban spaces. "The dialectical relationship between economic processes and an ecological rationality displacing economically marginalized residents has not been explicitly linked to urban homelessness" (Dooling, 2009: 632). Spatial analysis of the novel reveals the territorial effects of urban policies. Urban social emptiness assumes political correctness. Social exclusion is forceful and intricate. It also entails exclusion from social relations, public services and urban metabolism. Through the visit of narrator's family, Ghosh describes the disheartening state of the slum. The "stagnant pools," "clumps of shanties," "beaten in roofs," "women squatting at the edges of the pools" and

"layers of sludge" are strong spatial images conveying the effect of social exclusion.

> The ground fell away sharply from the edges of the building and then leveled out into a patchwork of stagnant pools, dotted with islands of low, raised ground. Clinging to these islands were little clumps of shanties, their beaten tin roofs glistening rustily in the midday sun. The pools were black, covered of water hyacinth. I could see women squatting at the edges of the pools, splashing with both hands to drive back the layers of sludge, scooping up the cleaner water underneath to scrub their babies and wash their clothes and cooking utensils. There was a factory beyond, surrounded by a very high wall. I could see only its long, saw-toothed steel roof and its chimneys, thrusting up smoke that was as black as the sludge below. Running along the factory wall was a dump of some kind; small hillocks of some black and gravelly substance sloped down from it towards the sludge-encrusted pools. Shading my eyes, I saw that there were a number of moving figures dotted over those slopes. They were very small at that distance, but I could tell they had sacks and dropping them into their sacks. I could only see them when they moved; when still, they disappeared completely—they were perfectly camouflaged, like chameleons, because everything on them, their clothes, their sacks, their skins, was the uniform matt black of the sludge in the pools. (*SL* 133).

Devastating impression conveyed is that of pollution, the muck blanketing. The whole area has devastating effect on plants, water supply and human beings. There is no separation between clean and unclean areas or actions. In the dirty pool, women have to find the less polluted area to wash their clothes or clean their babies. They cook and clean in the same contaminated water. Daily laborers are impassive, like "chameleons" as they gather the rubble to make some living out of it. People in the slum merge themselves with the sludge as they accept the polluted location which shapes them as individuals and as a community. Slum is not an immutable environment because it is human-made. Contaminated water is generated from the factory. Soja observes, "space in itself may be primordially given, but the organization, and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience" (Soja, 1989: 79-80). Location of urban space is interconnected to ideology and systems of social control. However, attempts to dominate social production of space are unsuccessful because the locals subvert the controlling intents by making the space their "ground" to transform the location.

Fredric Jameson (1988) discusses about "cognitive mapping," our mental map of a space we are part of. We locate our subjective consciousness

within "unlived, abstract conceptions of the geographic totality" (Jameson, 1988: 90). Our mental maps are indistinct reflections of cultural prejudices. Situating the notion of mental mapping as part of postmodern city, he assumes that space and its specific purposes are fashioned by imagination. Ghosh's depiction of slums suppose ghastly share of imagination relating to reality. The narrator's aunt warns him not to look at the slum as it is "dirty." In their cognitive mapping, people are often disturbed by the presence of slums:

> It was true of course that I could not see that landscape or anything like it from my own window, but its presence was palpable everywhere in our house; I had grown up with it. It was that landscape that lent the note of hysteria to my mother's voice when she drilled me for my examinations; it was to those slopes she pointed when she told me that if I didn't study hard I would end up over *there*, that the only weapon people like us had was our brains and if we didn't use them like claws to clim to what we'd got, that was where we'd end up, marooned in that landscape: I knew perfectly well that all it would take was a couple of failed examinations to put me where our relative was, in permanent proximity to that blackness: that landscape was the quicksand that seethed beneath the polished floors of our house; it was the sludge which gave our genteel decorum its fine edge of frenzy. (*S L* 134).

Is slum a determinative mental space? Slums are constructed to convey prudence to the middle-class, encouraging perseverance and quest for good education. Progress in the social status is central to an Indian middle-class family. Losing a place in the society might divest his/her social space. While the narrator's relative has a repulsive attitude about living in proximity to the slum, her own apartment is scruffy and overly cramped, signifying the unevenness of socio-economic condition. The narrator's relative mentally shuns off slum as a space that is not to be visited or viewed. Mental mapping allows individuals to view their space differently according to their experience, standards and estimations. While the narrator's relative has repulsion towards visiting the slum, the people who live in the slum are forced to live in there without any choice. One cannot consider slum as a "no-go" area as people already exist in such social condition and space. Manifestations of space are not isolated and stationary but socially and mentally influenced in the way they are established and shaped.

Urban space is "created, modeled, transformed, that it is to a large degree a product of action, that the face of the earth itself (in other words, the landscape) is a human creation [*oevure*]" (Lefebvre, 2009: 173). It is to be understood as a simple matter of knowledge or object. Urban space is mastered, controlled, and configured. The damaged and politicized condition of nature

necessitates a critical and epistemic reflection. Modernity has found a passage from "production in space" to "production of space." Space linked to production encompasses productive forces and intervention of material production that is not only intertwined and supported but also produces and produced by social relations. Presupposing a dialectical interaction, social space is derived and transmitted natural space. Imperialism, capitalism and globalization have produced an abstract space that reflects power. This abstract space, now, has become the subject of history, a historical space that produce surplus value. Urban space as a means of production is determined by a complex system of production, exchanges and values leading to pulverization. It strives for homogeneity, "only the details differ among the ugly buildings, functional edifices, and even monuments. We enter into a world of combinations whose every element is known and recognized. The resemblances border on (abstract, self-evident) identity and visible equivalence. Systems of equivalence take on a sensible existence and are inscribed in space. Futile effects of difference understood scornfully as aesthetic (variations in color and form), do not interrupt monotony. This repetitive consumption of things in space and of space filled with things gives rise to an indelible boredom" (Lefebvre, 2009: 212-3).

Representation of London's Brick Lane district is spatially recreated by the inhabitants. While the slum dwellers in Calcutta continue to live their wretched life, the migrants in London have the ability to alter their ambience. Economic migrants in London have the luxury of living in brick houses with gardens and flowers in window sills. However, in stark contrast, he explains what he witnesses:

"I had no means of recognizing the place I saw; it did not belong anywhere I had ever been. I walked ahead of Ila and Nick in a trance, looking at the Bengali neon-signs above the shops that lined the lane, staring into display windows lined with the latest Bengali film magazines, reading the posters that had been slapped on those walls of aged London brick—stern grey anti-racism posters issued by an iridescent spectrum of the left-wing, buried now under a riot of posters advertising the very newest Hindi films—listening to quick exchanges in a dozen dialects of Bengali as people hurried past me, laughing and chattering, with their fingers curled into the sleeves of their anoraks, like shoppers at Gariahat on a cold winter's morning. I stopped to sniff the fragrance of rosogallas wafting out of a sweet-shope waved to Ila and Nick hurry. She laughed when she saw me gazing greedily into the shop. Exactly like that sweet-shop at the corner of Gold park, she said, isn't it? And so it was, with exactly the same laminated counters and

> plastic tables; exactly the same except that it was built into a terrace of derelict eighteenth-century London houses (*SL* 100).

Urban landscape witnesses a complete makeover by its immigrants. What was once an imperial space has now become a Bengali enclave. One could see shop signs changed from English into Bengali, passersby speaking different Bengali dialects and Hindi and Bengali films being advertised. The "walls of aged London brick" show signs of change as the narrator observes "stern grey anti-racism" notices were being replaced by colorful Hindi film posters. The juxtaposition of crumbling London brick with *rosogollas*, noisy streets and Bollywood posters signifies space being socially tractable and alterable by varying configuration of its inhabitants. Spitalfields, where Brick Lane is situated, becomes a metaphor for spatial change. Spitalfields has a long standing history of immigrants, from the eighteenth century Huguenots, nineteenth century Jewish and Irish settlements to the present Bengali immigrants. We observe a process where immigrants from colonies moving to the colonial center, what Louis Bennett terms as "colonization in reverse." In fact, Brick Lane becomes a contesting space where various residential principles and challenging visions were being fought over by diverse groups of immigrants.

Geographic Representation of Space

Text is a constitution of signs signifying cultural consciousness. Similarly, "Maps are a cultural text" (Harley 8). Accepting the textuality of a map fashions interpretive possibilities through deconstruction. Re-inscription and restitution of meaning through spatial representation and mapping imposes a trapestry to expose a tenacious image. Mapping is at once epistemological and ontological, offering a way of thinking about the world, an outline for knowing and a set of contentions about the world. "Mapping then is seemingly transformed into a "universal" scientific practice and maps become mobile and immutable artifacts through which the world can be known and a vehicle through which spatial knowledge can be transported into new contexts. What is mapped, how it is mapped, and the power of maps is the result of Western's science's ability to set the parameters and to dominate the debate about legitimate forms of knowledge" (Kitchin, Perkins and Dodge, 2011: 15). Map transforms the contentions of the universal and scientific making the movable and the immutable through manufactured borders within certain contexts. Therefore, borders become authoritative by executing its epistemological and ontological intentions. "A map is then worked upon by the world and does work in the world. It might be folded or rolled, converted to another file format, embedded in other media; it might be packaged, marketed, sold, bought, used, store, collected, re-used, thrown away or recycled; it might

be read in different ways in different contexts; it might be employed to plan a journey, make money, play a game or teach moral values. Map making and map use is understood as processual in nature, being both embodied and dynamic" (Kitchin, Perkins and Dodge, 2011: 17).

Spatial and cartographic representation as a discourse is a "system which provides a set of rules for the representation of knowledge embodied in the images we define as maps and atlases" (Harley, 1989: 12). The state configures and manipulates maps through carving an alcove in the power/knowledge template of the modern order. When maps are commissioned by government, it strengthens the legal status, provincial obligations and values that transpire out of the operation of power. The most recognizable power in cartography is peripheral power that influences map and mapping offering a connection to the centers of political power. "Power is exerted *on* cartography. Behind most cartographers there is a patron; in innumerable instances the makers of cartographic texts were responding to external needs. Power is also exercised *with* cartography" (Harley, 1989: 12). When partition becomes the motive of the state, cartography is nationalized. State manipulates its knowledge cautiously to exercise what Foucault calls "juridical power" to make map a "juridical territory" for better surveillance and control. "Maps are still used to control our lives in innumerable ways. A maples society, though we may take the map for granted, would now be politically unimaginable. All this is power *with* the help of maps. It is external power, often centralized and exercised bureaucratically, imposed from above, and manifest in particular acts or phases of deliberate policy" (Harley, 1989: 12). Power internal to cartography fashions political effects. "Cartographers manufacture power: they create a spatial panopticon. It is a power embedded in the map text. We can talk about the power of the map just as we already talk about the power of the word or about the book as a force for change. In this sense maps have politics. It is a power that intersects and is embedded in knowledge" (Harley, 1989: 13). Power evoked from the map and power that influences in the designing of the map represents acts of control over territory through disciplining and normalizing. "We are prisoners in its spatial matrix" (Harley, 1989: 13). Cartography as a form of knowledge suggests that the author "paints the landscape of the past in the colours of the present" (Poster, 1982: 118-9). When embedded in time and space, maps become authoritative resources and an authoritative grasp on knowledge. Map as a method of surveillance is at once "the collation of information relevant to state controls of the conduct of its subject population" and "the direct supervision of that conduct" (Giddens, 1981: 5). Spatial representations are preeminently a language of power that is impersonally instilled without protest to desocialise the territory. Maps are

"value-laden images." They are not dormant account of "morphological landscapes" or "passive reflections of the world of objects" (Harley, 1989: 278) but are crinkled images aiding a socio-political discourse in a configured world. Maps, in content and method, fashions and articulates biased set of social relations. Cartographic discourse deals with "those aspects of a text which are apprasive, evaluative, persuasive, or rhetorical, as opposed to those which is name, locate, and recount" (Scholes, 1982: 144). When a map associates within its image symbolism, it communicates political power.

Baudrillard observes how cartographers fashion a map by represent the effective than real: "the territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth, it is the map that precedes the territory—*precession of simulacra*— it is the map that engenders the territory" (Baudrillard, 2001:166). Ghosh's illustration of mapping and remapping of space in *The Shadow Lines*, go before territory where geopolitical symbiosis is strategically discarded by colonial cartographers. Colonizers, interested in establishing colonies and trade, has scientifically established a grammar of cartography and exploited the lands systematically. *The Shadow Lines* does not have any explicit visual maps. The title hints geographical and metaphorical boundaries, material and illusory nature of borders. However, the novelist's graphic description allows the readers to navigate around London and Calcutta with precision. The narrator finding his way to Ila's house in Stockwell and his walk to Lambeth Bridge are narratively rich and graphically described. The novelist's depiction of London and Calcutta, drawing attention to landmarks and districts is vivid. Restrictions of regulated features of space are explicit in *The Shadow Lines*. Circles drawn by the protagonist on a map demonstrate 'shadow lines' complicating the association between geographically far-off locations. Ila was staying in London with Price' family in a house on Lymington Road in West Hampstead. Made of Victorian red brick on a tree-lined street, the house offers the setting for the narrator's stories. When the narrator comes to England in the late 1970's with a research grant, he knows London well as to navigate his way to Lymington Road. The narrator imagines the West Hampstead of 1940's, the Solent Road, the adjacent street massively bombed in the war, an old woman walking with Pekinese, cars with stickers "Save the Whale" and children playing. The narrator recalls that "Tridib had shown me something truer about Solent Road a long time ago in Calcutta, something I could not have seen had I waited at the corner for years—just as one may watch a tree for months and yet know nothing at all about it if one happens to miss that one week when it bursts into bloom" (*SL* 57).

Violence and Divisive Borders

      Narration in *The Shadow Lines* can be located in a contrastive space, two actualities: the "secular London" and the religiously replete subcontinent inflamed by religious violence : "The stories of those riots are always the same: tales that grow out of an explosive barrier of symbols—of cities going up in flames because of cow found dead in a temple or a pig in a masque; of people killed for wearing a lungi or dhoti, depending on where they find themselves; of women disemboweled for wearing, veils or vermilion, of men dismembered for the state of their foreskins" (Ghosh, 1972: 210). The narrator's grandmother perceives space as uncertain and inconstant. She was born in Dhaka and was moved to Calcutta during Partition. Her movement to Calcutta has created within her an anxiety towards the changing and differential nature of space. She envisions how the border between India and East Pakistan would be if she travels in an airplane. She says: "if there's no difference both sides will be the same; it will be just like it used to be before, when we used to catch a train in Dhaka and get off in Calcutta the next day without anybody stopping us. What was it all for then—partition and all the killing and everything—if there isn't something in between? (*SL* 151). Grandmother's intention to view discernible verification of the borders unraveling Indian Bengal and East Pakistan specifies a spatial certainty. She is worried about Dhaka, her birth place which is chaotically at crossroads like her present nationality. Her movement from Calcutta to Dhaka makes her feel that space is precarious. The narrator responds: "Every language assumes a centrality, a fixed and settled point to go away from and come back to, and what my grandmother was looking for was a word for a journey which was not a coming or a going at all; a journey that was a search for precisely that fixed point which permits the proper use of verbs of movement" (*SL* 153). Like any immigrant, the grandmother is caught in the betweenness of migrant space: "between domains, between forms, between homes, and between languages" (Said, 1993: 403).

      Violence innate in space contradicts knowledge. Violence along with power divides to dominate. Knowledge inclines on the effects of violence and power to confront the constraints of space encountering truth. Spatial activities and practices regulate rather than create life because space does not have inherent power to determine contradictions between one thing with the other in society forcing relations of production. "Differences endure or arise on the margins of the homogenized realm, either in the form of resistances or in the form of externalities (lateral heterotopical, heterological)" (Lefebvre, 1991: 373). They contribute to the conflictual duality transitioning between state and opposition contradicting the transcendence of ideologies. "Violence is inherent to political space, not only as an expression of (political) will to power, but due

to permanent reign of terror separating that which seeks to be unified (from sexes to peoples) and fusing together, without analysis, that which is differentiated (for instance, the spatial inscription of history from historical time; or yet again, constructed, second nature—the city, the urban, designed space—from immediate nature)" (Lefebvre, 2009: 204). Prophet Mohmmed's hair from Hazratbal mosque in Kashmir becomes the reason for riot in Calcutta, where a school bus is attacked in Dhaka, where Tridib is killed. Staring at his old Bartholomew's Atlas and contemplating on communal riot, the protagonist draws circles on parts of India and East Pakistan. Atlas shows the narrator that, "within the tidy ordering of Euclidean space, Chiang Mai in Thailand was much nearer Calcutta than Delhi is; the Chengdu in China is nearer than Srinagar is. Yet, I had never heard of those places until I drew my circle, and I cannot remember a time when I was so young that I had not heard of Delhi and Srinagar. I showed me that Hano and Chungking are nearer Khulna than Srinagar, and yet, did the people of Khulna care at all about the fate of the mosques in Vietnam and South China (a mere stone's throw away)? I doubted. But in this other direction, it took no more than a week..." (*SL* 232).

Nations are the foundational cartographic blocks. Separate and fixed boundaries drawn in maps explain nations as distinct entities. Circles drawn on atlas lay bare the restrictions of "the tidy ordering Euclidean space" expressed by maps. The narrator finds a "special enchantment in lines" (*SL* 233) that allows him to fashion alternative cartographies by remapping the boundaries. Maps are a "visual analogue for the inflexibility of colonial attitudes" expressing the imposition of distinctions in order to divide and rule. However, there existed "another reality" on both sides of the border. Nation-states "loom out of an immemorial past, and, still more important glide into a limitless future" (Anderson, 1991: 11-2). "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture…It is only when all these chractersitics are present together that we have a nation" (Hutchinson and Smith, 1988: 20).

Construction of borders could demonize the other by terrorizing space (Bhabha, 1990). The problem of outside/inside, as in the case of Partition, is always itself be a process of hybridity (Bhabha, 1990: 4). Gandhi uses family metaphor to depict nation similar to Ghosh's allegory of Partition: "Two brothers quarrel; one of them repents and re-awakens the love that was lying dormant in him; the two again begin to live in peace; nobody takes note of this. But if the two brothers, through the intervention of solicitors or some other reason take up arms or go to law…their doings would be immediately noticed in the press, they would be the talk of their neighbors and would probably go

down in history. And what is true of families and communities is true of nations. There is no reason to believe that there is one law for families and another for nations" (Bhabha, 1990: 4). Is Gandhi justifying the partition? Gosh represents the deception underlying nation-state as he observes various aspects of spatial boundaries. Boundaries are "markers of identity" that configures and maintains nation-state (Donnan and Wilson, 1999: 5). Tha'mma struggles to comprehend contesting notions of nation. She argues: "Everyone who lives there has earned his right to be there with blood: with their brother's blood and their father's blood and their son's blood. They know they're a nation because they've drawn their borders with blood…That's what it makes to make a country. Once that happens people forget they were born this or that, Muslim or Hindu, Bengali or Punjabi: they become a family born of the same pool of blood" (*SL* 78). Extracting two different strands of the word "blood," she observes that nation is fashioned out of blood shed on the battlefield. She believed in a free and sovereign nationhood and envisioned that nation can "become a family born of the same pool of blood." Religious and ethnic divisions can be defeated by common experiences. She envisages a middle-class life: "All she wanted was a middle-class life in which, like the middle classes the world over, she would thrive believing in the unity of nationhood and territory, of self-respect and nation power: that was all she wanted—a modern middle-class life, a small thing that history had denied her in its fullness and for which she could never forgive it" (*SL* 78). The dream for a discrete Bengali nation within India with people sharing language, culture and space is crushed when Bengal is "denied her in its fullness." Th'mma's idea of nation-state came "messily at odds" when her ancestral home became a foreign nation, East Pakistan.

   Fashioning a myth that "distance separates" (*SL* 219), the narrator discounts an *aporia* that has already been established. When Partition separated East Pakistan from India, it is only the political mapping that severed two countries. However, the shared history and cultural connections were common for people of both sides. Khulna became part of East Pakistan during Partition but the people found cultural associations to Kashmir, which reflected when the relic is stolen in Hazratbal mosque with a riot. Historically established nations preserve centers which augment unity by differentiating centers and peripheries. However, through Partition, as in the case of India, space is "broken down into separate spaces, occupied by functions that are exercised within these distinct spaces: labor, housing, leisure, transit and transportation, production, consumption" (Lefebvre, 2009: 214). The partitioned spaces include "social actions, the actions of subjects both individual and collective who are born and who die, who suffer and who act" (Lefebvre, 1991: 33). Thus, social space is

(strategically) produced and divided by activities which involve political, ideological and economic influences. However, it is not a product that subsumes things but configures relationships to coexist with spontaneity and simultaneity with a relative order or disorder. Social space (as in the case of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) interconnects and interpenetrates to superimpose with one another because it is not an object which has limiting borders that collides because of their forms. It is not a "socialized space" but a space of lived experience of a social subject determined by social systems.

Sudhir Kakar's *The Colours of Violence* discusses the role played by rumors and cultural memory in violence that occasionally erupts in the Indian subcontinent. "Cultural memory is the imaginative basis for a sense of cultural identity. For isn't imagination not a memory of vital moments of life freed from their actual, historical context? Cultural memory, too, is a group's history freed from rootedness in time—it is as much imagination as the actual events that go into its construction" (Kakar, 1995: 22). Specific motifs like poisoning of water or food, obstruction of entry to villages, hoarding of weapons in sacred places, desecration and destruction of holy places (temples, churches and mosques) and disfigurement of sexual organs are oft repeated in 'rumors' about religious/communal violence in India (See. Kakar, 1995: 37-59). In *The Antique Land*, Ghosh refers to "cities going up in flames because of a cow found dead in a temple or a pig in a mosque; of people killed for wearing a lungi or a dhoti, depending on where they find themselves; of women disemboweled for wearing veils or vermillion, of men dismembered for the state of their foreskins" (1992: 210). Spreading hatred with a callous heart is one of the aspects to disturb a peaceful community. Rumors aligns exclusive collective of same religious communities stereotypically defining themselves in specific caste, religion, occupation, gender, age and disposition to perceive the other as an oppositional idiosyncratic self.

Depiction of riots in post-Partition Calcutta by Ghosh strengthens Kakar's assumptions. On a morning, the narrator boarding the school bus finds it half-empty and the boys huddled together at the back seat to keep them protected. Most of the kids were not sent to school fearing the trouble brewing in Calcutta. A boy's mother had forbidden him from drinking tap water fearing poisoning of water. However, "it was a reality that existed only in the saying, so when you heard it said, it did not matter whether you believed it or not—it only mattered that it had been said at all" (*SL* 200). The children from the classroom listen to "the authentic sound of chaos" (*SL* 201). The children were sent home in the bus but the streets are completely empty without pedestrians and shop-workers. That moment, the children could "read the disarrangement of our universe in the perfectly ordinary angle of an abandoned rickshaw" (*SL* 203).

The children fear that the city had betrayed and turned against them: "a fear that comes of the knowledge that normalcy is utterly contingent, that the spaces that surround one, the streets that one inhabits, can become, suddenly and without warning as hostile as a desert in a flash flood. It is this that sets the thousand million people who inhabit the subcontinent from the rest of the world" (*SL* 204). Fear that followed partition is "like the fear of the victims of an earthquake, of people who have lost faith in the stillness of the earth" (*SL* 204). Ghosh's depiction reminds us about the socially configured urban space ridden with violent changes. In urban space, normalcy is contingent even when people live with an unspoken consensus that can be disturbed at any time.

The politicians from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh "had drawn their borders, believing in that pattern, in the enchantment of lines, hoping perhaps that once they had etched their borders upon the map, the two bits of land would sail away from each other like the shifting tectonic plates of the prehistoric Gondwanaland. What had they felt, I wondered, when they discovered that they had created not a separation, but a yet-undiscovered iron—the irony that killed Tridib: the simple fact that there had never been a moment in the four-thousand-year-old history of that map, when the places we know as Dhaka and Calcutta were more closely bound to each other than after they had drawn their lines" (*SL* 233). Geographical images Ghosh evokes in this passage culminates in the metaphor: "like the shifting tectonic plates of prehistoric Gondwanaland" suggesting a categorical geographical disaster. The riot is not everyone's making: "It is evident from the newspapers that once the riots started 'responsible opinion' in both India and East Pakistan reacted with an identical sense of horror and outrage. The university communities of both Dhaka and Calcutta took the initiative in doing relief work and organizing peace marches and newspapers on both sides of the border did some fine, humane pieces of reporting. As always, there were innumerable cases of Muslims in East Pakistan giving shelter to Hindus, often at the cost of their own lives, and equally, in India, of Hindus sheltering Muslims. But they were ordinary people, soon forgotten—not for them any Martyr's Memorials or Eternal Flames" (*SL* 229-30).

Space in *The Shadow Lines* is not tenacious. One has to investigate "unperceived contradictions or duplicitous tensions" that lay dormant in those spaces that subvert the latent images of objectivity. We have to consider space as a sign that demonstrate an astucious appearance of normalcy and clarity masking the hazy, altering, deceiving and inconsistent mechanism of representation. Spaces have to challenge the epistemological myth configured by cartographers. It allows us to re-narrate the historical challenges and influences facing cartography. It might have to contradict our understanding of

the power of cartographic representation. When we recognize the intertextuality spatial literary discourses, our reading of cartography could be alternative challenging the competing discourses. Literary space is like place where someone's death occurs, "nowhere." The words like 'domain,' 'realm,' and 'region' connotes retraction, an "éloignement." It is "inaccessible and inescapable" causing its own disarticulation separating space from itself to make literature reside in a preserve (See. Blanchot, 1982: 137). Even when great cities are depicted, it shelters a void and anonymity that opens up the "world's inner space" of familiarity. "The world's inner space requires the restraint of human language in order truly to be affirmed. It is only pure and only true within the strict limitations of this word" (Blanchot, 1982: 143). Literary space, therefore, is a possibility that fills the transmutations with perfections and imperfections. Creating an intimacy, Amitav Ghosh opens up to the world unconditionally exposing the being: "It is the world, things and being ceaselessly transformed into innerness. It is the intimacy of this transformation, an apparently tranquil and gentle movement, but which is the greatest danger, for then the word touches the deepest intimacy, demands not only the abandonment of all exterior assurance but risks its very self and introduces us into that point where nothing can be said of being, nothing made, where endlessly everything starts over and where dying itself is a task without end" (Blanchot, 1982: 157).

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