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CONTENTS

Articles		
1	<i>R. Kothandaraman</i> Dialects in Creative Literature	1
2	<i>S. Bhakthavatsala Bharathi</i> Unearthing Aboriginal Pan-Indianism: Perspectives from Tamil Linguistic Region	13
3	<i>G. Ravisankar & M. Kanika Priya</i> Charles Dicken's Style and Stylistics in Selected Novels	25
4	<i>N. Ramesh</i> Folk Wisdom, in Toda Culture: An Indigenous Community in Southern India	35
5	<i>Ajay Ramakrishnan Venkitachalam</i> From Entrapment to Ecology: An Analysis of Indian Prison Narratives	41
6	<i>G. Karthi</i> Imagining Identity: Social: Social Transformation and Modernity of Malayarayars in Narayan's Kocharethi	55
7	<i>V. Sivaraman</i> Autofiction As History: A Study of Susan Abdulhawa's Mornings In Jenin	65
8	<i>M. Mohanapriya</i> The Screened Madness of Ophelia in Dot Hutchison's: A Wounded Name	75
9	<i>Haritha Pavithran</i> Performing Gender and De-Gendering Professions	81

DIALECTS IN CREATIVE LITERATURE

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1. Diglossic Dialects

1.1 Both as a classical and living language, Tamil is a dialect-rich diglossic language. Diglossic languages are associated with a parallel dialect system involving H-dialect namely, high dialect, and L-dialect namely, low dialect. H-dialect is a standard language used throughout length and breadth of entire linguistic area marked with multiplicity of L-dialects. L-dialect has the prestige of being mother tongue of a particular speech community or diverse speech communities of a particular region. The H-dialect need not necessarily be used as mother tongue. If a particular contemporary L-dialect assumes the status of H-dialect, then this dialect will naturally be the mother tongue of a particular speech community or speech communities of a particular region. However, in due course possibly over a period of centuries, the H-dialect is likely to lose its mother tongue status due to standardization. Consequently, it becomes passive system lacking compulsion to initiate linguistic changes motivated by mother tongue speakers. L-dialect is however active, vibrant, and productive because of its having the mother tongue status. So long the diglossic system persists in a language, the L-dialect vigorously acts upon H-dialect for reasons stated above, and enables the latter to undergo structural changes in linguistic domain. However, H-dialect may get enriched its lexical system of its own source by placing its own productive strategies at its disposal without any reference to L-dialect. Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam heavily depend on Sanskrit source to expand its lexical base, whereas Tamil is still productive striving to enrich its lexical stock through its own linguistic resources with marginal external pressure.

1.2 As a matter of fact, the dialect interference in diglossic languages particularly Tamil is unidirectional, and there is very little scope for bi-directional interaction. Tamil as a diglossic language is susceptible to unidirectional linguistic interference from L-dialect to H-dialect since the latter is nobody's mother tongue. Notice the constructions *avan celvam ilan* (Puram: 180.1) 'he has no wealth' and *pāri māynt+enak kalaṅki* (Puram: 113.5) of classical dialect have been replaced by *avan iṭam celvam illai* and *pāri māyntatāl kalaṅki* under the impact of replica function of L-dialect.

The creative works of Kamban, Thirikūḍa Rāṣṣpak Kavirāyar and Subramaniya Bharathi also are good cases in point in this respect. This raises the question whether formal/standard dialect and literary dialect are synonymous in character. It does not seem to be so. These two dialects represent two different sectors with occasional interference. Standard dialect which we refer to standard/ scholastic language as for Tamil is concerned, it is used only in formal contexts such as news bulletins, government notifications, text books, dissertations, etc. This is not the case with respect to literary language. In fact there is no such thing as literary dialect since any dialect can be used for literary purpose. Literary products as a matter of fact are a complex of different dialects. Except historical novels, any L-dialect can be used in social novels, short stories, poems, dramas, orations, etc. Since Tamil happens to be a diglossic language, very often we come across in modern creative writings the use of both formal scholastic and spoken dialects. However their usage is by and large predictable. While spoken dialects are used by the characters of different social strata, scholastic dialect is by and large confined to the author's description of the situation. Interference of L-dialect with H-dialect in creative literature is quite common in Tamil writings. This is the reason why we consider that standard dialect and literary dialect cannot be treated on equal footing.

1.3 As for Tamil, the impact of L-dialect on the fabric of H-dialect has a history of its own. L-dialect has profusely contributed to the standardization process of classical dialect causing the emergence of H-dialect that is preserved in Sangam and post Sangam texts. Such expressions as tarūm (<*tarukum) (Akam.69.17) 'will give', *tēṭūu* (<**tēṭupu*) (Narr.42.10) 'searching continuously', *talūukam* (<**taluvukam*) (Narr.50.3) 'will embrace-we', *uṇpatūm* (<**uṇpatuvum*) 'will be eating and', *eḷīi* (<**eḷuvi*) (Pati.29.8) 'causing to wake up', *kurīi* (<**kuruvi*) (Kuru.46.2) 'sparrow', *taḷīi* (<**taḷuvi*) (Aing.64.1) 'having embraced', etc., are L-dialect material transferred to H-dialect. The symbol < explains that the text material and the source material belong to different dialects. Although Tolkāppiyar has recognized the use of L-dialect i.e., *ticai-c col* in H-dialect (Col.Cēṇā. 397, 400), prosodic requirement does not seem to be the conditioning factor for the presence of the former in the later during classical period. The presence of L-dialect material in classical dialect of Tamil in large scale suggests that a particular L-dialect of southern region of Tamil Nadu might have been elevated to the status of H-dialect. However this trend has changed since post classical period. The presence of L-dialect material in post classical literature might be due to prosodic requirements. Consider in this

respect the use of *pāyutu* ‘flows-it’ and *pirakkutu* ‘comes into being-it’ used in Bharathi’s poem of *centamiḷnāṭeṇum pōtinilē*. However, this is not true in all cases. In short stories, novels, and new verses (Putu-k kavitai) of modern Tamil, the L-dialect is used.

2. Classical Tamil

2.1 Textual dialects used in Tamil literature from classical period to modern times as also inscriptions of different periods remains to be studied closely from different perspectives namely descriptive, historical and comparative aspects. The dialect situation in Tamil has to be identified in relation to its use in literary works and inscriptions texts. This will be facilitated by identifying dialect types. Broadly five dialect situations are identifiable in Tamil namely classical dialect of early period, scholastic/formal dialect, standard spoken dialect, regional dialect, and caste dialect. Of these, classical dialect is confined to Sangam and post Sangam literary works. Scholastic dialect also known as formal or standard dialect is a continuation of classical dialect with structural changes keeping with the passage of time, trends of modernization of communication channels which include journalism, pedagogy, etc. The scholastic dialect does not enjoy mother tongue status. The remaining three dialects have the privilege of being used as mother tongue. The use of *pēcutāṇ/pēcukāṇ* ‘speaks-he’, for instance, represents regional dialect. The Brahmin dialect is distinctly an instance of caste dialect. The use of *pēcūrāṇ/pēcārāṇ* ‘speaks-he’ is noticed in standard spoken dialect. If more than one caste uses a common dialect with marginal differences, then such dialect may be considered regional dialect. On the basis of this classification the study of dialect register in Tamil literature and inscriptions has to be planned. This area may be designated as Textual Dialectology. No field study is required for this dialect. The dialect material will be drawn from literary works.

2.2 Study of dialects is a painstaking venture. Availability of trained scholars in dialectology is a major problem. The only source at the moment to initiate systematic study of Tamil dialects is the literary works although it has certain limitations such as transcriptional accuracy, incomplete paradigms, lack of caste or regional references to which the dialect used in texts belong, etc. The findings of dialect study contribute to the understanding of the linguistic system both vertically and horizontally i.e., in terms of diachronic and comparative perspectives. Added to this, it helps to capture the ethnicity and the directions of migration of ethnic groups to the extent possible. Pedagogically also the study of dialects registered in literary works is very much indispensable. For instance the dative constructions *makar-ku* ‘to the son’, and *makat-ku* ‘to the daughter’ of classical dialect cannot be explained

without reference to *makanukku* and *maklukku* of L-dialect as also scholastic dialect respectively.

3. Dialect Variants

3.1 Study of linguistic system has several dimensions, of which dialectology is one such area. Study of dialects of a particular language contributes to the understanding the linguistic divergences. Dialectology itself has several aspects of study. Diglossia and Textual Dialectology are the two of the several components of dialectology. Diglossia as pointed out at the outset is associated with H-dialect and L-dialect. This dichotomy is based on one-to-one correspondence i.e., every entry of H-dialect will theoretically correspond to a specific or any L-dialect. However not always di-glossia maintains this correspondence. For instance, in classical dialect third person is marked with five way distinction namely masculine singular, feminine singular, human plural, non human singular and non human plural. These are represented by *avan*, *av*, *avar*, *atu* and *avai* respectively. In scholastic dialect of modern Tamil what was human plural in classical Tamil i.e., *avar* assumes the status of honorific pronoun, and the human plural is represented by a newly created form namely *avarkaḷ*. Thus, there is a six way distinction noticed in scholastic dialect. In L-dialect the situation is radically different with the induction of masculine plural and feminine plural. What was a pronominal gap in classical and scholastic dialects have thus been rectified in spoken dialects. Consequently the third person pronouns in L-dialect are marked with eight way distinction as indicated below.

Human Sector	Non Human Sector
<i>avan</i> ‘he’ (masc. sing.)	<i>atu</i> ‘it’
<i>avanuṅkaḷ</i> ‘they’ (masc.pl.)	<i>atuṅkaḷ</i> ‘they’
<i>avaḷ</i> ‘she’ (fem. sing)	
<i>avanuṅkaḷ</i> ‘they’ (fem. pl.)	
<i>avaru</i> ‘he/she’ (hum.hon.)	
<i>avanuṅkaḷ</i> ‘they’ (hum. pl.)	

It is significant that in L-dialect the non human plural pronoun *avai* of H-dialect is replaced by *atuṅkaḷ*. The personal finite system has also been restructured in L-dialect in accordance with the eight way distinction of third person referred to above as evidenced below.

- 1 (1) *avan* *vantān* ‘he came’
- (2) *avanuṅka* *vantānuṅka* ‘they (masc.pl.) came’
- (3) *ava* *vantā* ‘she came’
- (4) *avaḷuṅka* *vantāḷuṅka* ‘they (fem.pl.) came’
- (5) *avaru* *vantāru* ‘he/she (hum.hon.) came’

- (6) avñka vantāñka ‘they (hum. pl.) came’
 (7) atu vantutu¹ ‘it came’
 (8) atuñka vantutuñka ‘they (non human) came’

The examples furnished above represent the L-dialect of standard spoken Tamil. The plural pronouns *avañuñka*, *avañuñka*, *avañka*, *atuñka* have different formal representation in different dialects of Tamil. For instance, the polite human plural is marked by *avai* in Sri Lankan dialect. (James W. Gair et al. 1978). This is used as a personal marker as well. E.g. *avañ-avai* ‘they’ (fem.pl.), *vant-avai* (=vantavarkañ). In terms of diglossia, the third person human plural finite system of H-dialect and Sri Lankan L-dialect is presented below.

- 9 (1) H.D./ vantārkañ = vantañam / L.D
 (2) H.D./ varukirārkañ = varukinam / varñinam / L.D
 (3) H.D./ varuvārkañ = varuvinam / L.D
 (4) H.D./ varamāṭṭārkañ = varamāṭṭinam / L.D

The one-to-one correspondence figuring in diglossia can be noticed in all sectors namely phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. For instance, on the phonology sector the retroflex frictionless continuant η of H-dialect is y in L-dialect of a Harijan dialect of a particular area in Cuddalore district. Consider the following examples.

10. H.D./ η = y / L.D. Examples: *ki η avi* = *keyvi* ‘old woman’
ka η utai = *kayita* ‘ass’
mu η am = *muyam*
pu η = *puyu* ‘worm’
va η i = *vayi* ‘path’
ma η ai = *maya* ‘rain’
kō η i = *kōyi* ‘fowl’

The cluster sequence $-nr-$ of H-dialect corresponds to $-n\eta-/-nn-/-n\eta-$ in L-dialects. The one-to-one correspondence dictum is only a theoretical possibility, and not always this correspondence is maintained. For instance, while L-dialect has masculine and feminine plural system in third person, the same is not found in H-dialect. There is thus the possibility of diglossic gap in H-dialect. This is due to the fact that H-dialect is not used as a mother tongue as for Tamil is concerned, whereas the L-dialect is a productive and innovative system by virtue of its being used as a mother tongue. This is the reason why the H-dialect has every possibility of being influenced by the L-dialect.

¹ Notice the personal marker $-atu(vant -tu)$ of the H-dialect corresponds to $-utu$ (vant-utu_L.dialect).

In classical Tamil, the use of L-dialect forms *ottan* ‘a male person’ *otti* ‘a female person’, *parū* ‘cotton’, and *talī* ‘embracing’ instead of *oruvan*, *orutti*, *paruvi* and *taluvi* of classical H-dialect versions is a good case in point.

3.2 The one-to-one correspondence situation described in diglossia need not necessarily maintain one-from-the-other relation in each and every case. For instance, the H-dialect version of *palañ kañci* ‘gruel of previous night’ is marked by *palanci* of L-dialect of Kanyakumari District (Tamil Nadu). Notice *palanci* is a contraction of *palañ kañci*, and thus the former is traceable to the latter. Same is the case with respect to *talūukam* (Narr.50.3) and *tarūuntu* (Puram.24.9) which derive from **taluvukam* ‘will embrace-we’ and **tarukuntu* (impersonal non past finite verb) ‘will give’ respectively of H-dialect. However the lexical item *vavuru* of L-dialect, and *vayiru* of H-dialect cannot be derivationally related. This is due to the fact that both these forms have yet another L-dialect variant namely *vakuru* ‘belly, stomach’ from which they are derivable thus: **vakuru* > *vavuru*, **vakuru* > *vayuru* > *vayiru*. Clearly in yet another case although the non past relative participle *pātukira* of H-dialect and *pātuka* / *pāṭuta* / *pātura* of L-dialects maintain diglossic relation, they are not derivationally related. It is thus clear that not always the entries in diglossic relation are entries maintaining derivational relation.

4. Diglossia Vs Derivational Relation

4.1 The suffix -um of H-dialect has several grammatical meanings. This suffix maintains a diglossic relation with -am in most constructions and -em in certain constructions in a particular L-dialect of Kanyakumari District (Roselet. Dani Bai: 1990). Consider the following:

2. H.D./-um = {-am, -em}/L.D.

- (1) H.D./*tāyūm takappaum* = *tḷeyam tavappem* (P.44)/
L.D. ‘mother and father’
- (2) H.D./*iraṅtu kaikaum illai* = *reṅṅ kaiyaam illa* (P.45)/
L.D. ‘there were no both hands’.
- (3) H.D./*aum* = *aam* (P.81) / L.D ‘it will cry/weep’.
- (4) H.D./*varum* = *vam* (P.81) / L.D ‘it will come’
- (5) H.D./*irukkum* = *irukkam* (P.81) / L.D ‘it will remain/be’
- (6) H.D./*kēṅkum* = *kēkkam*(P.81)/L.D ‘it will ask for/listen to’
- (7) H.D./*niṅkum* = *nikkam* (P.81) / L.D ‘it will stand’
- (8) H.D./*kiṅaikkum* = *keṅccam* (P.90) ‘it will be available’
- (9) H.D./*kāykkum* = *kāccam* (P.144)/ L.D ‘it will produce’.
- (10) H.D./*kaṅaikkum* = *kaṅicem* (P.97) / L.D ‘it will bite’

3. (1) H.D./pōnatum = pōnatem (P.43) / L.D ‘as soon as one went’
 (2) H.D./avanum itai arintu = avanem ita ariñci (P.53) / LD.
 ‘he too knowing this’
 (3) H.D./vantatum = vantatem (P.45) / L.D ‘as soon as one came’

Notice in the examples furnished in (2) and (3) above the suffix -um of H-dialect and -am /-em of L-dialect are not derivationally related. This is the same case in the following morphological constructions also.

4. (1) H.D./kiṭaikkiratu = ketacciyatu (P.90) / L.D ‘it is available’
 (2) H.D./ninaikkiratu = nenacciyatu (P.93) / L.D ‘the one that is thought’
 (3) H.D./irukkira - irukkiya (P.91) / L.D ‘the one that is’
 (4) H.D./arukkira = arukkiya (P.94) / L.D ‘the one that cuts’
 (5) H.D./nirkira = nikkiya (P.107) / L.D ‘the one that stands’
 (6) H.D./paṭikkira paḷli = paṭicciya paḷli (P.162) / L.D ‘the school where one studies’
 (7) H.D./koṭukkīratu = kuṭikkuyatu (P.134) / L.D ‘the one that one gives’
 (8) H.D./kēṭkīratu = kēkkiyatu (P.165) / L.D ‘the one that one asks for’
 (9) H.D./kolkiravan = kolliyavan (P.144) / L.D ‘one (masc.) who kills’
 (10) H.D./nī pāmp-ai aṭikkīrat-ai viṭu = nī pāmp-a aṭicciyat-e viṭu (P.157) ‘you avoid the beating the snake’
 (11) H.D./piṭikka = piṭicca (P.146) / L.D ‘to get hold’ (infinitive)

4.2 The inter dialectal correspondence in diglossia not always equational in character. There are instances that H-dialect left with a gap without a correspondence of L-dialect. In Kanyakumari dialect the non past finite constructions of ceyviṇu and ceyviṇum types are impersonal in character without any impersonal counterpart in H-dialect. Consider the following from Ponnilan (1979):

- 5 (1) ēn inta-t tampi iñṇaṇa collīnu (P.20) ‘why does the boy say like this’
 (2) āṇṭavaru...ciluvayila toṅkuviṇu (P.32) ‘Jesus hangs in the cross’
 (3) lāri lāriya ari pōvuṇu (P.41) ‘lorries of rice is smuggled’
 (4) āṇṭavaru... parit pam pkkuviṇu (P.45) ‘Jesus looks at pathetically’
 (5) aṇṇaṇay-a nī nenakkiṇu (P.87) ‘do you think like that’
 (6) yār ellām varuviṇu (P.88) ‘who are all coming’
 (7) ēn penṇē aḷuviṇum (P.32) ‘why do you weep, oh! Girl’
 (8) mūppatti cāka-p pōviṇum (P.102) ‘the old woman is going to die’
 (9) nī varuviṇum-ā (P.83) ‘do you (sg) come’

(10) pōlicāranmār varuvinum (-ē) (P.88) ‘police men come’

(11) oru kāl pakkā ari kaṭan tarivinum(-ā) (P.106) ‘will you please give a quarter pakka rice as loan.

The finite system functioning as predicate in the examples figuring in (5) seems to have derivational relation with *ceykinru type of non past impersonal finite system² and hence the former may be derived from the latter as follows.

6 (1) *varukinru > varukinnu (nr > nn)

(2) varukinnu > varukinu (nn > n)

(3) varukinu > varuvinu (k > v/V-V, where V is vowel)

In respect of strong verbs, the rule in 6(3) does not operate. E.g. nenaikinu. As for the constructions of ceyvin-um type, the form -um is semantically empty. Where does this um come from? In early Tamil ceyyum type of finite constructions are partially impersonal functioning as predicate of third person pronouns except human plural. In Malayalam ceyyum verbs are impersonal functioning as predicate of all three persons. The form -um noticed in ceyvinum type of impersonal finite system seems to have been drafted from proto Tamil-Malayalam ceyyum type of impersonal finite system. Morphologically both ceyvinu and ceyvinum types of impersonal finite constructions are rather problematic since -inu and -inum are grammatically insignificant. The morpheme that precedes -inu and -inum is non past in character. The suffix *um* that occurs finally seems to be grammatically insignificant. However ceyku-inu type of impersonal finite constructions are reanalyzed as cey-kinu treating kinu as present tense marker.

4.3 Diglossia although involves inter dialectal correspondence, it is not all inclusive dealing with the inter dialectal relationship, since it is primarily concerned with the H-dialect and L-dialect. Inter dialect correspondence may be either derivational or non derivational in character. For instance, as already pointed out pāṭukirān ‘sings-he’ of H-dialect and pāṭukān of L-dialect are not derivationally related. On the other hand pāṭukān and pāṭuyān ‘sings-he’ figuring in K.K. dialect are derivationally related. However the members of the sets paṭikkān/paṭikkīyān/paṭicciyān ‘reads-he, and paṭikka/paṭikkiya/paṭicca ‘to read, that/who reads’ (non past relative participle) though related, these members are derivable from a different source namely *paṭiykkān and *paṭiykka respectively. The first set under reference will be derived from *paṭiykkān as follows:

7 (1) *paṭiykkān > paṭikkān ‘reads-he’ (y deletion)

(2) (a) *paṭiykkān > pa ikkyān (y shifted)

(b) paṭikkīyān > paṭikkīyān (i inserted)

² Malayalam present finite system of ceyyunnu types has no derivational relation with *ceykinru type although the popular view favours such a relation.

- (3) (a) *paṭiykkān > paṭikkyān (y shifted)
 (b) paikkyān > pa iccyān (kk > cc / -y)
 (c) paṭickeyān > paṭicciyān (i inserted)

The analysis presented in (7) is extendable to the set paṭikka/paṭikya/paṭikkiya/paṭicca as well. The pre final version of the construction paṭicca is paṭicciya. The type of inter dialectal correspondence involving the outputs in (7) has no relevance to diglossia. The following are the examples from Ponnilan (1979) which have no reference to diglossia.

- 8 (1) K.K.D-1/ naṭakkatu = naṭakkiyatu (P.68)/K.K.D.- 2 (H.D. naṭakkirātu)
 (2) K.K.D-1/eṭukkān = eṭukkiyān (P.56)/K.K.D-2 (H.D. eṭukkīrān)
 (3) K.K.D-1/kē kkatu = kē kkiyatu (P.104)/K.K.D-2 (H.D. kē ṭkīrātu)
 (4) K.K.D-1/kykān = kāyiyān (P.14)/K.K.D-2 (H.D. kaykīrān)
 (5) K.K.D-1/kollukatu=kolliyatu (P.47)/ K.K.D-2 (H.D. kolkiṛātu)
 (6) K.K.D-1/erankukēn = erankuykuyēn (P.48)/K.K.D-2(H.D. iṛankukīrēn)
 (7) K.K.D-1/kuṭikkiti = kuṭicciti (P.106)/ K.K.D - 2 (H.D. kuṭikkīrāy)

4.4 The reflexive and completive verbal constructions have different dialect variants in Tamil. In many cases these variants have no derivational relation with H-dialect. Consider the following:

- 9 Reflexive
 (1) H.D./ pāṭikkonṭu = pāṭiṇṭu /L.D. (Brahmin Dialect)
 (2) H.D./ vāṅkikkonṭu vā = vāṅkiṛu vā/L.D. (K.K) (A.A. 1975:3)
 (3) H.D./ tūkkikkonṭu = tūkkittu/L.D.(S.L) (Chakkaravarthi. 2004:24)
 (4) H.D./ pāṭikkonṭu = pāṭikiṭṭu/L.D. (Standard Spoken Tamil)
 (5) H.D./ pāṭikkonṭu = pāṭikiṇṭu /L.D. (Northern Tamil Nadu)
 (6) H.D./pāṭikkonṭiruntān = pāṭikīruntān /L.D. (Madurai-Chekkanoorani)

- 10 Completive
 (1) H.D./ colliviṭṭār = collirāru /L.D. (A.A. 1975:3)
 (2) H.D./ niṇaituviṭṭuēn = Nenaccirran /L.D. (S.L) (Chakkaravarthi. 2000:49)
 (3) H.D./ colliviṭṭān = collitṭān /L.D. (Standard Spoken Tamil)

Same is the case with respect to the personal finite system of H and L-dialects. Notice the following examples.

- 11 (1) H.D./ ceyṭūrkaḷ, ceyvīrkaḷ = ceytēḷ/, ceyvēḷ/L.D./ (Brahmin Dialect)
 (2) H.D./ ceyṭūrkaḷ, ceyvīrkaḷ = ceyti(:)ṅka,
 ceyvi(;)ṅka/L.D (Std. Spoken Tamil)
 (3) H.D./ ceyṭūrkaḷ, ceyvīrkaḷ = ceytika, ceyvika/L.D (Southern Tamil Nadu)
 (4) H.D./ ceyṭūrkaḷ, ceyvīrkaḷ = ceytiya, ceyviya/L.D (Sri Lankan Tamil)

Although the H.D. and L.D. variants in (10) and (11) are not in derivational relation, the L.D variants therein are however derivable from two different common sources. For instance, pāṭirru/pāṭiṭṭu/pāṭittu = (pāṭikkonṭu, pāṭiviṭṭu) are traceable to *pāṭirru. Similarly, the L.D. variants ceytiṅka > ceytiṅka/ceyṭika/ceytiya/ceytēḷ (=ceyṭūrkaḷ) have their source in *ceyṭiṅka.

4.5 Dialectology deals with the study of dialects of a language. While language represents abstract system, dialects are the actual and observable speech utterance which varies caste - wise and region - wise in Indian context. The relation between language and dialect has been identified as *langue* and *parole* in Ferdinand De Saussure. Since speech variation is dialect variation, it may also be considered that the relation between language and speech/dialect is *emic-etic* relation. Just as a phoneme has the scope of splitting into allophones, language also splits into dialects in definable contexts which may be either caste or region. Although the *emic* and *etic* are notational variants of *langue* and *parole*, not always the *emic/langue* represent the earlier system from which *etic/parole* splits. Consider H.D./*kuṭikka* = *kuṭikya*, *kuṭikkiya*, *kuṭicca*/L.D. Notice neither *kuṭikka* nor its L.D. variants represent the source. The source of these forms is **kuṭikka*.

5. Dialects as a source for Reconstruction

Dialects of a language are similar to genetically related languages of a linguistic family. Genetically related languages contribute to the reconstruction of the proto linguistic system. The question arises whether dialects of a language contribute to the identification of their proto/pre-linguistic system. In other words whether the dialects of Tamil ensure the reconstruction of pre-Tamil. This leads to visualize a pre Tamil stage. For instance, consider the dialect variants *kanru/kañṇu/kanṇu/kaḍḍu* ‘calf, sapling’ of Tamil. These are *etic* versions of an *emic* form reconstructible into **kaṇṭu* which belongs to pre Tamil which has been retained in classical and also scholastic dialects, and split into different *etic/predictable* dialect variants. Not always reconstructed versions are retained in dialects. Consider, for instance, *kōray-p+pñāy* ‘mat made of Korai grass’ of formal dialect and *kōra-m [b]āy* of K.K. dialect. The pre Tamil version of these dialect variants are identifiable into **kōray-m+[p]āy*. Notice the post nasal voiceless plosive of the pre Tamil version under reference assimilates to voiced plosive in the phonetic level in K.K. dialect, and the nasal of voiceless pre plosive assimilates to homorganic voiceless plosive in formal dialect. It is thus clear that NP (phonetically NB), and PP (plosive-plosive) are dialect variants in Tamil reconstructible into **NP* (phonetically also NP). The situation however changes when **NP* (Nasal - Plosive) with post nasal voiceless plosive is retained across the linguistic system namely, some other genetically related language. Consider, for instance, the sets *tōṭṭm(Ta.)/ tōṇṭa(Te)* and *kalakku(Ta)/ kalañcu(Te)*. Let us assume that the members of these sets are dialect variants of an earlier linguistic system. This provides the basis to reconstruct the sets under reference into **tōṇṭam* and **kalayṅku* respectively, the NP sequence

of which develops into PP in one dialect, and retained as such in another dialect. These dialects later came to be known as Tamil and Telugu. There is however a problem in reconstructing *NP for Tamil dialects, and for dialects came to be known as Tamil and Telugu in due course. However, the outputs of *NP occur in definable contexts which in one case are conditioned by dialects of the same language, and in another case different genetically related languages. Kumaraswami Raja (1969) has dealt with this problem proposing *NP and *NPP to derive the phonetically NB sequence in Tamil, and NP sequence in Telugu and PP sequence in Tamil and Telugu respectively. We do not go into the theoretical issues connected with Kumaraswami Raja's proposal in the present deliberation.

ABBREVIATION

Aiṅ	-	Aiṅgurunūru
Aing	-	Aingurunūru (SA)
Akam	-	Akanānūru
Akam	-	Akanānūru (SA)
Cēṅā	-	Cēṅāvaraiyam
Col	-	Collatikāram
Fem	-	Feminine
Kuru	-	Kuruntokai
Kuru	-	Kuruntokai (SA)
Narr	-	Narriṅṅai
Puṅam	-	Puṅānānūru
Puṅam	-	Puṅānānūru(SA)

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UNEARTHING ABORIGINAL PAN-INDIANISM: PERSPECTIVES FROM TAMIL LINGUISTIC REGION

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1. Conceptual Framework

Throughout the Indian history there has been an unbounded cultural continuity and communication among its multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-linguistic communities. The communication was essentially both horizontal and vertical, which gradually perpetuated “multiculturalism” and “interculturalism” across the subcontinent.

Multiculturalism admits the essence of ‘diversity’ of cultures, underscores their differences and reinforces segregation. On the other hand, ‘interculturalism’ supposes ‘unification’, acceptance of cultural dialogue, moderation and reciprocity. Over the centuries, tight connections existed between continuity and change, enabling intercultural dynamics in the form of “tribe-peasant-urban continuum”. In this dynamics there was a two way process in terms of parochialization and universalization that enmeshed the Indian cultural fabric into a great mosaic (McKim Marriott 1989).

The cultural and literary sources fused and diffused between the little and great traditions of India. In this process, the “tribalism” was imbibed into “peasantism” and the “peasantism” was absorbed into “urbanism”. There was a devolution process as well. Due to this, a linear continuum operated in the form of “tribal-peasantism” in rural India and a “peasant-tribalism” in tribal India. In the same way “peasant-urbanism” and “urban-peasantism” were also evolved over the course of civilizational process in India. These cultural processes gradually evolved the pan-Indianness, both horizontally and vertically across the subcontinent.

Even among the tribal communities of each linguistic region belonging to south India, there has been a process of “trantribalism” which generated an inter-cultural dynamics. The social and institutional contexts that operated within the intercultural dynamics (an open-ended dynamics) paved the way for pan-Indian process. The processes of ‘de-tribalization’, ‘re-tribalization’ and ‘Hinduization’ were also operated all along the aforesaid dynamics.

Tribalism today in India is at a critical juncture. In particular, we often find it difficult to relate the tribal culture, in particular with its roots, to that of great tradition of India during this globalized context. In this situation, Indianists must try to evolve a cultural niche in order to enhance new levels of understanding of pan-Indianism from tribal cultures. Unwritten languages and their literary sources will certainly open a new avenue for exploring this kind of ventures.

Tribalism is in principle a sub-domain in Indian culture. However, understanding of tribalism through its languages and literatures will open new linkages for identifying pan-Indianism. Tribal and folklore scholars need to explore the uses of ‘lores’ and other oral literary sources for understanding pan-Indianism across the sub-continent. We need to understand the process beyond the age-old monothetic dichotomy (i.e. “little and great traditions”) and elaborating through interactive and transdisciplinary perspectives, i.e. through cross-cultural anthropology, cross-cultural folklore and cross-cultural linguistics. The theoretical approaches for the pan-Indianism research needs to be developed further through transdisciplinary paradigms, theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches.

2. The Tamil Context

Unwritten languages in the Tamil linguistic region are mostly spoken by the tribal communities. There are 37 tribal speech communities in this region, of which eight have Kannada influence, five Malayalam, two Telugu, one Tulu (spoken by Malaikudi). However, fifteen of them are Tamil dialects. The last one enlisted is *Vaagriboli*, an Indo-Aryan language spoken by the *Narikuravar* (Vaagri). Both Toda and Kota are not much influenced by the literary languages (Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu).

This paper tries to explore the pan-Indian characteristics in the literary corpus of the tribal communities in the Tamil region. The great Indian epic Ramayanam and Mahabharatham contain clear references of the Tamil kingdoms. Such epic traditions exist all over India, but the fact is that they differ from region to region and from community to community. The narrative length and the contents of the epics differ considerably across the subcontinent.

The unwritten literary sources of tribal communities in the Tamil region are unique in nature. The myths, legends, tales and other oral sources underwent much geographic diffusion over its long history. These literary sources demonstrate the value of the study of oral tradition for understanding the cultural history of little known communities as well as the great tradition of India, and the continuum existing between these two ends.

The literary sources of the unwritten languages of the tribal communities in the Tamil region encounter a literary engagement of numerous archaic features such as *Aadhi – Shiva* (proto-Shiva), *Aadhi - Vishnu* (proto-Vishnu), Lord Rama's genealogical connection, Lord Krishna's linkages, and other connections with the characters of Ramayanam and Mahabharatham. In India, in general, various cultural levels coexist in a dynamic and dialectal relationship. This aspect has to be unearthed.

Scholars like M.B. Emeneau (1994) have already tried to explore the possible links between the Sanskrit poetical convention in the literary sources of Toda and a few other tribal communities. The mythological and song phraseology, poetic conventions, ritual acculturation, and other sources of influences made the tribal communities forming a continuum between 'little tradition' and 'great tradition' of Indian civilization.

There is a need to study the literary sources of unwritten languages of India from 'bottom-up' method, as it will offer us a better vantage point for understanding the 'tribal-mainstream' continuum in the Indian cultural milieu. Such understanding will strengthen the reconstruction of a temporal pattern of development and diffusion among the cultures of India. This paper aims to examine the said agenda in view of recent ethnographic studies in Tamilnadu.

3. Pan-Indianism: Religious Domain

Tribal Vaishnavism

The Todas of Nilgiris have been influenced by Hinduism, and they worship Siva at Nanjengod temple in Mysore, and Vishnu at Kaaramadai near Mettupalayam at the foot hills of Nilgiris near Coimbatore city and other nearby shrines whereat they worship, present votive offerings and pray for the wellbeing. Way back in 1870s Breeks (1873) remarked that Todas have of late begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. They started smearing Siva spot on their foreheads and removing hair on the head. Now-a-days the Toda pantheon includes Hindu gods. Anthony Walker (1986: 287) notes as follows:

“From the market come pictorial representations of Hindu gods and goddesses: Siva and his consort Parvati, his sons Ganesa and Subramanyam; Visnu and his consort Lakshmi and his several incarnations, especially Krishna and Rama. These images occupy a place of honour in many a Toda household, and I have seen a complete 'gods' room in one Toda house.”

From time immemorial the Toda worship *Kavurtu Dou*, the Toda form Vishnu at Kaaramadai. In early days there was no idol for Vishnu; only a lamp was there.

The Kotas of Nilgiris, who are the only tribe in India doing all the pancha kammala works (they are excellent artisans doing blacksmithy, goldsmithy, silversmithy, carpentry, tannery, rope-making, pottery, washing and music rendering) worship Siva and his consort under the names of *Kaamatraya* and *Kaalikai* at Kotagiri region. According to their legend *Kaamatraya* wiped off three drops of perspiration from his forehead and from these drops the ancient hill tribes Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas originated. During the 12 day of the annual festival of *Kaamatraya*, the Todas, Badagas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Hindus come to the Kota village on the 9th day for witnessing the performance of an elaborate nautch. This annual intercultural continuum strongly binds all these communities.

The Badaga and Irula interrelationship in Nilgiri culture is a unique one. In Nilgiris the Rangasaami peak is one of the highest mountains (1788 m) which is crowned by a Vaishnavite shrine. Two mealithic circles (stone basins) represent Lord Ranga and his consort. The hereditary priest (*pujari*) of this shrine is an Irula. However, the Lingayat Badagas, who are following Lingayatism (Virashaivism) offer an annual propitiation by offering plantains, milk and coconuts through the Irula priest. The Rangasaami peak has been a place of *punyasthala* (place of virtue) for Hindus from the plains (Brecks 1873: 70; Maclean 1893: 373; Dubois 1906: 196; Francis 1908: 340; Hockings 1980: 127). The Krishna drama performances of Irulas also attract the Badagas. Such tribal Hinduism gradually gained ‘Sanskritizing’ influences in the Nilgiris over the centuries.

The Irulas are yet another autochthonous tribe in the Nilgiris. However, their annual festival cycle embraces a classic example for the “little tradition and great tradition continuum”. At the foot-hills of the Nilgiris, Kaaramadai, there is a popular Vishnu temple; there the presiding deity Ranganaathar visits a nearby abode of his second wife, Bettathamman (lit.: *betta* = ‘hill’, *amma*= ‘goddess’, an Irula bride) during His annual festival. On knowing Vishnu’s visit to Bettathamman, the presiding wife at the Kaaramadai abode stops Ranganaathar at the threshold of the temple and beats Him, and later allows Him inside the temple.

Kamil Zvelebil (1988: 137-8) provides a different account, that describes how the Vishnu at Rangasaami peak in the Nilgiris and at the Kaaramadai abode are brothers. Emeneau (1937-8) and Mandelbaum (1941) had accounted that Kotas also come down from the Nilgiris during the annual festival at Kaaramadai for worshipping Ranganaathar. Different versions of Ranganaathar myth maintain that these sites of Lord Vishnu are parts of the “folk” and “classical” continuum. Thus, Lord Vishnu not only finds a place both in the little and great traditions, but continues to interact between them in

the form of “tribe-folk continuum” or “little tradition and great tradition continuum”.

The Muduvan menfolk inhabiting in Western Ghats observe 30 day fasting for the annual propiation of ‘Aatkonda Perumaal’ (Lord Vishnu). While the Konda Reddis of western Tamilnadu worship Lord Vishnu as ‘Veedap Perumaal’ (lit.: ‘Vishnu, the hunter’). As the Konda Reddis were once hunter-gatherers they attributed their features on their God as well. Both these tribal *avatar*-s of Lord Vishnu reflect its proto-form.

Malaiyaalis (lit.: *malai* ‘hill’ and *yaali* ‘dweller’) are the numerically dominant tribe in Tamilnadu, who worship different icons of Siva, Vishnu, Ganesh and Murugan apart from other indigenous deities. However, the worship of Lord Rama (locally Raaman) is prevalent in many villages. In Kalvarayan hills located in Villuppuram district Lord Vishnu is known in the form of ‘Ilaya Raaman’ (lit.: ‘young Rama’). Temples for Ilaya Raaman is found in a number of villages like Kalluppatti, Chellangkuricchi, Karumanthurai, etc. In some villages like Thekkampattu, the deity is known as ‘Kariya Raaman’ (lit.: ‘black Rama’). While in some places the deity is known as ‘Perumaal’.

The term ‘Ilaya Raaman’ literally refers to Lord Vishnu, a youthful Rama, where as in ancient Tamil Sangam classics this term is used with the meaning “Warrior” (Tamil Maravar). Similarly, the term ‘Kariya’, though literally means the black colour Lord Vishnu, again in Sangam poetry it means “beauty”, i.e., the handsome look of Lord Vishnu.

Some Vishnu temples in this region are regarded as ‘Chinna Tirupati’ (lit.: ‘small Tirupati - a replica of Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh). As Vishnu is a pan-Indian deity and it belongs to great tradition the Malaiyaalies offer vegetarian offerings to Lord Vishnu. For other indigenous deities they offer *muppuuca*i (offering of three kinds of sacrifices – pig, goat and fowl).

During the annual festivals, the episodes from Ramayanam or Mahabharatham are enacted during the whole of night hours in the name of *kuuthu* (Nallathambi 2011:152-59). Harichandra story, Aravaan story, Krishna lila, Iraniyan episode, Kamsan story, Mahabharatha war, Bharathan & Dharmar consecration, Karna mootsham, etc., are the well known *kuuthus*.

4. Tribal Saivism

The Toda creation myth says that ‘Bettuga Somi’ (an avatar of Siva) created the universe. Ambalakkottai near Wynad border is the place where Siva is worshipped by the Todas. This is the place where Lord Siva originated for the first time on the earth. Each Toda goes to this place at least once in a year. The Malai Vedan (lit.: ‘hill hunter’) tribal people inhabiting in southern Tamilnadu trace their descent through Kannappa Naayanaar, one of the 64

Naayanmaars who propagated the Saivism in the Tamil region, who offered his eyes as a woe to Siva. The genealogical pride is exemplified in the worship of Lord Siva and his progenies Lord Vinaayagar (Ganesh) and his younger brother Lord Murugan (Kaarthigeyaa). During 13th century the Nayak kings of Vijayanagar empire extended their rule in Madurai in Tamilnadu and accommodated the Malai Vedan as territorial guards. Having started enjoying the royal patronage from the Nayak kings, the Malai Vedan gradually acculturated themselves with the worship of the Nayak's Lord Perumal, the supreme deity of Vaishnavism. Since then, they strongly believe that Lord Perumal under takes a night patrol and guards their hamlets and gardens on the hills.

The Ganesh worship is also prominent among them. Whenever they come across bad omen or whenever they start a new deed they begin it with Ganesh worship. Hiduization process slowly gained momentum with the royal patronage and its related sources. Even after the Nayak's rule was uprooted by the Delhi Sultans the belief system continues to exist till date.

The Muduvan tribe of Western ghats exhibit a strong web of pan-Indian characteristics through their pantheonic structure and worship pattern. They have an elaborate pantheon of about 24 deities, of which 10 gods are related to great tradition. They are as follows: 1. Murugan, 2. Sokkar (Siva), 3. Miinaakshi Amman, 4. Rama, 5. Krishna, 6. Kaamaakshi Amman, 7. Lakshmi, 8. Saraswathi, 9. Vinaayagar (Ganesh), 10. Garuda Bhagavaan (vulture, the vehicle of Lord Vishnu).

One section of Muduvan traces their mythical ancestor with Lord Rama. Their forefathers had guarded Sita when she was in exile in the forest. A stone representing Lord Rama is always placed nearby their communal deity, Lord Murugan. Annual propitiation is offered by cooking *pongal* (boiled raw rice). They make a pilgrimage every year during the month of *thai* (January – February) to one of the six famous abodes of Lord Murugan, Palani hills, on the occasion of an auspicious festival called *thai puusam*. Since Muduvans were migrated from Madurai region of Paandya king they worship the goddess Miinaakshi for the welfare of their livelihood. The abode of Lord Siva in Maraiyur- Kovilkadavu area is their temple (Then Kaasi Naathar temple), where *anju kiraamathaar* (lit.: 'people of five villages) collectively celebrate the annual festival there. *Kaarthigai thiibam* and *Siva raathri* are the other important festivals celebrated in this temple by the Muduvan tribe. Goddesses Lakshmi, Saraswati and Sri Iyappa in Sabari hills in Kerela also find a place in their pantheon.

5. The Literary Domain

Tribal Epics

The Todas are said to believe in their descent from Pancha Pandavas (five Pandavas). Their earlier practice of ‘fraternal polyandry’ (marrying a woman by all the brothers) was one such evidence for their link with Pandavas, they claim. The Toda people recalling some items of ethnohistory related to Mahabharatha mythology. The Todas have unique barrel-vaulted dairies, an ecologically significant structure. Now-a-days the front and rear walls are made of stones rather than the traditional wood. In the front walls carvings of buffaloes, sun, moon and even the five Pandava brothers of Mahabharatha are made.

The Todas say that Pandavas came here to Muthu naadu (one of their settlements) in Nilgiris during their course of Journey before the great war. They also claim that the Bhima begotten his son here in Muthu naadu. The Toda have many kinds of links with Mahabharatha. One significant link is as follows: During rainy season, whenever they hear heavy thunderbolts they say “Arjuna!, Arjuna!” (in Toda language Ajuna, Ajuna – ‘r’ is silent in Toda). In another legend the Toda claims that their deity destroy the demons ‘Korte’ and saved the people from the unruly demons (personal communication from Vasamalli, 21.02.2017).

For long been the Toda attempts to identify with the Hindu mainstream. The Toda text of EmeneauTGT 174 about a faithful and a faithless wife is identical with the theme in Ramayana. Professor Emeneau’s data on Toda, Kota and Irula tales (story 23, 187-375) and many other tale motifs reflect the strong connection with great epics of India.

The Toda bards are singing songs on their origin myth. The basic structure of pan-Indian epic pattern studied by scholars indicates a tripartite classification, i.e. 1. martial, 2. sacrificial, and 3. Romantic. The Toda epics fit well with this tripartite pattern. Brenda Beck (1989), who studied Tamil epics advocates that one standard pattern of heroic alliance in Indian epics is the triangle formed by two brothers and the wife of one of them. This archetype forms the basis for elevation of other motifs and patterns. According to Brenda Beck that folk epics reflect a tripartite characterization of heroes at the core: 1. A lead hero or heroine; 2. A secondary male; 3. A secondary female. Such pan-Indian epic pattern is attested in Toda songs as well.

Kotas prefer to have personal names from Mahabharata characters. Richard K. Wolf’s (a famous ethnomusicologist) informant name was Duryodana (Wolf 1997: 237). His father’s name was Raman (Tamilized form of Lord Rama) (ibid: 275). Such ethnonymic features are common among tribal communities in Tamilnadu.

Rama and Sita took two wild cats, one male and one female, and allowed to change into a man and a woman, and that is how the first Irula pair came into being. Then the gods taught them how to live on earth (Zvelebil 1990:167). There is another version that Rama and Sita created the Irulas out of dust and ashes (ibid:170).

Ramayana has enrouted throughout the Indian subcontinent across tribal, peasant and urban communities. However, versions differ from region to region. In this process replication and supplementation (or fission and fusion process) overarched throughout the history, thus forming 'many Ramayanas'. In Badaga epic Rama can be equated with Belli, Lakshmana with Kadare, Ravana with Senna Modali, and Sita with Solemaadi (Hockings 1997: 313). Scholars have informed about the other such versions which slightly differ from the known corpus (cf. Paula Richman 1991). These versions of oral epics in India are functioning to tell a community's ethnohistory and keep the social memory of community's self-identity (Blackburn, *et al.* 1989).

The numerically dominant Malaiyaali tribe in Tamilnadu, who are inhabiting in a number of hills, have an expanded parallel for Siva and Parvathi, called as Naachchappaa (Siva) and Naachchammaa (Parvathi). Such correspondences are attested in different ways among some other tribes. They enact the episodes from the Mahabharata and Ramayana during their annual festivals of village deities.

6. Epilogue

This paper represents a first step in ascertaining what is at the root of pan-Indianism among tribal communities in Tamilnadu. The adoption of Hinduization and recognizing Ramayanam and Mahabharatham as their own tradition form the major basis for pan-Indianism. Hinduization widens all along the increasing opportunities of social and economic scenario among the tribal communities. The Toda, Kota and Irula way of acculturating towards worshipping Hindu deities reflects a sense of 'social differences' on one hand, and 'religious similarities' on the other hand. The tribalness of each endogamous tribal community is recognized through their traditional identities. Yet all these tribes assume religious similarity by the way of Hinduization process. It is one such major process through which the tribes are trying to attain internal development and external changes.

The direction of Hinduization among tribes in Tamilnadu is a two-way process: one is moving towards mainstream culture; and the other one is retaining the tribal identity for getting benefits of welfare schemes and education-cum-job opportunities. Now-a-days livelihood opportunities are opened up through welfare schemes of the Central and State governments.

The colonial scenario introduced plantation estates, tea/coffee factories and horticultural developments. All these collectively enabled the tribals a new avenue of material changes which had altogether pushed them towards mainstream culture. Such social changes are one among the factors of influencing Hinduization.

The attractions of Hindu society for tribal people are manifold. Virtually majority of tribes men are now shifting towards Hindu characteristics. Their ancient antipathy toward Hindusim and *jati* culture have been bolstered by their mainstream contacts. With the increasing contact with the non-tribals the tribals offer rice, flower, coconuts, plantain in front of the deities. While concluding the note on “Toda Verbal Art and Sanskritization”, Professor Emeneau (1994: 427) says that Sanskritic culture has, indeed, been all - pervasive in India.

Due to modernity and exposure through modern education and modern employment the tribal communities in Tamilnadu are gradually accepting the attitudes and values of contemporary Indian civilization. However, being small communities they try to retain, in midcourse, all essential traditionalities and identities. Richard K. Wolf (1997: 237) notes that “the image of the tribal as the ‘primeval Indian’ is refashioned and reaffirmed in public displays such as Republic Day, when in the town of Ootacamund the Todas, Kotas, and Irulas are called to sing, dance, and play in full costume.” Thus, tribals come closer to Indianness through participatory revitalization movements.

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CHARLES DICKENS'S STYLE AND STYLISTICS IN SELECTED NOVELS

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Introduction: Style and Stylistics

Style and *Stylistics* are terms which describe the manner of writing as a consequence of the altering patterns of writings in English language and literature. The terms have their source in Latin root *stilus*, meaning a tool of writing in 1250-1300 and were borrowed into Middle English through old French as *stile* and became *style* English usage. It used particularly in writing tales and particularly in writing novels, during the Victorian Age in the seventeenth century or just before that period. That seems to have happened because it was mainly due to the sensations of the use of dialect in the novel used tremendously at that time in writing literature. The present paper points out the ways in which to analyze texts using the levels of stylistic analysis employed in the selected work.

Firm limitations would also mean deserting any use of indirect speech or narrated thoughts with dialect speakers, narrative techniques that consistently mingle the usually standard language of the narrator with that of the characters. In short, consciously or unconsciously, the Victorian novelist had to resist following such style of writing prescribed boundaries of language in fictional dialogue in order to explore the genre's potential to redefine the relationships between individuals and society, a relationship most clearly marked in the novel in the language of the dialogue and in the language of Dickens novels; a detectable marker on the page of differences that otherwise can only be described by the narrator, While most Victorian novelists perhaps had one eye on general outlooks and the critics' desire for a representation of rigid divisions between forms of the style of language. They also had to have the other eye fixed on the essentials of the narrative itself. As painters and weavers use contrasting colours, so writers of the Victorian novels used different forms of language in speech and narration to shape for each novel a ficto-linguistics based on, but separate from, socio-linguistics. In some cases, the ficto-linguistic

pattern is a more refined revision of actual sociolinguistics than in the others. Hardy, for example, seems more thoughtful and realistically oriented than Bronte. Whether, purposely or accidentally, out of rebelliousness or merely in response to the restraints of written narrative.

Victorian novelists used dialect in subtly different ways, for purposes much more varied than as class markers or phonetic representations as in the case of the selected novels of Dickens. Dialect in the Victorian novel matters not only in how it openly responds or corresponds to socio-linguistics, but in its expressiveness. Whether used in the dialogue to mark the boundaries and construct alliances among characters in the fictional world, whether kept within the quotation marks or allowed to slip into the narration, and whether made central to the novel or kept on the margins, dialect in the Victorian novels not only is flexible in effect, but is also characteristically connected to the narrator's language and style. To understand dialect in the Victorian novels, we need to understand that while, for English speakers then and now, the boundaries between dialects and standard English seem quite fixed, the novels at all times exploited their flexibility, playing with the socio-linguistics that infuse written English to draw its own, fictional line perhaps more than any other Victorian novelist.

Dickens has been criticized for his use of standard of English for characters whose social position should make them dialect speakers. Moreover, that is not completely clear from Little Dorrit passage whether Miss Pross, in *A Tale of Two Cities* speaks to Jerry in dialect or Standard English; it is her complexion, rather than her speech, that seems to give him doubts about her abilities as a worker. But the indirect representation of her speech suggests that she expresses herself here in the absolutely proper standard of English that would accord with her "delicate" coloration. According to the narrative, that Miss Pross speaks differently from her Socio-linguistic discussions of dialect in novels, that is, readings that focus primarily on whether the form of dialect in the novels is reliably applied to all lower-class characters or that consider how precise an account of the sounds of the actual speech of an actual region the fictional dialect provides, fail to provide us with a deep understanding for the place of dialect in the Victorian novels. In their criticisms of dialect in fiction, Victorian critics, though they celebrated the use of different language styles in the novels, actively upheld the boundary between standard and dialect language styles. Dickens was, in truth, the literary as well as the spiritual descendant of the old wholesome masters of our language, who wrote in the common language to the common people; and his effect upon style was to carry English literature ever further away from the cramping conventions of the classicists.

Dickens did not influence modern English literature but he created it. The followings showcase the effect on Dickens's style in detail.

Dickens's Style and Stylistics in Selected Novels

It is a precise notion to consider several points of view as far as the effects of Dickens's style upon the status of English literature during the Victorian as well as through the period afterwards as follows:

Dickens fits into the nineteenth century style of writing which placed much importance on the form of humanity placed against the backdrop of industrialization and this will be found easily through his three selected novels under analysis. Dickens loved the style of the 18th century picaresque novels which he found in abundance on his father's shelves. According to Ackroyd, other than these, perhaps the most important literary influence on him was derived from the fables of *The Arabian Nights* (17). His special forms of expression his techniques of creating audio-visual and emotional situations' true he writes sentences that are too long and too detailed. He was sometimes overly sentimental, in *A Tale of Two Cities*, On the first interview between Lucie and her father is scarcely natural; and the farewell scene between Charles and Lucie in the Paris Tribunal a situation more likely to leave a couple bereft of words. In Dickens characters prove their love more realistically by their actions than by their Words! But his clear purpose to make his readers and audience sees, feel, hear, and he labored to perfect a style that would achieve his purpose. He was very successful in merging the elements of his style that it is only by analysis that the reader and the audience become aware of the discrete elements of his style.

Talking about the relations between the Language on one side and the style and stylistic on the other it should be enlightened that Language and style never moves beyond a concentration on the supremacy of words. These words somehow contain meanings in our mind while the use of style is an effectively language manipulated in ways that signal it as different from ordinary language. A stylistic analysis of the three uses of Dickens's famous novels is carried out to, educate, explicate and expose to everybody that comes across this write up, in guiding them on how to analyze it. The data used to illustrate and substantiate our claims are systematically sourced from these novels selected ones. The lexico-syntactic patterns and choices, the phonological, morphological, Grammatical and graphological devices are the main stylistic elements used to prove our claims. Finally, we find that each of the elements, however, has recognizable functions which contribute to the effective meaning of the distinctions: looking at what the novel aimed at. Haynes believes that the study of style is the study of what was said against what might have been said. Style

almost synonymous with variety. Style refers in a simple way to the manner of expression which differs according to the various contexts; it is a discipline which studies different style. It can refer to the study of proper use of words or language in proper places.

Widdowson in his book "Stylistics and the teaching of literature" defines stylistics as being: "the study of literary discourse from a linguistic orientation".(59) He goes on further by saying that what distinguishes stylistics from literary criticism on the one hand, and linguistics on the other, is that it is essentially a means of linking the two and has no autonomous domain of its own. Style has grown to mean so many things to so many people today. We might consider this in Dickens style as in this case; First, Dickens worked to achieve precision diction. His words and phrases must not only denote to exact literal meaning, but they must also be capable of extended meanings and interpretations. Consider the famous sentence that expressed by Dickens: "It was the best time. It was the worst of times" in which each pair of alternates relates precisely to the year 1775 and can be extended to relate to every period in history; or observe how the following passage make reader imagine with his senses and carry him backward or forward in time. In the larger context and meaning of the novel: "as teaming mist in all the hollows," "a people who had undergone a terrible grinding and regrinding in the mill," "the baffled blue flies were dispersing in search of other carrion," "muskets in a most explosive state of readiness," "the ghost of beauty, the ghost of stateliness, the ghost of elegance," "the whole jury, as a jury of dogs, empanelled to try the deer," "Six tumbrils carry the day's wine to the guillotine." Dickens perfection of semantic deviations use enabled him to fuse situation, atmosphere, and tone with language that communicated his meaning precisely.

Moreover, in any way of characterization was noted in the Victorian novels. Instead of the writer introducing or describing the character, the reader could now learn a character through their speech. Although the Victorian novel lacked the twentieth century's suitable method of the use of psychoanalysis, and revelations by the "inner man," the nineteenth century novelist relied on such style that vernacular conversation to disclose the conscious. Therefore, we see how Dickens dealt with the issue of their characters. So it is declared that the characterization in Dickens's novels imitated the methods of the eighteenth-and early-nineteenth-century novelists, notably Smollett and Sir Walter Scott, but he superimposed his own style, and that made all the difference. Caricature which became the trademark of Dickens' early works and which his readers came to expect, is used sparingly in *A Tale of Two Cities*. The de-emphasis on this aspect of Dickens' style disturbed his readers, but the serious tone of Dickens' later works precludes comic caricature. The wildness and eccentricities of Miss

Prossare a foil for Lucie Manette's gentleness and lady like comportment. Jerry Cruncher's hoarse voice, close-set eyes, spiked hair, ridiculous clothes serve as a comic contrast to the ultra-conservative Mr. Lorry, and his literal employment of the term "Resurrection-man" is a light but a significant rendering of the Resurrection theme. Jerry illustrates another stylistic device that Dickens borrowed, the tag. Jerry repeatedly refers to himself with the tag "an honest tradesman." He identifies his wife by the tags "Aggera water" and "floppin'." Mr. Lorry carries the tag "a man of business." Tags are very useful to the reader. They permit him to make immediate identification with a character when that character reappears. When Dickens refers to the Lion, the Jackal, the man of delicacy, or the Vengeance, the reader calls forth a distinct mental image, whether Dickens is using the term literally or satirically. Virginia Woolf maintained that "we remodel our psychological geography when we read Dickens" as he produces "characters who exist not in detail, not accurately or exactly, but in large quantities in a cluster of wild yet extraordinarily revealing remarks. One "character" vividly drawn throughout his novels is London itself. From the coaching inns on the outskirts of the city to the lower reaches of the Thames, all aspects of the capital are described over the course of his body of work.

Dialogue, therefore, became a common feature of the novels, In addition, Dickens' novels also bear some theatrical elements in the way in which certain characters deliver their speeches such as in the case which shows that the inventions of the theatre have been absorbed or replaced by the novel. Strong images and symbols also characterized the nineteenth century novels; thus, the novelists often created layers of complex symbolic meaning that reached far deeper than the superficial pattern of social action suggested to the casual reader. For example, in *Little Dorrit*, and *A Tale of Two Cities*, Dickens uses images such as fog social injustice and moral decadence. Actually *A Tale of Two Cities* is non-typical of Dickens in that there is a single plot instead of his usual multi-plot technique, But other elements of his style are present; the telling of the story by means of exciting scenes with conflicting forces, good triumphing over evil, a host of coincidences to assist fate in carrying characters to their destiny, and the use of theatrical and melodramatic effects to stir the emotions of the reader, preferably to tears. There are stage effects in the incredible sumptuousness, of Monseigneur's reception pictured as a Fancy Dress ball, at which every guest was disfigured by "the leprosy of unreality."

Dickens' picturing of the storming of the Bastille is punctuated by staccato notes to heighten the emotion: "Headlong mad and dangerous footsteps, deep ditches, double drawbridges, massive stone walls two fierce hours deep ditch, single drawbridge, massive stone walls. Work comrades all,

work! The prisoners!..The records the secret cells!..." "The remorseless sea of turbulently swaying shapes, voices of vengeance, and faces hardened in the furnaces of suffering until the touch of pity could make no mark on them." (60) The melodrama in the trials of Damay before the Revolutionary Tribunal is supplied by the appearance of the judges, Looking like felons, and the turbulent audience, composed of the lowest crudest and worst populace of the city of Paris, noisily approving and disapproving, cheering and shedding tears after his acquittal and roaring their revengeful approval as each jurymen voted for Charles' death after the reading of Dr. Manette's letter.

The Victorian novels were vehicles which writers used to deliver their social criticism. They were the main source that gave the reading public a clear picture of what was happening during the nineteenth century. Thus, it can be concluded that the Victorian novel was a representative description of England and the rest of Britain in the industrial age. The style of novel was a new form that was developed from drama, and Dickens' novels have some the atrical elements such as dialogue which enables the reader to identify the personalities of the characters in the texts and to understand the symbolic role of each character such the case in his tale *Hard Times*. Therefore, the Victorian novel, through its realistic depiction of characters and the Victorian society in general, enabled the readers to understand what was going on in England at those times. As an example in order to sustain this idea *The Frozen Deep* which gave Dickens the idea of the plot triangle of *A Tale of Two Cities* and the other dramas popular with the theatre going audience were melodramas; actors tended to give highly spirited interpretations to their parts. Thus, the reading of Dickens novels will give of his own works that they were played before packed houses and were highly praised tumultuously because they were highly emotionalized versions of his writings. But not all the scenes are melodrama. In the death scene when Sydney Carton ascends the steps to the guillotine, there is tragic drama. Many of the melodramatic scenes are horror' scenes. Dickens' use of horror is another borrowing from earlier novelists, notably Sir Walter Scot for whom Dickens had sincere admiration. The melodramatic horror scent are fused with another element of Dickens' style his use of contrast and/or alternating scenes the killing of Gaspard's child in the streets of Saint Antoine by the carriage of the Marquis follows the Fancy Dress ball; the killing of the marquis by there vengeful Jacques contrasts with the compassion expressed by Charles for the peasants oppressed by his family; the storming of the Bastille follows a peaceful scene in the gardens of the Manette household in Soho; the firing of the chateau eventually brings Charles Damay from the peace of his London home to the chaos of Paris; the brutality of the demons sharpening their blood-stained weapons in the courtyard of Tellon's contrasts with the peace within

Mr. Lorry's lodgings and the love which motivates Mr. Lorry's visitors; the frenzied patriots that participated most vigorously in the hanging of Foulon became gentle parents that evening as they played with their children after the day's work was over.

In the meantime it must be noted that the particularization of individuals in a novel also fostered the development of realism. Apart from the language and setting as components that instigate characterization, the early realists create did entity and individuality for their characters. This new form of writing was employed through the naming of the characters using realistic names instead of symbolic or referential names, as was the case prior to eighteenth century writing. In Dickens novels the word "shadow" is Dickens' key term linking physical imprisonment and imprisoning states of soul. Like the word "gentleman" and the word "secret," the word "shadow" recurs again and again in *Little Dorrit* in the most diverse contexts. These words tie together the lives of all the various characters we meet and remind us that they are all like one another. But what is perhaps the darkest of all here is Dickens' new way of showing many of his characters altogether aware of their spiritual states and even deliberately choosing them. There is a great increase here over the earlier novels in the self-consciousness and articulateness of suffering or malice. Of all Dickens' novels it is true to say that many of the characters exist in a nightmare of unreality, committed to lives of self-seeking, sham, or vacillation. But the novelty of *Little Dorrit* lies in the fact that many characters are perfectly live in a condition of continual restlessness or anxiety, even of despair or paralysis of will, incapable, like Arthur Clennam, of deciding what to do with their lives, or incapable, like old Dorrit, of making the least motion of spiritual ascent. Were seems, no escape from shadow in the world of *Little Dorrit*.(63) The world of his novels Whether the characters are literally imprisoned or not, they are condemned to an endless wandering in a narrow dark labyrinth whose stations repeat one another as Calais and Italy repeat the Marshalsea. *Little Dorrit* will never really see her father in her life; whether he is in jail or out he will always be a captive with the jail-rot upon him. (64)

The study of the language used by an author serves two purpose It can lead the way to a better understanding of the authors meaning and a fuller appreciation of his literary skill, and it can provide material for the study of the history of the language approaches to literary work are closely intertwined and one helps the other. The use which any author makes of a language is a part of the history of that language and if the authors work is widely read; his Linguistic habits are likely to exert an important influence on others who use the language. On the other hand, knowledge of the state of the language at the time when the author wrote was of the utmost importance in understanding what

the author meant. Without that knowledge we are in danger of attributing to his words modern senses which he did not intend them to bear and of seeking special significance in turns of phrase, unusual to us, which were the normal way of expressing ideas at the time when the author wrote. Here it may be relevant enough to point out that at the other extreme Dickens often uses a more colloquial style. The description of Todgers's boarding house in *Martini Chuzzlewit* it includes a phrase of the kind that one of its residents might have used; It had not been papered or painted, hadn't Todgers's, within the memory of man;(65) sometimes Dickens uses a style of sustained banter. In the description of the dinner party given by Mr Merdle in *Little Dorrit* the prevailing tone is light, but the author makes his purpose plain by allowing the banter to give way from time to time to a sentence or two of bitter denunciation. Thus in the conversation between Mr Merdle and Bar about Mr 'Merdles three pocket boroughs, a long passage of ornate eloquence is followed by the brief comment: The three places in question were three little rotten holes in this island-containing three little ignorant, drunken, guzzling, dirty, out-of-the-way constituencies that had reeled into Mr Merdle's pocket. (66)

Another style which Dickens adopts from time to time is the mock-heroic. Long passages in praise of the beauty of the heroine were a common feature of the novels with which Dickens became familiar in his youth. When he introduces many passages, seems to be laughing at both the literary convention and himself. A point of linguistic interest in the following mock-heroic passage is that it shows that, when he wanted, Dickens could construct a gigantic sentence. One of the reasons for the wide appeal of Dickens is the pleasure that he takes in simple things, joined with the power of conveying this pleasure to the reader.

Very often the effect is achieved simply by enumeration, but for this method to be effective it is necessary for the author to choose his list with care. When Maggy in *Little Dorrit* is describing the delights of being in hospital, she enumerates the attractions points such as: 'Such beds there is there!' cried Maggy.(67) 'Such lemonades! Such oranges! Such d'licious broth and wine! Such Chicking! Oh, AIN'T it a delightful place to go and stop at!'.(68)

We may assume that Dickens is a brilliant writer in depicting inner relations of the individuals in his novels; he is so careful in building up of detail. A good example is provided by this description of the scenes visited by the Dorrit family: among the day's unrealities would be roads where the bright red vines were looped and garlanded together on trees for many miles; woods of olives; white villages and towns on hill-sides, lovely without, but frightful in their dirt and poverty within; crosses by the way; deep blue lakes with fairy islands, and clustering boats with awnings of bright colors and sails of beautiful

forms; vast piles of building moldering to dust; hanging-gardens where the weeds had grown so strong that their stems, like wedges driven home, had split the arch and rent the wall; stone-terraced lanes, with the lizards running into and out of every chink; beggars of all sorts everywhere: pitiful, picturesque, hungry, merry; children beggars and aged beggars. Moreover, he is very sensitive to smells, especially unpleasant ones, and he describes them in some detail. When Flora Finching visited Mr Dorrit, a singular combination-of perfumes was diffused through the room, as if some brandy had been put by mistake in a lavender-water bottle, if some lavender-water, had been put by mistake in a brandy-bottle (64).

Dickens style had achieved an excellent purposes by using expressions and contradictory elements and descriptions in the wonderful opening of the (*Tale of Two Cities*) such: “It was the best of times, it was the worst of times”, “it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness”, “it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity”, “it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness”, “it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair”, “we had everything before us, we had nothing before us”, “we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way-in short”, “the period was so far like the present period” that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received”, “for good or evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.” There was a king with a large jaw and a queen with a plain face, on the throne of England”; “there were a king with a large jaw and a queen with a fair face, on the throne of France”. In both countries it was clearer than crystal to the lords of the State preserves of loaves and fishes, that things in general were settled for ever. In this magnificent opening Dickens seeks to hold the reader's attention by reducing chaos to disguised order. His opening sentence-really a-series of unpunctuated sentences-gives the appearance of chaos by its speedy contradictions; actually it is almost blatantly ordered in that the pairs of opposites make every second clause completely predictable.

Conclusion

Thus to conclude, the present paper analyzes the different styles employed by Charles Dickens in his selected novels, particularly *A Tale of Two Cities*, *Little Dorrit*, and *The Frozen Deep*. These in a way through stylistics exploration on language, and, more specifically, explore creativity in language use. Therefore, justifies Charles Dickens's style and stylistics as a description of the choices of linguistic expression in detail.

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FOLK WISDOM, IN TODA CULTURE An Indigenous Community in Southern India

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1. Introduction

Proverbs and folklore form an integral part of the wisdom tradition of a community. They are the time-tested treasure trove of wisdom coming through ages, history, and culture. While proverbs form part of a language, folklores are an inseparable entity of a culture. They stand testimony to belief systems, customs, laws, taboos; and other cultural aspects of a community. Thus both serve as literary traditions of a certain place and people. Proverbs and folklores of any society serve as an important tool for in-depth study and proper understanding of that society. Though orally transmitted, proverbs and folklores are the terse metaphors which give as insight into the life pattern and attitudes of the communities towards their own tradition.

Folk culture from its initial stages to the present times express different ways of thinking and feeling. To understand these, local and regional details are necessary. In retrospect, myths, legends, dialects, customs and traditions all form part of a culture where folklores and proverbs thrive as main components. By exploring these components, one gets the understanding of the true nature of human relationship which identifies cross-cultural influences. In doing so, one must be familiar with the land and people in respect to their surroundings, history, culture, environmental conditions, traditions behavioural pattern etc.

2. Toda Tribe

Toda tribe is the most ancient and unique tribe of The Nilgiri hills of Tamil Nadu in Southern India. They are originally a pastoral community prior to the late eighteenth century. The Toda co existed locally with other communities, including the Badaga, Kota, and Kurumba, in a loose caste-like community organization. The present Toda population is less than 3000. The Todas have attracted (since the late eighteenth century), “a most disproportionate amount of attention because of their ethnological aberrancy

and their unlikeliness to their neighbours in appearance, manners and customs”. The study of their culture by Anthropologist and Linguists would prove important in the creation of the fields of Social Anthropology and Ethnomusicology. The revered place of the buffaloes in Toda society represents remarkable features of their life. Over the centuries, the Toda came to rely heavily upon the buffalo for their livelihood. They created religious and social values around the buffalo, including their origin myth. The first sacred buffalo had been created by the gods before the first Toda man and woman. Kona Shastra, the annual sacrifice of a male buffalo constitutes their central religious ceremony. The person who tends the holy sacred buffalo, the divine milkman, has the highest position in Toda society. The Toda way of life has been threatened by contact with modern India, a shift from herding to agriculture, and a loss of grazing land as a result of the government of Tamil Nadu conducting a reforestation program.

3. Cultural Consciousness and Verbal Behaviour among Todas

The ideas and values of any community will be getting reflected through the conventional and cultural expressions that are found in a community. These expressions are very often used by elders with the view to educating their children the cultural ideas and values of a society. Proverbs, riddles, word games, speech games, idiomatic expressions, aphorisms etc. are treated as conventional expressions of a community and they reflect the cultural consciousness. They reflect the norms lay down by a community in carrying out the activities of thinking, acting and expressing the thoughts.

Speech and verbal behaviour are considered as one of the themes in the cultural consciousness of a community and the conduct of speech, the norms underlying speech, the mode of speaking and the effects of speaking are very often reflected through the communal and conventional expressions prevalent in a society. In the developed societies where written form of language assumes a characteristic function, the written expressions are legitimately recorded with futuristic goal. Toda being a language with oral tradition, the collection of conventional expressions reflecting Toda communal verbal behaviour brings in certain problems. However, some conventional expressions are collected in relation to the theme called verbal behaviour and presented here in order to establish the cultural consciousness of the Todas towards language in general and verbal behaviour in particular.

4. Folk Wisdom in Toda

The wisdom of proverbs has guided people in their social interaction for thousands of years. Throughout the world, proverbs contain everyday

experience and common observations in succinct and formulaic language, making them easy to remember and ready to be used instantly as effective rhetoric in oral or written communication. This has been the case during preliterate times and there are no signs that proverbs have outlived their usefulness in modern technological societies either occasional claims persist that proverbs on their way to extinction in highly developed culture, but nothing could further from the truth. Proverbs fulfil the human need to summaries experience and observations into nuggets of wisdom that proverb readymade comments on personal relationship and social affairs.

Buffalo and buffalo objects are reviewed to show that buffalo plays a significant role in the literary, creative life of Todas. Each proverb is analysed in order to reveal the structural format and the cultural focus about the objects occurring in the proverbs.

1. korku:ṭ i:r tu: o:ṭṣchi.
oṭuṭu o:ḷ o:ṭle e:ṣhchi

(horn – defect – buffalo – pen – trouble - ugly – men – other men – finds fault)
“buffalo with defect in horn gives trouble to the pen: ugly men find fault with others”.

On looking at the proverb, it is evident that the structural format is the implicit comparison of buffaloes and men. The cultural focus related to buffalo is:

1. buffaloes with defective horn create troubles
2. buffaloes with defective horn are not considered as beautiful
3. kornkarti :
4. mohknpishti (calf milk son beat)

“Milk the buffalo without leaving lot of milk for the calf, so that the calf will be subdued; beat the son so as to make him perfect”.

This proverb implies that if the calf is given too much of milk and the son is given too much of freedom they will be ruined. The structural format of the proverb is implicit comparison. The cultural focus emphasises that a calf should be reared with due discipline.

1. eṭukkithponṃ (rock from money)
taḷlith i:r – (ground from buffalo)
“Money is got from the forest Buffalo is got from the land”.

The structural format of this proverb is implicit comparison. The cultural focus underlying this proverb is the following:

1. Wealth is obtained from two sources: one, from the land in the form of buffalo and another from mountain in the form of money (forest goods).

4. aiyo:lk o:l
(for that man a man)

ai: i:rkk i:r
(for that buffalo a buffalo)

This proverb implies that everybody whether a man or a buffalo, should have a companion.

5. kog i:r mułkk o:dhucci
(old buffalo thorn dashes its head)

“old buffaloes poke their head into the thorny bush”

This proverb is a statement. It says that the old buffaloes poke their head into the thorny bush and negatively implies that old and aged people do unnecessary things.

6. kuarku:aṭr i:rkk o:l o:richi
(horn defective for buffalo person shouts)

“For the broken horn buffalo, one shouts”

“It is worthless to have heated argument and explanation over a broken horn of a buffalo”.

This proverb says that the broken horn of a buffalo is an insignificant information and not worthy enough to raise heated argument.

7. etrirdhtuvarṁ, etvarttherṁ
(today eaten food, today – caught buffalo)

“The buffalo caught today, the food eaten today”

This proverb implies that one should be contented with what is done today without bothering about what will be done tomorrow. Bother about today, not about tomorrow.

8. Pošvo:ṅmpu:všṁ u:šhkartiṁ
(cow tall catcher reaches other bank)

“The man who catches a cow’s tail can reach the other side of a bank”.

It is a conditional statement. It gives the implied meaning that one can believe a cow because it cannot deceive people.

9. otgoṅkkpeṅṁ, otgonkksuṅṁ
(to one eye butter, to one eye lime)

“butter for one eye lime for an other eye”

This makes use of the dairy product ‘butter’ in its format. It is a statement in form and implies that one should not have double standard and should not be partial towards some people.

5. Conclusion

When a community gives a social significance to certain objects, the literature found in such societies will definitely make use of those objects, as

themes for the creation of literature. Taking this point into focus, one could argue that female buffaloes are used as thematic objects for the creation of folk literary materials too in Toda culture.

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FROM ENTRAPMENT TO ECOLOGY
An Analysis of Indian Prison Narratives

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1. Introduction

This research paper seeks to highlight the nature and significance of ecological references in Indian prison narratives. The discussion will initially focus on the different ecological references employed in various Indian prison narratives throughout Indian history. The main objective of the paper is to highlight the idea that confinement imposed on an individual serves as a stimulus for one to respond to the external environment with zest and gusto. This response, it will be argued, shows how incarcerated individuals are pushed to a sub-human state and perceived as beasts by people in the external world. The paper at this point will highlight the predicament of nature and natural entities that are confined within the structure of prison through instances from prison literature. These instances will further assist in arriving at an understanding of modern ecological problems like the commodification of nature. The paper will then proceed to engage with the aspect of commodification in the light of forced tribal migrations narrated in Indian prison writings. The paper at this point will specifically focus on the writings of Nandini Oza and Arun Ferreira in order to achieve clarity about the nature of these migrations. An analysis of these two prison narrative will be taken up in the second part of the proposed paper. This analysis will foreground the harsh realities of these migrations which range from economic instability through social exclusion to criminalization. Branded as criminals these communities land up and languish in prison. The paper will then highlight how the state employs prison as a space to entrap these communities and proceeds to control and commodify their natural spaces and resources under the garb of development. On the whole the paper will present the idea that displacement and incarceration of these communities opens up the space of prison as a site of segregation and commodification.

Keywords: Indian prison writing, Incarceration, Ecology, Commodification.

It is necessary to acquaint oneself with the generic classification of prison narratives and its different aspects before proceeding to engage with how this genre contends with conceptions of ecology. The term prison literature denotes a literary genre which consists of texts written by prisoners that spans the age of written text and takes a multiplicity of forms and styles which includes biography, fiction, poetry, drama, sociopolitical commentary and analysis (Bosworth 781-5). The prisoner who is or had been incarcerated might choose to talk about his/her experiences within the prison and also about things external to it. A more Indianized definition is given by C.D. Narasimhaiah: “Prison writing, that is, writing done not by prisoners but on imprisonment by creative writers on others’ prison life” (Narasimhaiah 7). At this point it becomes clear that prison literature can be considered as a sub-genre of life writing. Historically contextualizing this genre opens up the discussion to a tradition in world literature that combines imprisonment and writing: the autobiographical representation of the figure of the writer in prison (Summers 2). Since an analysis of prison also involves the analysis of the legal, cultural and textual narratives of society this paper will initially attempt to shed light on how nature was perceived and constructed based on legal and textual references from Ancient India.

2. Pre-Colonial India

It is a known fact that the legal systems of ancient India (especially Hindu law) were highly influenced by the texts called the *Dharmasūtras*. These texts were said to have been written sometime during the seventh and second century B.C.E and are classified into four schools called Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Gautama and Vasistha (Lochtefeld 191-2). Unlike many Western conceptions that separates the divine from humans and animals the *Dharmasūtras* enabled all three categories to overlap where the human is able to experience the divine only through the animal (Gutiérrez 466-7). Thus the *sūtras* mutually constituted humans and animals in relation to divine by using legal orders that mitigated religious and social interaction. At this point it is essential to understand how literatures of ancient India distinguished between human and animal. A good example is given by Andrea Gutiérrez through the translation of a verse from the first book of the *Hitopadeśa* (a collection of fables) which says “Eating, sleeping, fear and sex are the same for humans as for animals; human’s chief distinction is *dharma*. Without *dharma* humans are no different from animals” (Gutiérrez 468). It is important to understand that there is no single meaning for *dharma* since different texts and religions give us different meanings. But in praxis following *dharma* is said to lead to spiritual

purification and will assist one in attaining the divine. Therefore the statement from the *Hitopadeśa* does share commonalities with Giorgio Agamben's idea from his work *The Open: Man and Animal*: 'the most luminous sphere of man's relations with the divine depends, in some way, on that darker one which separates us from the animal' (16). Therefore unlike the animals the human achieves the state of a legal subject through *dharma*. A further analysis of the lines from the *Hitopadeśa* sheds light on the fact that the statement also shares commonalities with certain anthropocentric theories. It is pertinent to remember at this point that the *Hitopadeśa* is a collection of fables and is technically not a legal text. The scholar Padmanabh Jaini rejects this categorization of humans and animals in relation to the concept of *dharma* (Jaini 176). He further elaborates that early Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical narratives contradict such a categorization and actually state that animals embody *dharma* better than humans (Jaini 169). But, he does go on to acknowledge that modern Indian mind-set might use this categorization based on *dharma*. This is further validated by the fact that Indians do use narratives like epics, fables, folktales and myths to make sense of everyday reality (Kakar 1- 4, Lal 189). It is also necessary to point out that animals have been used extensively in Indian history and culture to depict abstract concepts like sin, atonement and *dharma*. A good example is the description of a *dharmic* king who is compared to a bull where both of them preside and watch over the herd (human or non-human) (Couture 73-4). This further leads us to Lévi-Strauss' statement about animals helping us to materialize ideas and relations conceived in the mind in observable ways (Lévi Strauss 89).

A piece of prison literature that employs animal imagery to depict trauma can be found in the *Purananuru* one of the eight books in the anthology of Sangam literature dated to have been written sometime in between the 1st century B.C.E and 5th century C.E (Hart XVI). This poem titled *Purananuru* 74 was composed by King Chēramān Kanaikkāl Irumporai after he was defeated by King Chōlan Chenkanān at Kalumalam (Herbert sangamtranslationsbyvaidehi.com).

"If an infant died or if a fetus was born as a mass of flesh, my ancestors, even though they were not human, treated them as such and cut them with swords. It has now come to this, and I'm sitting here suffering like a dog in chains, not cut up like a hero, without any mental strength, pleading for a water to those without generosity, to calm down the fire in my stomach. Is this why my parents bore me in this world?" (Herbert, Sangam translations by Vaidehi.com)

It is clear that after his imprisonment King Chēramān Kanaikkāl Irumporai was shackled and tortured. He uses the image of a dog to embody the state of his helplessness which is highly traumatizing since he was a king. In the succeeding lines he immediately talks about not being killed in the field of battle an act which is against *Kshatriya dharma*. Therefore the reference can also mean that he has fallen from his holy position of king to an inauspicious one denoted by the dog (Pattanaik devdutt.com). There is a further connection between dogs and criminals since according to the *sutras* a thief was branded in the forehead with the figure of a dog's foot which aided in the production of a legally altered and socially corrected body (Olivelle 202). The *Dharmasūtras* further considered the bodies of the animal that belonged to the human to be part of the human's body since crime committed by the human will result in the animal being seized as punishment. The reverse is also true if the animal commits a crime (a cattle destroys crops belonging to another man) then the human is punished (Gutiérrez 472-3). Thus it is safe to say that according to the *sutras* the human and the animal possessed a shared legal and social body. There are commonalities between this and rules framed in the Indian Penal Code's Section 324/326 which defines dangerous weapons. This section proceeds to state that using an animal to harm a person is similar to using weapons like knives, poisons and explosives which can result in the individual being charged with murder and can face imprisonment for three years. Therefore it becomes clear that ancient laws were not focused on considering the human as different from the animal but as elements that co-constituted a single body.

The edicts of emperor Ashoka provide another great example about how he viewed *dharma/dhamma* and where animals were placed in the society he ruled over. During his reign Ashoka tasked the state with the duty of protecting animals (both domestic and wild) and hunting of certain species was banned and spaces similar to wildlife reserves were established (Dhammika X). The edicts even carry personal messages from Ashoka that inform the reader that he had stopped killing animals for food in the palace kitchen and made provisions to provide medical treatment for animals in his kingdom (Dhammika 1).

In order to understand the relationship between humans and animals during the Mughal age it is necessary to understand how animals are depicted in the Qu'ran. There are six chapters (*sūras*) in the Qu'ran from a total of 114 that are named after animals. Although humans and animals are the creations of god, humans are described as "the speaking animal" (*hayawān al-nātiq*). The Qu'ran does mention one major aspect that differentiates humans from animals: that is, the possession of volition (*taqwa*) (thehumanesociety.org). It is said that since

humans possess *taqwa* they are made responsible for their actions while the animals are not. There are also various *hadiths* in which animals are seen praying and speaking to various Imams and some Islamic scholars have even said that animals will be resurrected on the day of judgement along with humans. But the Qu'ran does specify a hierarchy where humans are referred to as *khalifa* (successor, vice-regent) (thehumansociety.org).

During Mughal rule Jahangir was the ruler to enforce strict laws prohibiting hunting of wild animals as a sport, and permission was granted only to professions in order to hunt man-eating animals. Although art during this age is known for depicting nature in all its beauty in praxis the Mughals were very fond of hunting wild animals. Jahangir himself has mentioned that over a span of 36 years he had hunted a total of 17, 167 big and small game. A huge body of knowledge in taming and breeding the now extinct Indian Cheetahs was available during the reign of Akbar (Akhtar 382-3).

3. Andamans The Indian Bastille

During British colonization there seems to have been a lot of confusion at the initial levels about jurisprudence in the Indian sub-continent. The British had to rule a native population that already had multiple legal systems like Islamic law and Hindu law, which were structured by caste and religion, already in place (Arnold 140-172). The colonizers had to initially translate and understand all these ancient Indian legal systems and then later attempt to modify these rules according to the European systems (Arnold 142-3). It is now necessary to analyze the penal organization during colonial age from the point of view of the island jails. The systematic criminalization of tribal people and the destruction of their natural habitats had begun during this age.

It was after the revolt of 1857 that the colonial government decided to set up penal settlements on the surrounding islands where convicts could be transported. Another factor that contributed to the rise of penal settlements was that prisons in the mainland due to external influence were becoming spaces of dissent (Arnold "India: The Contested Prison" 151, Anderson 1-54). The paper will now proceed to explicate the colonization of Viper Island which was one of the Andaman Islands to serve as a penal settlement. Historically the colonization of the Andaman Islands had begun in 1788 AD with a survey of all the islands eventually leading to the establishment of Port Cornwallis with the assistance of a ship called Viper under the command of Lt. Blair (Pandey 2). The colonization was abandoned in the year 1796 after the colonizers were battered by a very powerful cyclone (Pandey 2). The revolt of 1857 led to the formation of the 'Andaman committee' which was assigned with the job of creating penal settlements to house mutineers and criminals (Pandey 3).

The report submitted by the committee on 1858 resulted in the government ordering Captain H.Man to begin colonization of the islands (Pandey 3). The successive colonization of various islands resulted in the colonizers arriving at an island on 8th October 1858 and naming it Viper Island after Blair's ship (Pandey 4). The colonizers under the supervision of Dr. Walker the Superintendent used the convicts to clear the forests on the island in order to build barracks and compounds (Pandey 5-6). The systematic encroachment of the island led to clashes between the settlers and the natives who belonged to the Andamanese tribe of negrotic race (Pandey 7). Agriculture was introduced in the island by settlers who grew vegetables, bananas and coconuts in the fertile soil after clearing the island of everything that provided the Andamanese with food (Pandey 7-8). The produced food stuff was naturally used to feed the settlers and the convicts. By the end of 1858 the Andamanese had killed 170 convicts for venturing into their territories in the nearby islands (Pandey 8). In reality these convicts were actually trying to escape from the penal settlement and the jail authorities. The actions of the Andamanese naturally became a cause for concern and under the guidance of the Head Native overseer Kooshea Lall friendly relations were established with the tribe by offering them plantain as gifts (Pandey 8-9). The tribe that had not previously tasted plantain loved it and accepted the gift but continued to raid the island for food and other materials like metal (Pandey 9). Gradually by providing the tribe with facilities like Andaman home (1870), nursery, piggery and hospital the settlers managed to get the tribe to work for them. The members of the tribe were used to capture escaped convicts since they were familiar with the terrain and the waters (Pandey 9). The natives who were housed in the home were under surveillance and guarded at all times by more than fifty convicts. These restrictions and other sanctions imposed on them were later revoked by Mr. F.E. Tusan which enabled them to revert back to their jungle life (Pandey 9). Later for the crime of murdering a police officer five Andamanese were sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment at Viper Island during October 1875 (Pandey 9). They were later given their freedom in 1876 when one of the Andamanese Maia Biala who was tasked with the capture of 23 escaped Bhil convicts managed to capture 13 and claimed their release as reward (Pandey 9). The 79 adults and 19 children who were housed in the home were involved in making and supplying handicrafts, mats and wool blankets to be used in the settlement or sold outside. During the period of 1875-76 they made and supplied 65,000 mats and 35 wool blankets worth Rs. 350/- to the settlement authorities as gratis (Pandey 9). At this point it is safe to say that the colonial powers had successfully managed to control the Andamanese, grab their lands and enslave them. What followed next was the near eradication of the Andamanese tribe by an array of diseases

like syphilis, influenza, conjunctivitis and measles which were introduced into the island by the settlers. Since their bodies did not possess the mechanism to resist these diseases they died in large numbers and were naturally annihilated from their own soil (Pandey 9). In this connection it is historically significant to focus on the year 1880 when an Andamanese named Biolola was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment for the crime of killing a little girl for no genuine reason. Once released Biolola did not mend his ways and seven weeks later killed a young Andamanese man named Reala. Naturally the session court followed legal procedure and sentenced him to be hanged. The sentence was carried out on 19th May, 1880 and Biolola became the first Andamanese to face the death sentence (Pandey 12-3). Therefore the colonization of the Andaman Islands to build penal settlements by the colonial government as a response to the revolt of 1857 can be considered as one of the biggest ecological disasters in the region. It is relevant here to mention that the Andaman prisons provided a great number of prison narratives like B.K. Sinha's *In Andamans: The Indian Bastille* (1939), Barindra Kumar Ghose's *The Tale of my Exile* (1922), Bhai Paramanand's *Kale Pani ki Karawas Kahani* (2009) to name a few. The paper will now proceed to highlight the significance of two more instances of ecological reference in literatures written after Indian independence.

4. Gaol Commodities

The paper now proceeds to shed light on the workings of the carceral space as one of commodification. The first text that is taken up for discussion is comrade C.A. Balan's *Thoorkumara Nizhalil (In The Shadow of The Gallows)* which is a prison narrative written in Tamil that recounts the initial two years from a total of twelve years when the narrator was incarcerated in various prisons in South India on charges of murder. At one specific point in a chapter the narrator describes an instance where he is participating in a hunger strike against the authorities. In response to this act the head warder orders an orderly to place a plate of food in front of his cell and threatens him with dire consequences if he does not break his fast. In response to this the narrator takes the plate and throws it away. He then observes that the scattered food is immediately eaten up by the crows perched outside his cell. Although the narrator is in the grip of hunger he becomes happy once he sees the crows eating the food (Balan 37). The imagery of the crow that is used here must be envisioned in light of Chevigny's statement about avian imagery in prison poetry where the bird depicts the inmates' hunger for transcendence from the space of confinement (Chevigny 28). But later on as the narration progresses Balan points out that the inmates used to illegally hunt and capture crows in the jail compound using the food they have as bait (54-5). He mentions that the

captured crows were cooked and consumed for their meat in the cells. He then elaborates that there existed an underground market for crow meat within the prison. A superstitious belief among the convicts was that persons suffering from convulsions will be cured if they were to consume crow meat. Naturally the crow was purchased and sold within the prison based on supply and demand. He also states that a very profitable market for crow meat exists within the confines of the Viyyoor jail in Kerala (54-5). This instance also brings to light how a natural entity like a crow through certain instances gains a 'use value' (meat, cure for convulsion) and an 'exchange value' and becomes a commodity within the prison (Marx 45-58, Balan 54-5). The narrator also highlights at different instances that the prison operates like a factory where different products like cotton, handicrafts and wood furniture are produced.

Similarly, comrade Thyagu's *Suvarukkul Chithrangal* (Portraits Inside Walls) also provides us with an instance using cats which were given to the convicts to be raised. It was mentioned earlier that natural references were used by prisoners to denote the desire for transcendence an individual felt during incarceration. But this narrative gives us an instance where a famous convict (Seevalaperi Pandi) uses natural entities like the cat and trees to assist him in literally escaping the prison (Thiagu 408-21). The narrator later gives us detailed descriptions of how the inmates are put to work in factories without proper remuneration and the profit generated from the products they made is taken by the authorities (Thiagu 386-92). The factory like structuring of the Indian prison, narrated in both instances has its origins in colonial India where the British government in its pursuit for economic gain structured these spaces like 'gaol industries' (Arnold "India: The Contested Prison" 152). Naturally with the passage of time it was no surprise that these sites were managing to evolve as spaces of commodification. In modern India the commodification of prison became solidified after the prison in the name of development embraced capitalist traditions and organized itself as a unified brand called 'FREEDOM'.

5. Tribal Migrations a Carceral Perspective

The paper now proceeds to Nandini Oza and her book titled *Wither Justice: Stories of Women in Prison* in the light of forced migrations. Nandini Oza was incarcerated several times for being an activist associated with the Narmada Bachao Andolan which was a social movement that protested against the building of dams on the river Narmada. The impact of the Sardar Sarovar Project on the lives of tribals living in the region is narrated by Oza in two of her short stories which were written and gathered during her incarceration. The first story is titled "Homeless: Revli's Story" and narrates the life of a tribal

woman named Revli whom Oza manages to meet inside prison. The narration begins after Oza assists the illiterate Revli write a letter to her family and Revli gives her address as “Ranya Lashkariya, platform number four, Dharampuri railway station” (17). Revli informs the reader through Oza that she belonged to a village called Sukhiamli that was situated on the banks of the river Revti and was surrounded by valleys, hills and forests (18). She then narrates that her people revered nature like a divine entity and lived in a sustainable way. The problem in Revli’s village arose when a dam was constructed on the river Revti in order to supply water to the city (22). The very next day large groups of construction workers moved into the area and started to build the dam and clear the vegetation that was the source of food for Revli’s people. The *tehsildar* had announced that twenty five villages will be submerged because of the dam and ordered them to take the meagre compensatory amount provided by the government and leave the area. She says “No compensation was paid for our forest, the medicinal herbs, the river, grazing lands, hills, valley, sacred places, the agony and turmoil” (22-3). In reality thirty villages including Sukhiamli were submerged once the dam was completed. There is a very elaborate and graphic description of how overnight Revli’s people became homeless and had to disperse to different places in search of a livelihood. Revli’s family eventually ended up living in a slum near Dharampuri as internally displaced urban refugees (Landau 126-135). Being traditional farmers her husband Renya was forced to do construction work to support the family. The lack of money and poor living conditions resulted in Revli’s son Bija suffering from Tuberculosis and her family ending up on the platform of Dharampuri station. As living conditions became worse Revli was forced to smuggle *charas* (cannabis) in order to make money. Eventually she was caught and sent to prison thereby losing all contact with her family. Oza does inform the reader that after she was released she was unable to trace out Revli’s family since they had left Dharampuri due to police harassment. Oza also loses all contact with Revli who she says would have disappeared after her release. It is clear that Revli’s family became invisible entities within the multiple dimensions of the city which made it easier for the authority to criminalize and harass them. Therefore this story depicts what the members of a tribal group face when they are displaced from their lands in the name of ‘development’ and are forced to migrate to urban spaces.

The second story titled “The Dam shall not be Built” narrates the life of Revabai a tribal woman from the village of Jamli. Revabai and her husband Dedliya in the light of the Sardar Sarovar Project have managed to resist the government’s attempt to chase them out of their lands. This is described by Oza when she visits Jamli and sees that in the middle of all the construction work the

village has managed to preserve the vegetation in and around it (150-1). The Narmada Bachao Andolan naturally extended its support to the village of Jamli and Revabai. Eventually in response to Revabai's growing popularity the government resorted to criminalize Revabai's family using a fake complaint. Revabai was brutally raped and her family was physically tortured. The media attention generated by this event naturally resulted in a case being lodged and Revabai having to go through a torturous routine in court and the hospital. The trauma she suffered naturally made her silently abandon the front lines and eventually resulted in her suicide. The story narrates the capacity of the state to criminalize the individual and tire him/her out using 'due process' eventually resulting in their legal and social marginalization.

It is at this point that Arun Ferreira's *Colours of the Cage: A Prison Memoir* acquires importance since it highlights how the state manages to use the prison in the systematic oppression and displacement of tribals. Ferreira describes how tribals within the prison were involved in hunting and trapping squirrels, birds, bandicoots and other types of small game in response to the Maharashtra government's ban on non-vegetarian food within prison (79). Ferreira notes that most of the people who took part were members of the latrine-cleaning *danda*. A more important distinction was that all of them either belonged to low-castes or were tribals (80). This observation further sheds light on the dynamics of the caste system within the Indian prison. The narrator further describes that while they consumed the meat the discussion would drift back to the time when they used to hunt and consume wild game in their natural habitat. Interacting with animals naturally enabled the tribal to transcend the space of confinement and respond to the sanctions of the government.

A more problematic aspect of the prison in modern India is highlighted in the second instance where Ferreira describes how tribals in the district of Gadchiroli are criminalized using the naxalite tag and are routinely incarcerated. These individuals are abducted from the mouth of the prison illegally by police officers on being released and are charged with newer cases and are imprisoned again. The narrator highlights that this routine is to systematically exhaust the economic, social and legal resources the tribals can muster and literally eliminate him/her from society. He highlights this when narrating the story of three tribal men from Gadchiroli Baburao Narote, Kejuram Pudo and Vilas Kallo (146). He further proceeds to explain that from 2010-2012 a group of tribal convicts was transferred from one prison to another farther and farther away from their family and community which naturally eliminated any form of external assistance (148). Therefore the prison is now being used to systematically displace tribal populations and eliminate them from society by criminalizing them and rendering their bodies invisible through incarceration.

The prison also gives scope for converting the tribal population into a labour force similar to the Andamanese. The industrialization of prisons in modern India has accelerated with the rise of private sectors beginning to get involved in using the prison inmates as a labour force. The suggestion of agencies like Niti Aayog to privatize prisons in the name of development could herald the rise of large prison industries that will naturally have a negative effect on society and nature as a whole (timesofindia.indiatimes.com).

6. Conclusion

The present paper has now opened up a space where Indian prison narratives can be envisioned within an ecological framework. Emphasis on the narrative style has made it clear that these narratives not only tend to romanticize nature but also respond to hard realities of social and ecological crisis. An attempt has also been made to understand the colonial roots and modern dynamics of the prison industrial complex in India. An analysis of the intricacies and politics involved in this phenomenon in view of growing ecological conundrums will open up spaces for future enquiries. The discussion on forced tribal migrations has shed light on how the penal space assisted in envisioning and responding to the systematic criminalization of indigenous populations. In conclusion, it can be said that the industrialization and privatization of the prison will eventually lead to a negative effect on social and ecological spheres.

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IMAGINING IDENTITY

Social Transformation and Modernity of Malayarayers in Narayan's *Kocharethi*

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1. Introduction

The contemporary scholarship on tribes in modern India has been addressing the issues in the making of modern tribal identities within the wider context of the socioeconomic and political changes that began during the second half of the nineteenth century. The issues, by and large, range from various historical and geographical records of the past to the changes that happen and their cultural memory in the present time. The marginalised existence of a group of people or a community out of the 'mainstream' indicates a different identity, which is away from 'us'. The identities given by various ethnographers, anthropologists and social activists have heterogeneous meanings. On the other hand, tribal/adiavsi identity is inherited through stories and myth, developing early in the social environment and outside the consciousness of the individual.

Narayan's *Kochareth, The Araya Woman* (2011) is regarded as the first tribal novel/narrative from south India and written by a tribal himself. Written as a counter to the mainstream negative projection of his community, the narrative asserts and articulates his Malayarayar adivasi identity. If the first half of the novel is a ethnographic description of the Malayarayar's beliefs and customs, agricultural activities and their unique traditional practices, the second half of it deals with the painful narrative of the Malayarayar couple Kunjupennu and Kochuraman's life. In the narrative, the author portrays the negotiating the forces/ factors of modernity and social transformation that the community face from outside.

The present article takes up a study of the narrative *Kocharethi, The Araya Woman* by Narayan and examines how the author articulates his unique 'adivasi' identity amidst the changing socio-cultural, economic and

political paradigms and demonstrate the articulation of historical and political identities that are imaginary.

Keywords: Narratives, identity, social transformation, history, articulation.

Literary narrations about the connection between land and the human have been one of the trends in the Malayalam literature of the twentieth century. Novels like Thakazhi Sivasankaran Pillai's *Kayar* (1978), M.T. Vasudeva Nair's *Naalukettu* (1958), O.V. Vijayan's *Thalamurukal* (1997) and others have captured the struggles and survivals of the people who face the problems like land alienation and deprivation. Although distinct from these narratives in many respects, Narayan's *Kocharethi, The Araya Woman* (1998) is seen against this backdrop of the narratives about land. (Jayashree G.S xv) The narrative, written originally in Malayalam in 1988 by Narayan who belongs to the Malayarayar adivasi community in the mid-eastern Kerala, after a decade, was published in 1998 by DC Books. It saw the English translation in the year 2011 by the Oxford University Press through Catherine Thankamma. Gained much popularity in the literary arena, it has been translated into many Indian languages such as Tamil, Hindi, Assamese, as well as a French translation. The English translation of the narrative done by Catherine Thankamma is widely received and prescribed in the curriculum of various universities and colleges across the world.

Born in a Malayarayar adivasi community at Kudayathu village, Narayan educated in the mainstream language Malayalam till class ten and secured a job in the postal department as a clerk. Like Chinua Achebe (*Things Fall Apart*), he took his pen to counter the negative representation of his adivasi community in the mainstream fictions and films. He took up the challenge to picture the poignant picture of his community's culture, life and customs with an eye of a self-critic. Without silliness and sentimentality, Narayan depicts the life as he has lived it himself. His narrative is a mixture of fact and fiction. Asked as to what prompted him to write *Kocharethi*, he says in one of the interviews,

The immediate provocation was a certain novel serialized in a magazine—I won't disclose the name; it's over and done with. Well, our small group of educated and employed Arayar working in Kochi at that time, felt angry, humiliated, and degraded. We first approached the court but we soon realized that a legal battle was a costly and time-consuming affair. The serialization of the novel was stopped but that was not a real remedy. Moreover, it dawned on us that the might of the enemy we confronted was such that even the court might not do anything. I mean no disrespect to the court when I say that. I'm stating what an ordinary man like me feels (209).

Further he says,

So this enemy—who thought that they had the exclusive right to read and write literature, whose forefathers advocated pouring molten metal into the ears of the *avarna* (lower caste) who hears the Vedas being recited—this powerful enemy had to be tackled some other way. I thought, why not use the same weapon they use—writing?... A few of us were sitting together, talking and discussing related matters. I said why not write our version? They said it was a good idea. I began to write the novel, drawing on my childhood memories, my grandfather's stories, the rituals that he performed ... the title came much later (209).

Moreover, the adivasi when represented appears as a monochromatic figure; like the *rakshasan* and *nishaadan* and it had been always a negative picture – apathetic, unable to react to injustice or worse, inhuman and vicious. For Narayan, writing is an act of resistance against such misrepresentations of his community by both the literary and literate arena. One of the first kinds of adivasi narrative by an adivasi, the novel won the Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award in 1999 and the Economist Crossword Book Award for the year 2011 for its English rendering.

Expressing the traits of *Kocharethi* as an adivasi – insider narrative, K. Ayyappa Paniker in the article 'The Nation in Search of Narration' says, "*Kocharethi* by an insider with an acute insider consciousness appears to have a minimal capacity for intellectual and emotional liberation, free from excessive sentimentality, with remarkable objectivity to achieve imaginative realisation of specific details." (197)

The primary source which is taken for the present study Narayan's *Kocharethi*, *The Araya Woman*, characteristically articulates the adivasi identity of the Malayarayers through portraying a couple from the Malayarayar community who are exposed to the socio-political and cultural transformations two decades before independence and the two successive decades. The narrative also depicts portions of the lives of the other hinterland men with whom they contact for trade and education yet they are often seen as the exploiters as well as people of integration and assimilation. Articulating the difference and identity of his community, Narayan is critical of the changes, which are brought about by the interactions with outsiders, colonial modernity, proselytizations, nationalism and after.

While articulating the identity Narayan stresses that his community has a unique lifestyle, practices, and thereby discarding the identity given by others mostly outsiders. The protagonists Kochuraman and Kunjupennu are taken as the benign representatives of the Malayarayar community who confront the

societal and cultural changes. These characters abstain as well as negotiate the social changes; want to retain their ethnic identity. Their identity is subjected to various forces such as exploitative nature of the outsiders, intrusion of the colonial modernity, proselytization of Hinduism and Christianity, the nationalist participative role and importantly the so-called way for empowerment education and government job. The characters of the younger generation – Parvati, Lakshmi, Padmanabhan and Raghavan represent the disillusion of the youth who are not able to retain the identity.

Anthropologists and ethnographers note that the adivasi society is not static but in the process of change generally. One of the dominant modes in which the transformation of the tribal society has been conceived is in terms of a tribe getting absorbed into a society that represents civilization (Xaxa 2005). Postcolonial ethnography too shows a close interaction between the tribes and the larger society or civilization. The consequences of such an interaction lead not only to social change in an adivasi community but also a loss of distinct tribal identity. Virginius Xaxa, an eminent tribal studies scholar argues that there are three domains of life undergo changes – economic, political and socio-cultural – along with the interaction of wider social forces represented by either civilization or market or state structure (Xaxa 2003 ed. Veena Das). Other modes of transformation are, the adivasis getting absorbed into the nation-state created farm-based caste societies, Hindu-Sanskritisation and Christianization, and the homogenization through various ‘development’ projects of nation-states. The reason attributed for such changes is that the forces are mainly operated from ‘outside’ and not from ‘inside’ of a community. Narayan maps out these issues in his narrative with a poignant note.

The primary text which is taken for the study records the social transformation and the modernity of the Malayarayar community in the earlier decades of the Independence and the successive decades after it. One can see the author voicing out the unique identity of his community in collective subjectivity. In the course of articulating the identity, he documents the social transformation and modernity of the people. The processes are acculturation, assimilation, proselytation and many others. It all happens due to the interaction of the Malayarayars with the outside forces and influences. In the context of Malayarayars in Kerala as L.A. Krishna Iyer notes:

Of all the tribes, the Malapantarams, the Muthuvans, and the Uralis have been least affected by outside influences. The remaining tribes have been subject to extraneous influences, and have therefore received an infusion of foreign blood and new ideas from the more civilized people with, whom they have come into contact. This is clearly seen in the Vishavan, the Ullatan, the Paliyan, the Malayarayan, the Mannan

and the Kanikkaran. Owing to the admixture of foreign blood, these tribes are now approaching the composite type of civilized humanity. (*The Travancore Tribes and Castes: Vol III 5*)

Kocharethi depicts the slow acculturation of the native into the economy, culture and politics of nation- state. One can see many instances of the processes of social transformation and modernity in the taken primary source. The traditional/cultural and religious practices, the consciousness of land as an asset/property, change in the cultivation methods, economic-monetization are some of the spaces of transformation in the Malayarayar community in the narrative. The forces of modernity are the education missions, the knowledge of the emergence of a nation (India's independence and nationalism), government welfares schemes, and reservations, and so on. The details are substantiated with the primary text as well as the secondary sources if necessary. It is to be noted that the examples given here are selective and not comprehensive.

The narrative maps out various customs and beliefs of the Malayarayar community and the gradual changes in the successive generations. To put it another way, the customs and rituals that Ittayadi follows in the beginning of the narrative do not work out in the next generation of Kochuraman/Kunjadichan and are totally absent in the Parvati's generation. An interesting conversation between Kunjadichan and Kochuraman exemplify the fact that they are not interested/ keen in observing the customs of their elders.

None of these were community based rituals. Some people at some point of time had begun to perform them and the practice continued. Kochuraman took part in the rituals for some time but after a while he got bored and retreated to a corner. He watched the various rituals being performed, then turned to Kunjadichan and whispered: 'Do you feel anything, brother-in-law?'

'Once father dies, I'll dig out these idols and throw them in the big stream.'(59)

Just as the rituals and customs, so also the traditional knowledge of medicine undergoes a gradual change in the narrative. Seeing a shift from the traditional medication of Ittyadi to the vaijyan Kochuraman, G. S. Jayashree in her 'Introduction' to the novel comments thus:

Kochuraman represents the next generation of the adivasis with a more sophisticated method of offering medication. He had severed all ties to religion that the traditional form of medication carried along with it. We do not find him resorting to incantations anywhere in the novel... The failure [of Ittyadi] marks a moment when the traditional practices

call for a change and Kochuraman's entry into the scene heralds this change (xxiii-iv).

Articulating/asserting adivasi identity is an issue that is fraught with ramifications of socio-cultural, historical, political and constitutional aspects in the Indian scenario. Never ending and problematic, the Indian adivasi is confronted with umpteen assaults to save his adivasi identity. When the spaces of pre-colonial, colonial modernity and post-colonial nation-state are analysed, adivasis have been subjected to the series of integration, assimilation, acculturation in all levels. They are seen as not the people with a dignified identity but as always negative, fearsome figure by dominant groups. It is in the right moment, the adivasis have awakened; some of the educated adivasis have started to mobilize for counter-action, integrate for their welfare, and articulate their own identity. This resurgence is a result of the centuries-old suppression, displacement and dislodgment from their rights. According to Ekka,

In the changing scenario the identity of tribals is often negated and their identity as human persons violated. They are marginalised from the benefits of development and relegated into the bottom of the social hierarchy (9)... To study this issue in depth a dynamic evolutionary perspective is preferred, to other perspectives like a 'descriptive' 'ethnic category', a 'colonial administrative construct' and a 'contemporary ideological concept' that add up at the most to an operational definition of the term 'tribe' (127).

From the above point, a comprehensive viewpoint is needed in the study of adivasi identity assertions. Implicit in their moves, they assert their unique identity not only through adivasi solidarity movements but also in many modes including narratives. These two aspects need particular notice as they are the roots of adivasi identity assertions. Elucidating the point of adivasi identity articulation Virginius Xaxa in his article 'Politics of Language, Religion and Identity: Tribes in India' states,

The identity articulation has more to do with the drawing of distinctions between tribes and non-tribes with a view to gaining more economic and political powers, howsoever limited it may be. The movement connected with language and tradition on the other hand, is primarily concerned with enriching the content of the identity created in the process of interaction between tribes and non-tribes (1369).

In the present work, Narayan articulates the identity through the voice of the many characters at many instances. First, Ittyadi as the older generation-representative of the community asserts the identity by calculating the clan ties to give his daughter in marriage; performing the shamanic rituals to the respective Gods when small pox affects and documenting the lands by word.

Second, Kochuraman who is a medicine man, articulates the identity by means of serving as a head to the community in the struggles against exploiters and as an able family head. He loses his hope in the process of transformation, which severely affects his personal life and fearing against the modern medicine. The female protagonist Kunjupennu who may be taken as the 'Kocharethi' from the title of the novel, is a stubborn and hardworking woman with a sense of indigeneity and belonging to the roots of the adivasi tradition. She is a woman who never contacts with the exterior world directly and thereby maintains the purity of the 'adivasi cultural identity'. Kunjupennu's conversation testifies to this at many instances. The character of Parvati can be taken as the representative of the younger generation which passionately participates in the freedom struggle, gets education and job through the reservation policies of the democratic government and importantly integrates into the larger society losing their identity as an 'adivasi'. In short, the process of change from the generation of Ittyadi to the generation of Parvati upsets the identity of the Malayarayers to an extent that the scene is not same and equal.

There are some common transformations in the adivasi communities which Narayan pictures in the narrative - namely religious conversion, absorption into a homogenous society by outsiders' education in the mainstream language, getting a government job. Commenting on the changes in the adivasi communities, Narayan expresses, the change affected should be positive. If we were given aid to pursue some occupation that would be in harmony with our culture and ethos, that would be empowering. What has happened is the opposite. Ours was a community where a relative of the boy had to come and ask for a bride. Now we too demand and give dowry like other communities. And suppose I were to say that such practices are destroying our unique identity as a community, the answer would be: 'If I want to give dowry for my daughter who are you to criticize it?' (213)

Going to an extent of voicing the difference between dalits and adivasis, of which the cultural citizenship is defined on same plane both by the state and the people, Narayan is critical of this sweeping generalization. As the scene in Kerala is very viable of including the dalits into the rubric of adivasis, he is critical of the sameness as the movements like AGMS [Adivasi Gotra Maha Sabha] which was renamed from Dalit-Adivasi Council in 2001. Till 2001, the movement led by the eminent tribal activist C K Janu and others articulated the injustices done to both the dalits and adivasis. After the political participation, the movement articulates the adivasis struggles and injustices alone. Although the state of Kerala runs a separate ministry for the tribal affairs, Narayan does not subscribe to either the state government or the adivasi movements as both look the struggles and political movements in a same slab.

In one of the interview he says, I do not care about being politically correct, I'll say this openly; the difference between the two—the dalit who was subjugated and degraded within the caste system and the tribal who lived a difficult life but retained a definite identity— is as glaring as day and night. Then where is the meeting ground between the two? How can you expect the former to protect the rights of the latter? (Narayan 213)

From the above citation, it is apparent that the author distincts his community from the ambiguous identity which the outside authorities impose on them. In fact, there was a consensus therefore among indigenist activists that the adivasi and dalit groups that mobilize together for social change should continue to emphasize their particular background, although in a language that would not stigmatize them or reinforce the caste system. In this connection, Virginius Xaxa says in his book *State, Society and Tribes: Issues in Post Colonial India* thus: Since Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes suffer problems of a similar nature, such as exclusion, deprivation and discrimination and since there are constitutional provisions and special policies and programmes for their special protection and welfare, there has been a general tendency to place them under the general category of dalit. However, the use of the term dalit to describe tribal populations betrays the social consciousness and historical experiences. (4)

Further he says, To extend the category of dalit to tribes is to impose an alien conscious on them. The kind of consciousness that tribes have of their ownelves is not one of dalits but that of adivasis. It is a label that others have given to them, but tribes over the course of time have internalized it. It is through this category that they think of and relate themselves to others. (4-5)

Nevertheless, Narayan never wants his adivasi community to be identified under the caste system as scheduled castes. At an instance in the narrative, the so-called untouchables of Kerala, the Pulayars are treated as negative and aggressive to ransack the houses of the hill people. Summing up the point, G.S. Jayashree says “In articulating difference and distancing himself from the dalits, Narayan is here defining himself and his community a unique cultural identity.”(xix)

Narayan critiques the protective discrimination which separates the integration with the larger society. In fact, this protective discrimination limits the opportunities of the adivasi expecting the single way for upliftment. Further, the reservation policies discriminate the adivasis who are spit by the socio-economic and political conditions. The Malayarayars are now identified as Hindu Malayarayars and Christian Malayarayars by the state government. What is to be noted here is that the indigenous people who belonging to the tribal religions, who still retains the adivasi identity are left in abyss as the

reservation policies do not reach them. "We continue as a blot, an error... If an Arayan goes to church he's called a Christian. But when it comes to education and employment he claims his Malayaraya heritage." (Narayan 200)

He severely condemns the reservation policies to such people who have been converted to another faith. Meanwhile, in an interview he states "Reservation, as it is implemented now, is flawed. Those who do not require protective discrimination are the ones who harvest all the benefits. The ones who need it most have no means of getting it. Many are ignorant of having any rights." (Narayan 214). In all, in the colonial scenario, the cleavages and conflicts between the Malayarayers and the non-*adivasis* had assumed a form of revolt, rebellion and resurrection. Then the *adivasi* society was homogenous and had a strong solidarity. However, in the present situation, with the advancements, the winds of change are seen everywhere.

In the narrative too he poses many questions about those who are converted to another faith, got education and job through reservations, settled in various cities of the country. When Parvati gets the job as a lower divisional clerk in the Central Excise Department, forgets to support the parents, marries Padmanaban without the consent of them, conduct herself as superior to other Araya women and visits the parents in the hospital are instances of the girl who has got both education and job. Being serious of the changes, which the modern *adivasis* confront, he asserts the unique identity that relates to the modern times. The identity is not static but dynamic ever. For him, "the Arayar are a proud and independent people, not bound by the shackles of the caste system, not slaves, but honest, self-reliant, and hardworking people, with an innate dignity, who somehow 'got forgotten by man and God alike" (Thankamma 208). Moreover, the answer is "We wanted to tell the world that we have our own distinctive way of life, our own value system. We are not demons lacking in humanity but a strong, hardworking and self-reliant community" (Narayan 209).

Narayan, an *adivasi* himself who got educated and has a job in the postal department, is no doubt an educated man who lives far away from his tribal ethos. Many scholars who analysed the rise of *adivasi* assertion of identities note that the "articulation of identity is again most pronounced among tribes where an educated middle class has emerged" (Xaxa 1369). What is noted to be here is that despite the fragmentation of his community as Hindu and Christian Malayarayers and due to social differentiation, he asserts the *adivasi* identity of the Malayarayers who still follow the culture before the changes which are brought by forces of development and modernity in the decades which he mentions in his narrative.

In a situation where the *adivasi* identity is articulated mainly by the dominant regional categories like santhal, bodo and khasi who are generally

described as tribes, Narayan's articulation of identity has taken that generic name. There is a consciousness, which is evident in the articulation of identity for his community although fragmentations are visible. He voices for those who still maintain the adivasi traits and being a people different from others. In spite of asserting the identity for the political rights and votaries, he needs recognition and a communal life. In the twentieth century, they have emerged as a political and historical imaginary which subsumes the socio-cultural and economic changes. In other words, the inability of the political and historical imagination of the adivasis to change the previous phenomenon of identification finds expression through the narrative modes, which the adivasis took. Thus, Narayan's *Kocharethi, The Araya Woman* asserts the identity of the Malayarayers within the wider context of the socio-political changes in the mid of twentieth century instead of the historical and political contexts.

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AUTOFICTION AS HISTORY
A Study of Susan Abulhawa's *Mornings In Jenin*

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1. Introduction

Autofiction, which has emerged as an offshoot of life narrative, can be considered an alternative to the logic of postmodernism since it combines memoiristic, autobiographical and metafictional writings to write history. To understand this further one has to essentially distinguish the genre autofiction not only from traditional autobiography but also from history. In fact, an autobiography is individualistic and claims to be factual in its approach to chronological details whereas autofiction, through a personal narrative, presents an experience either personal or collective using the novelistic mode. Being more like a novel than like an autobiography, autofiction has immense scope to record history besides performing several rhetorical acts like justifying the author's perceptions, upholding his/her reputations, providing counter-narratives, settling scores, conveying cultural information, and inventing desirable futures among others. However, autofiction differs also from writing history by placing personal narratives at the centre of historical incidents that are recollected from the personal memory of the author/narrator/protagonist.

The proposed paper will highlight the points at which autofiction and history converge as well as diverge. To illustrate this, an analysis of Arab-American writer Susan Abulhawa's *Mornings in Jenin* (2010) will be taken up. In the course of this analysis, it will be argued that the historical incidents of the Arab-Israeli conflicts (1941 - 20028) that form the nucleus of the personal narrative lend immense scope for the readers to interpret *Mornings in Jenin* as a narration that makes a plea not only for the idea of Palestine as a nation but also for the same as a geo-political entity.

Keywords: autofiction, history, autobiography, life narrative, memory, narration, nation, identity.

The corpus of life narratives ranges from autobiography, through memoir to autofiction. In the initial phase, life narratives remained within the confines of autobiography which is defined as “retrospective narrative in prose that someone makes of his own existence when he puts the principal accent upon his life, especially upon the story of his own personality” (Folkenflik 13). In other words, life narratives when written as autobiography can simply be called self life writing. In the personal narrative of an autobiography, the author who is also the narrator/protagonist presents the factual details of his/her life in chronological order. With its insistence on the self, autobiography also reflects on the history, culture, and politics of a specific period of its narrator. This marks the first phase in the evolution of the genre autobiography since it brings the external details into the world of the individual. In doing so, it has also extended the scope of autobiography into a historical document. In fact, certain details of well-known historical as well as socio-political movements are so integral to the life of an individual that they can hardly escape the attention of a historian. It must be noted that life narratives that make use of personal memory as an archive go on to assert, justify, judge and even interrogate such details. Smith & Watson in their book *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* highlight this function of autobiography thus: “In autobiographical narratives, imaginative acts of remembering always intersect with such rhetorical acts as assertion, justification, judgment, conviction, and interrogation.” (6)

Being self-referential, autobiography can also function as a testimony as well as a psychobiography. Besides it becomes novelistic since it presents the life story of an individual. However, it does not make any conscious attempt to fulfil the expectations of the readers. Unlike in an autobiography, in the self-referential novel, the author’s name is not the same as the narrator/protagonist’s though they both share the same identity. Similarly, the novelists are not bound by historical time. They can situate their narratives at any time in the past, present, or future. This means that the pact between autobiography and the self-referential novel is based less on truth than on identity. Therefore, it becomes clear that when the self-referential novel and autobiography converge at the point of identity there is the formation of a new genre called autofiction.

Autofiction can at the simplest level be defined as a text in which the author, the narrator and the main character have the same identity. Serge Doubrovsky, who has coined the term, defines it thus:

Autofiction is the fiction that I as a writer have decided to present of myself, incorporating, in the full sense of the term,

the experience of the analysis, not only in the subject matter but in the production of the text. (...) The identity of the author, the narrator and the character are true, but inside a fictional illusion conjured up and provoked by the act of writing. Autofiction, then, is a particular case not of traditional or modernist autobiography, but of the inscription of the biographical inside the text. (qtd. in Munte)

Dobrovsky's definition acquires significance for two important reasons: firstly, it blends the real and the fictionalised experience in a text. Secondly, it differentiates autofiction from a traditional autobiography by means of both paratextual references like title, name, blurb, author's note, prelude etc. and other rhetorical acts like justifying the author's perceptions, upholding his/her reputations, providing counter-narratives, settling scores, conveying cultural information, and inventing desirable futures among others. These two reasons throw light on the function of a personal narrative which one finds at the core of autofiction. Indeed what constitutes the nucleus of personal narratives in autofiction is not any idiosyncratic design but a host of larger forces.

In his attempt to define autofiction further, Lejeune goes on to highlight certain limits of autobiography which actually contribute to the merits of autofiction. The compulsion of the autobiographer to aim at presenting the truth about his life, to get away from the fantasy and fiction all the time and above all to subject the factual details of his life to a close scrutiny of historical documents by his readers is not found in autofiction. With the scope of freedom available to him/her, an autofictional writer is still able to sustain his/her claim to truth through discourse. Elaborating on discourse in autofiction, Karen Ferreira-Meyers says, "...since, while the autofictional author can probably escape the generic expectations, it becomes almost impossible to ignore the linguistic rules: he must use the words of the language in which he writes or invented words that are still transparent enough so that the reader understands them" (211). Going beyond the point of truth and identity as the demarcating line between autobiography and autofiction, Darrieusecq highlights yet another difference between the two genres: "The fundamental difference between autobiography and autofiction is just that the latter will voluntarily assume that the reduction of autobiography to a statement of fact, to a biographical statement, a scientific, historical, clinical, in short objective statement, is impossible" (qtd. in Shands 212). However, it does not mean that autofiction totally negates the concept of autobiography merely on the basis of this impossibility. Rather it only lays bare the idea that the personal memory is not always infallible enough to be objective about one's truth in a traditional

autobiography. Tracing the history of the term ‘autofiction’, Margaret Jolly more or less makes the same point in *The Encyclopedia of Life Writing* (2001) autofiction is “one of the forms taken by autobiographical writing at a time of severely diminished faith in the power of memory and language to access definite truths about the past or the self” (86).

The personal memory which forms the basis of all life narratives is also one of the main sources of a historiographer. In fact, it is at this point of using personal memory that life narratives and history converge. Very often writers of history treat autobiographical narratives as important documents to analyse the details of various historical, social, political and even cultural movements. Although life narratives or the history of the speaking subject, they cannot be merely reduced to historical records for certain valid reasons.

Firstly, unlike a historiographer, an autobiographer chronicles events of a particular period primarily from the perspective of an individual who is invariably the speaking subject. Secondly, in life narratives there is focus only on those events of the past which have made huge impact on either an individual narrator or his community, whereas in history the focus is on the events of the past in general. Referring to such a distinction between the two as temporality, Jeremy Popkin says, “autobiographical writings privilege a temporal framework based on the individual author’s lifespan, whereas historical narrative takes place in collective time” (727).

Historical and autobiographical narratives are also distinguishable in the manner in which they use personal narrative. Despite using personal narrative as a source of historical evidence, a historian does not place himself at its centre since his sole aim is to be faithful to historical evidences. A writer of life narrative, on the other hand, places himself at the centre of personal narrative. What becomes clear in this process is that in spite of not sustaining the objectivity of a historian, a writer of autofiction through his/her personal narrative is still able to maintain historical authenticity.

Taking a cue from these points at which history and life narrative meet one can say that there is enough scope to consider various functions of the genre autofiction. While highlighting the possibilities of such scope that one finds in autofiction E. H. Jones says: “Situated as it is on the cusp of fiction and fact, on the edge of one literary genre and another, discussion of autofiction seems particularly prone to invoking wider questions about literature and life” (175). Most of the conflict zone writings lend themselves to be interpreted as autofiction since they not only express the traumatic experience of an individual/community but also become historical records. In such writings, whatever the individual undergoes or narrates holds good for his/her race/community. The Middle Eastern countries have continuously remained as

conflict zones right from the middle of the twentieth-century. Writers from these regions uphold the idea that the only authentic mode of writing their history to devalue and decolonise their colonial versions of the same is life narratives. In an attempt to illustrate how such life narratives become both autofiction and history, Susan Abulhawa's *Mornings in Jenin* (2010) will now be taken up for analysis.

Susan Abulhawa, who is the author of *Mornings in Jenin*, shares her identity as a Palestinian with the protagonist of her novel Amal. The action in the novel takes off in the Prelude from the year 2002 and proceeds backward to the early 1940s to narrate the story of Yehya family which is inextricably intertwined with the history of Palestine right from 1941-2002. The first and the foremost striking parallel between the author, Susan Abulhawa and the protagonist, Amal can be noticed in the origin of their family identity. They both hail from displaced families in Palestine, which was suddenly occupied by the Zionist force in the year 1948. However, certain factual details like the year and the date of Amal's birth in the novel differ from that of the author's. Still, what strikes the readers is that the families of both the author and the protagonist are displaced from their own village by the Zionist force. The author in one of her interviews answers how much of her (author) is found in her protagonist, Amal as follows: "The question I get a lot is: Is Amal, the main character, me? And the answer is no. She and I are very different, but there are a lot of parallels that have emerged that I didn't intend. Like I said, I didn't plan the story and it sort of unfolded as I started writing. Amal ends up going to the US; she is completely alone and she becomes a single mother — so those are the parallels". ("Palestine on Her Mind" *Gulf News*)

Whatever happens in the opening section entitled 'El Nakba' (the catastrophe) provides the historical framework at the centre of which the author places her personal narrative. The entire section comprising seven chapters is not written in the first person narration. It is only after the birth of Amal in the second section, the novel shifts from the third-person narration to first person narration. The following extracts of the opening sentences from the first and the second section testify to this: "In a distant time, before history marched over the hills and shattered present and future. . . before Amal was born, a small village east of Haifa lived quietly on figs and olives, open frontiers and sunshine" (11). "I spent much time in my youth trying to imagine Mama as Dalia, the Bedouin who once stole a horse, who bred roses and whose steps jingled" (49).

That the novel *Mornings in Jenin* takes off from history and its characters, despite being fictional live through real history, provide immense

scope for the readers to interpret it as autofiction. The author's confirmation of the historical background of the novel and her invitation to the readers to verify the accuracy of the historical events are important to the present analysis. Before getting into the implications, it is essential to quote the author's statement on the novel: "*Mornings in Jenin* is a work of historic fiction, where fictional characters live through real history; and I encourage anyone to do their own research to verify the accuracy of the historic events that form the backdrop of the novel." (*Huffpost*)

Firstly, what is implicit in the author's statement is the purpose of using the novelistic mode of autofiction. The purpose is to make the world realise that:

In the Palestinian narrative, there are no two sides. There are no two sides to this conflict in the same way that there were no two sides to the Holocaust. There were no two sides to apartheid. There are no two sides to slavery. You have a nuclear power that is pitted against principally an unarmed civilian population. This is not a matter of sides. ("Palestine on Her Mind" *Gulf News*)

Secondly, the author's invitation to the readers to validate the accuracy of the historical events that form the nucleus of the narrative makes it clear that her purpose is to tell the world that the only means available to the people of conflict zones to write their history is the mode of life narrative. It is relevant here to quote what the author herself has said about the origin of her first novel *Mornings in Jenin* in her interview with Tahira Yaqoob: "I was transformed by that whole experience (of her visit to refugee camps in Jenin after 2002 attacks)... You grow up as a Palestinian knowing about these massacres and the wars and the injustice... I initially started writing reflections of Jenin and it went in its own direction." (*The National*)

The important phases of the personal narrative in *Mornings in Jenin* are very often named after the historical movements/events of the ongoing Palestine-Israel conflict. The furtherance of the plot from El Nakba (the catastrophe) through the six-day war in the year 1967 and the Battle of Karameh in 1968 to intifada (uprising) (1987-94) can be interpreted as the novelist's conscious attempt to evoke the idea of Palestine as a nation that tries to decolonise itself from the clutches of the Jewish race. In chapter twenty entitled 'Heroes', the author passionately describes the patriotic fervour of PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation) under whose banner Yousef, Amal's brother bravely fought the Israeli soldiers to give a ray of hope to Palestinians for their own nation:

the myth of Israel's invincibility was shattered by my own brother and his comrades . . . we heard the voice of Yasser Arafat. "What we have done" the voice declared,

“is to make the world realise that the Palestinian is no longer refugee number so and so, but the member of a people who hold the reins of their own destiny and are in a position to determine their own future.” (101-102)

The present novel has created a huge impact on the sympathisers of Israel. In fact, the description of *Mornings in Jenin* as one of the three distressing developments in what Bernard-Henri Levy calls “the demonization of Israel” (Huffington Post) in his essay “The Antisemitism to Come” is worth discussing at this point. This French scholar’s attack on *Mornings in Jenin* as an antisemitic novel further underscores Susan’s novel as a historical and political statement. The author’s response to Bernard-Henri Levy’s remark bears a testimony to the function of her autofiction as a counter-narrative, “Mr. Levy accuses us of ‘demonising Israel’, when, in fact, all we do is pull back the curtain, however slightly, to show a dark truth he wishes to keep hidden” (“The Antisemitism” *Huffpost*). She further questions the dual citizenship of Jews when the Palestinians languish in refugee camps.

In terms of portraying the cultural past of Palestine too, the present novel draws on the personal experience of the author/ protagonist. It can be clearly seen in the use of olive both as a native plant and as a symbol. While narrating her grandfather Yehya’s longing for his native Ein Hod immediately after his family is forcibly uprooted from there by Zionist force, the author writes, “All the olives were still there, too, but they were in need of care from people who knew how to care for them. . . Those people don’t know a damn thing about olives. They’re lily-skinned foreigners with no attachment to the land. If they had a sense of the land then the land would compel in them a love for the olives” (42). Passages of this kind in the novel can be interpreted as the conscious attempt to justify the Palestinians’ claim to their homeland.

Besides functioning as history, counter-narratives and the site of cultural information, the personal narrative in *Mornings in Jenin* invents desirable futures not just for any religious community in particular but for the humanity in general. In the final chapter entitled ‘Yousef: the cost of Palestine’ of the eighth section Nihaya O Bidaya (an end and a beginning), there is once again the point at which the present novel deviates from a full-length traditional life narrative. This shift is first discernible in the third person narration with which the section begins, “AMAL WAS SHOT. Even as she spilled from her own body and her eyes were emptied of her, Amal died without knowing death” (241). The same shift is then visible in the last part of the section where there is the author’s conscious mention of the website WWW. Aprilblossoms.com in which Yousef’s message to humanity is posted:

I'll live this pain but I'll not cause it. I'll eat my fury and let it burn my entrails, but death shall not be my legacy. . .

Dearest Amal, with a long vowel of hope.

Sometimes the air is redolent with the sighs of memory. A waft of olive wind or the jasmine of Love's hair. Sometimes it bears the silence of dead dreams. Sometimes time is immobile like a corpse and I lie with it in my bed.

And there I sleep, waiting for the honourable thing to come of its own accord. For I'll keep my humanity, though I did not keep my promises. . .and Love shall not be wrested from my veins. (250)

In conclusion, it can be said that while functioning primarily as history, counter-narrative, justification of the author's perception and suggesting desirable futures to humanity, the personal narrative in *Mornings in Jenin* straddles the twin-world of fact and fiction and thereby becomes a perfect epitome of autofiction.

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THE SCREENED MADNESS OF OPHELIA IN DOT HUTCHISON'S A Wounded Name

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Introduction

There are so many stories that have drawn the attention of the readers for centuries together. Just as they attract the readers, they sometimes also attract and inspire some of the writers to retell them. Retelling is not only about just telling a tale again but it is also about the 'how' and 'why' of telling the already existing tale again in a different manner. Certain writers may retell a story in order to emphasize the original texts' key points, while the others might do the same in order to explore the contemporary issues in the society through the narrative. Retellers initially try to defamiliarize the story by giving a different setting and context to the retold story. However, in the process of defamiliarization, as readers, we instantaneously get refamiliarized with the story and begin to delve deep into it to catch the unnoticed relevance of the original story. Retellings of any Shakespearean play have their own high expectations. *A Wounded Name* is one such text which is a retelling of *Hamlet*, a play that had encapsulated the infinite consciousness of *Hamlet*.

"Hamlet simply dashes away from Shakespeare and starts writing his own play, since he quite clearly loathes the play he is in, which is indeed unworthy of so majestic and marvelous a mind", says Bloom. *A Wounded Name* is where Ophelia dashes away from Shakespeare and through Dot Hutchison, she writes her own story of what has happened in the play. This Ophelia is a crack - a wound left behind by Hamlet in the play.

"O God, Horatio, what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me!
If you didst ever hold me in thy heart
Absent thee from felicity a while,

And in this harsh world, draw thy breath in pain
To tell my story"

- *Hamlet*, Act 5, Scene 2

Hamlet makes Horatio responsible to continue his story. However, Dot Hutchison has felt the need for the story to be continued not by Horatio but by Ophelia who will undoubtedly do justice if the task is given to her.

A Wounded Name takes off from where Hamlet has left Ophelia in the Shakespearean play *Hamlet*. Dot Hutchison has transferred the madness from Hamlet to Ophelia, thereby making him accountable for the state of Ophelia. Ophelia manages to come back to life in this novel and tells the readers the story of Hamlet from her perspective.

As a character who is reborn (in the novel, she was drowned along with her Mom, but was luckily saved, leaving her mother to the hunger of the lake) begins narrating the story of her School Headmaster (Hamlet) who was killed by his own brother Claudius. The son of Hamlet, Dane is her friend. Dane, Ophelia, her brother Laertes and Horatio are students at the Elsinore Academy. Hamlet dies, Claudius takes the position of Hamlet- both as the school headmaster and also as the husband of Gertrude. The rest of the story is in line with the Shakespearean *Hamlet* wherein Dane tries to avenge his father's death. The syringe that Claudius uses to kill his brother indirectly infects the other characters too in the novel.

The novel deviates from the original play at various points. To begin with, we look at the narration through the eyes of Ophelia. It is she who through her insignificant presence, weaves a significant interpretation of the characters and the happenings around her. When she is reborn, the umbilical cord that supports her is her hallucination- and her connection with the cord is not severed until at the end she dies by drowning in the lake that devoured her mother. She can see the ghosts, the bean sidhe, the morgens etc. and the other characters look down at this ability of hers as madness. She is advised to take pills to have her insanity under control. However, her madness is beyond the pills and the medication that she is exposed to.

"I've more madness than the pills can handle".

"I took my pills, but pills are like words, they don't always mean anything even when they should".

Therefore, throughout the novel, Ophelia is constantly hallucinating thereby making the narrative a collection of all her hallucinations put together. Sanity is the straight route. Madness is a circuitous method of digging the truth and it is through this insanity, Ophelia takes us through her narrative. As the narrator hallucinates, the narration becomes fluid, constantly in a state of flux and this is where we feel the Derridian "differance" as the meaning of the

narrative keeps moving from one point to the other. The effect is so much that after a certain point, we do not know what is real and what is being hallucinated. The real/hallucination binary is blurred and we, as readers, become one with Ophelia in hallucinating the narration.

This hallucination is the result of her unsevered connection with her umbilical cord called madness. The narrator doubts her existence at several stages in the novel. She declares herself to be dead as she is not completely aware of her living state. How can a narration be alive when the narrator is dead? It is at this point that we, as readers, understand that she hallucinates only to give life to her narration. In the words of Ophelia "I am a ghost, a bruise, a whisper" - which means she is formless, painful and insignificant throughout her narration. In fact, Horatio is the only character who gives her a form, who eases her pain and who makes her feel significant. Though Ophelia hallucinates throughout the novel, for Dane, she is the only real character making him feel real through her hallucinations. He says, "you are a lesson in madness, Ophelia, all of your thoughts and remembrances connected to that single fact".

The Bruise

"All my life, I've been a bruise against the world"

The term 'bruise' repeats itself throughout the novel. In fact, Ophelia herself becomes a bruise. "I am a bruise and Dane is the one who inflicts me". Dane's psychological pain gets manifested in the form of bruises all over the body of Ophelia. Pain is void until it gets a passage of expression and that is Ophelia. Pain is fleeting, oscillating and intermittent. On the other hand, wound/bruise is eternal, unable to stop its own signification. Without the wound, there is no proof for the existence of pain. Through the wound, the pain is relieved. Through Ophelia, Dane's pain is relieved. Wound is a memory that can be interpreted again and again.

The 'bruise' here becomes a symbol, an indication of an event that has happened and through the bruise, one can trace the passage of the event. Ophelia is nothing but every bruise coming to life and narrating its own memory. Ophelia is a wound that bleeds when it scratches against reality, a wound whose scab called madness is left behind. Madness seals the wound every time it bleeds. Madness requires a witness- an attestation to authenticate and endorse the insanity. But Ophelia's madness does not require this endorsement. For Ophelia, madness is only her extension (the umbilical cord) that supports her after her rebirth. Ophelia's madness helps her to cover up her bruises. On the other hand, Dane's madness is constantly in search of an audience trying to expose itself to them. Thus, in both the cases, the madness is screened – hidden by Ophelia and shown by Dane.

Blurring the Binaries

The novel constantly blurs the binaries right from the beginning. It has so far blurred the binaries of real/hallucination and now it blurs the binary of illness/cure. Her madness which is an escape from the mad pursuit of the real is only a cure here and not a disease. The novel showcases madness within madness and the readers are left to decide whose madness is sensible- Dane's or Ophelia's? Again, at this point, the sane/insane binary is blurred and what is insane appears to be sane, what is sane appears to be insane to the readers. Dane's madness is placed against the backdrop of Ophelia's madness.

To conclude, the novel is not just a retelling of Hamlet, rather it is a re-examination of the relevance of psychoanalysis in the present. It subverts our assumptions of sanity and insanity. It poses a pertinent question- Should madness be considered an abnormality? In fact, it fixes itself aptly into the Derridian conscious/unconscious nexus. In one of his interviews about the Fear of Writing, Derrida says,

Each time that I write something, it feels like I'm advancing into a new territory, that demands certain gestures that can be taken as aggressive with regard to other thinkers or colleagues.. it's true that deconstructive gestures appear to destabilize or cause anxiety or even hurt others.. so, every time that I make this type of gesture, there are moments of fear. This does not happen at the moments when I'm writing. Nothing intimidates me when I write. I say what I think must be said. That is to say, when I don't write, there is a very strange moment when I go to sleep.. at that moment, in a sort of half sleep, all of a sudden I'm terrified by what I'm doing. And I tell myself, "You're crazy to write this!" And there is a kind of panic in my subconscious. I have the impression that I've done something criminal, disgraceful, that I shouldn't have done. But once I wake up it's over. How I interpret this is that when I'm awake, conscious, working, in a certain way I am more unconscious than in my half sleep. When I'm in that half sleep, there's a kind of vigilance that tells me the truth. But when I'm awake and working, this vigilance is actually asleep. Bloom, while speaking of Hamlet says, he is "over familiar, yet always unknown". This trait of Hamlet is passed on to Ophelia and she holds on to the same till the end of the novel.

Dane will soon die at the hands of Laertes and so, Ophelia's body bears no purpose of utility anymore (so long, it was serving the purpose of taking away the pain from Dane). The wound has been narrating the story, giving a pattern and threatening to absorb the readers within itself. It is time for Ophelia to heal herself. At one point, the madness in her is not capable of healing the bruises. The bruises have consumed her, and she has become a sum total of her bruises. There is no space for treatment. The only cure for her here is to get rid

of the body that bears the bruises and this is not cure in its real sense. She gets back to her Mama (inside the lake). She returns to a place from where she was reborn. Without the living body, the bruises become meaningless. They become painless. Her dead body would consume all the bruises and she will be left without scars in her after life. Ophelia ends here. The bruises end here. The scars end here. The narration ends here. The readers end here. And the rest is silence.

I'm sure that every time we read *A Wounded Name*, we, as readers will definitely rephrase Coleridge's confession, "I have a smack of Hamlet myself, if I may say so" to "We have a smack of Ophelia ourselves, if we may say so."

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PERFORMING GENDER AND DE-GENDERING PROFESSIONS

Haritha Pavithran

Introduction

Indeed it will be a long time still, I think, before a woman can sit down to write a book without finding a phantom to be slain, a rock to be dashed against. And if this is so in literature, the freest of all professions for women, how is it in the new professions which you are now for the first time entering? (“Professions for Women”, Woolf 80).

The male-female hierarchy based on the perceived idea of sex and construction of gender has been present since time immemorial. Perhaps, if there is one common thread that unites almost all civilizations and culture, it is the inferior treatment of women. Even early as the time of Greek thinkers this is evident. To quote Aristotle from Cynthia Freeland’s “Nourishing Speculation: A Feminist Reading of Aristotelian Science”: “a female is an incomplete male” or “as it were, a deformity”: in general “a woman is perhaps an inferior being” ” (145-46). Similarly, we can find staggeringly misogynistic ideas in *Manu Smriti*, the law codified by Manu to lead a life in Hindu mythology; the same source that played the crucial role in propagating the ‘Varna’ system. Manu writes in the 6th verse of 9th chapter: “It is the duty of all husbands to exert total control over their wives. Even physically weak husbands must strive to control their wives” (*Manu Smriti*).

This inequality and division are reflected in the realm of professions too. Kevin Reilly, the author of *The West and the World: A History of Civilization* opines that a sexual division of labour, a division based on the perceived notion of the physical superiority of men has been prevalent among early men. However, the relationship had a complementary structure rather than a dichotomic one. The hunting-gathering society was fairly egalitarian. Therefore, there was no concept of ‘archy’ or power accumulation, let alone patriarchy.

Carr-Saunders and Wilson, the noted British historians, attempted to categorise the essential qualities of professions in Britain, in their

The Professions as early as 1933; an invaluable contribution to the resources on sociology of professions. According to them, the term ‘profession’ was reserved for a special set of male dominated occupations such as medicine, law and clergy. The professions such as teaching or nursing were more suitable for women, as they seem to be “fragile” in nature and have fewer qualities that constitute a “profession”. (Ahern 13-27) Almost all sets of profession however, had been a monopoly of men. The word profession is defined as “any type of work that needs special training or a particular skill, often one that is respected because it involves a high level of education” according to the *Cambridge Dictionary* (2017). However, the various myths revolving around woman and work become the main reason why she has no access to the above said prolonged training and a formal education. Joanna Liddle and Rama Joshi, in their *Daughters of Independence* talk about these myths that women are conditioned to believe in:

The first myth concerns women’s inferior abilities, mental and physical. Women have less intelligence, less common sense...and they are less competent at certain kinds of work...involving danger, skill and strength of purpose, or the kinds of jobs which men define as theirs alone. (23)

Also, working women was a concern in the 1830s and 1840s. They were treated as an anomaly. Staying away from the domestic spaces, men felt that the women were being morally degraded especially because of the close mingling of both the sexes at the work place.

Why should gender be the lens through which these serious problems must be analysed? Gender inequality with the inferior treatment of women is rooted in the male dominance. Dr.V. Kadambari (2009), maps out the four fold analysis that are responsible for the birth and growth of male superiority:

- (i) The idea of “biological supremacy” which in turn is reflected in the psychological superiority
- (ii) The “Rise of the Phallus”, which has roots in the cultural and sociological studies. This idea came up and flourished in the ancient and pre-modern eras. According to this, world revolves around the male .The only role of the women was to push the male lineage forward. The honour of a woman was (and still is) equated with her “chastity” and she was looked at as an object of lust.
- (iii) The third reason also surfaces out of the same patriarchal tight society which made a woman economically dependent on the man and other male heads. “Political disability is biologically defined and is the basis of economic and social disabilities” (5).

Men were, for a long period of time, the sole inheritors of the properties.

- (iv) Religions and the taboos that they perpetuate in their teaching regarding women. These ideas are instilled on our minds at a very young age itself. For example, the biblical idea of considering Eve as the reason for the fall of Adam and thereby the entire mankind.

The shocking customs like the foot-binding practices among the court dancers in the 10th and 11th Century imperial China can also be interpreted with this lens. These women called the “lotus feet women” functioned to please the emperors and other courtmen. This could be seen as a symbolic way of crippling women, emotionally, physically and economically.

Gender Studies can be regarded as an important extension of the feminist movement and women’s studies, with wider scope in analyzing and solving one of the alarming problems related to Gender.

Despite the fact that almost all professions had been male dominated, there have been various female figures in different cultures challenging the gender bias in professions, who the canonical history fails to acknowledge with proper importance or as Woolf (2000) observes that “for most of History, anonymous was a woman” (51).

Lipushiau, who lived in Mesopotamia around 380 B.C, was not only a priestess, but s also the first percussionist; a drummer at a time when music and musical instruments were considered a forte of the male.

We need not go far in space or back in time, for in India, the name Shanti Devi , the mechanic from Uttar Pradesh is quite popular. There are also few woman mahouts in the country. Parbati Barua, from Assam had been taming wild elephants since she was 14 and has grabbed attention from global media like *BBC* and *NatGeo*.

Interestingly, in the world of macho super heroes, it took a rape case like Nirbhaya’s to come up with the first super heroine comics *Priyashakti* in India, that borrows its ideas liberally from Hindu Mythology. The protagonist is a gang rape survivor with super powers.

The question now is, if there are professions that require the ‘masculine’ traits such as the physical and mental strength, should these women be seen as anomalies?

All these names and examples undoubtedly pose contradictions to one’s preconceived notions of gender and gendered professions.

Butler's Theory of Performativity

In Simon de Beauvoir's words, "One is not born a woman, but rather becomes a woman" (273) where gender is not a stagnant reality or state but a becoming. Judith Butler moves further from this theory, when she attacks the very essentialist view of gender. In *Gender Trouble* she opines: "Gender is not something that one is, it is something one does...an act, a doing rather than a being" (179). Gender thus is a set of actions, like a rehearsed play, performed in front of an audience. However there is no single doer who performs it, nor can one change the gender as he/she wishes. One repeats these acts and appear "natural" as is expected by the society, thereby constructing a gender. Hence, according to Butler we are merely concurring with whatever is already being performed before we came into existence itself. *Gender Trouble* thus becomes a foundational text in gender studies that moves beyond Women's Studies and accommodates the Queer theory. It is in her essay, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" (which will henceforth be abbreviated as "Performative"), that Butler introduces her famous theory of Gender Performativity, which she later elucidated in detail in her work, *Gender Trouble*.

Even when different schools of thought acknowledge gender as a social construct, they assume that there is a clear cut division between what is male and what is female. Butler goes far as to argue that gender, as an objective natural thing, does not exist: "Gender reality is performative which means, quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed" (278). Hence, according to Butler, Gender is the result of performance, rather than the other way round. It includes the way we talk, behave and dress, which in fact *decides* our gender or our sexual identity. Also, the limitation with which the theorists have so far associated gender is that, they operate within the limited frame work of heterosexuality and taboo associated with homosexuality. "Gender identity is a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo" ("Performative" 520).

In short, there is no particular act which is completely masculine or completely feminine by nature. It is intriguing to think that gender does not exist and what actually exists is a set of perfected and rehearsed acts which we are unaware of. Gender thus as Butler claims, can be subverted to a large extent. It is this fluidity that this paper attempts to highlight in the works *Bayen* and *Hangwoman*. Though in performativity theory, Butler is more bothered about drag and other non-verbal agencies through which gender asserts itself, the paper shall focus more on the discourse and other cultural factors, in the formation of the gender called "woman".

Bayen Meets Hangwoman

Within decaying tombs in the ancient cemetery of History were the women, who had dreamed of new worlds, the women whose tresses continued to grow long and longer even when their skulls had crumbled to dust. *(Hangwoman, Meera 434)*

“Bayen” by Mahasweta Devi, published in her *Five Plays* (1997), translated by Samik Bandyopadhyay, is one of her most noted works. Devi was one of those rare writers who carried out a larger social cause and responsibility through her writings. Her works dealt with the problems of subaltern people of Bengal. Devi held an Eliotian view of History, where she believed in the resurrection of the past history and its fusion with the contemporary history.

“Bayen” presents the harsh reality of women in rural India. ‘Bayen’ is the Bengali term for a witch who breastfeeds dead children. The story revolves Chandidasi Gangadasi who is a professional gravedigger. It is a profession of her caste. Here, she inherits the job of an undertaker from her father due to the unavailability of a male heir. Her job is to bury the dead children especially and guard the graveyard at night. She does her job with utmost reverence to her forefathers. However, she faces a crisis in continuing with her job, after her marriage with Malindar and the birth of her son Bhagirath. She sees the images of her own son in the lifeless bodies of the children she buries. She is further perturbed by the thought of her infant whom she has to leave for the graveyard. At the same time, there arise rumours that Chandidasi is a Bayen casting evil eye on the kids of the village. When her own niece named Tukni, happened to die of small-pox, the people completely blame Chandidasi and brand her as the witch. The previously supportive husband now becomes a part of the accusative society. Chandidasi is forced to be separated from her husband and son. She is forced to live an outcaste as she is no more a “normal woman”. She finally dies in the heroic act of saving a train from derailment.

Hangwoman by the acclaimed Malayalam writer K.R.Meera was initially written in Malayalam under the title *Aarachar* and serialized in a Malayalam weekly magazine. Later in the year 2012, the novel was published by DC Books. In the year 2014, J Devika a noted historian, feminist and feminist critic of Kerala, translated the work under the title *Hangwoman*, which won the accolades of many.

Hangwoman revolves around the Grdha Mullicks, the last descendants of a Bengali family of executioners, whose lineage can be traced back to 450 B.C. The novel’s subject matter is an allusion to Dhananjoy Chatterjee’s execution in 2004 who was convicted for the brutal rape of a young school-girl. The protagonist of the novel is Chetna Grdha Mullick, the daughter of

Phanibhushan Grdha Mullick who takes pride in successfully executing 451 convicts and doing his duty to the nation. The Mullicks have been nicknamed ‘Grdhha’ or ‘vultures’ from the days of royalty, for their bulging eyes that reflect the hunger of the vultures.

Chetna Grdha Mullick suddenly erupts as a symbol of empowered woman when the duty of hanging the Satyendranath Banerjee, a criminal convicted for rape and murder of a 13 year old girl falls into her hands from her father, making her India’s first hangwoman. This is also a bildungsroman as the story also taps the internal and sexual awakening of the 22-year-old Chetna and the journey from the status as a daughter of a hangman to an independent hangwoman. The perplexity of suddenly finding herself in the limelight of the media, and her ambiguous feeling towards Sanjeev Kumar Mitra, the shady journalist ,who exploits her both emotionally and physically for his professional needs , entwined with rich legends of the Mullick ancestry make it a complex yet compelling read .

Degendering Profession – From Burial Ground and Gallows

Gravedigger: “What is he that builds stronger than either the mason, the shipwright, or the carpenter?”

Other: “The gallows-maker, for that frame outlives a thousand tenants.”

Gravedigger: “And when you are asked this question next, say “A grave-maker.” The houses that he makes last till doomsday.” (*Hamlet.5.1.38-55*)

In “Bayen”, Chandidasi takes up and continue to do her profession of burial, mainly as a mark of respect to her father and forefathers. Her familial legends have it that her ancestor, the illustrious Kalu Dome, was given the duty to look after all the cremation grounds by the king Harishchandra.

Meeting her husband Malindar Gangaputta for the first time, she proudly declares: “I’m Chandidasi Gangadasi. My father is the late Patitpadan Gangadhar. I bury dead children and guard the graves... Kalu Dome is my forefather. I am at the top of my domes here”(89).

Similarly, Hanging like all the other professions of caste is inherited from the forefathers by the male heirs. In the story of *Hangwoman* however, Phanibhushan’s son Ramu is handicapped when one of the family members of a convict, whom his father hangs to death, hacks his limbs off to avenge the hanging. Therefore, he is not capable to carry on with the profession. The idea of transferring the job to daughter Chetna Mullick is planted by Sanjeev Kumar Mitra, the ambitious and shady journalist; a part of the master plan to get higher ratings for his channel. Soon, Phanibhushan puts across his demand of granting his daughter the post of assistant hangwoman , in order to perform the hanging

of the convict Jatindranath Banerjee. This, naturally is met with oppositions from the government. A minister opines: "...this is not a job a woman can do...it requires a lot of strength...of mind and body..."(18). Later, when the father and daughter go to the I.G'S office, we find the male gaze of the police inspector followed by the typical remarks like: "She is very beautiful. Why send her for this work?" and "These women...by their very nature are second-thoughters. This isn't a job for them"(57). Striking reductionist attitude is evident here. He also reads out the qualifications for a hangman which is biased in itself, for which Chetna does not qualify. The criteria reads: "Applicants should be an adult, over five feet four inches tall. Only males need apply" (57). The personal is being reflected at the political sphere here. Attitudes like these implicitly emphasize on the male physical and mental supremacy.

On a different note, it is interesting to find that Malindar in "Bayen", who comes from the same caste as Chandidasi, is offered a permanent government job at the morgue, since he is literate. Therefore, there is a slight rise in the status of the job when compared to the gravedigging profession that his illiterate wife pursues. Parallely, Chetna is literate and educated, but she is unable to function like Malindar because of her gender and also none had preceded her in the job before.

The male figures in the texts seem to have varied and contradicting functions in the performativity of the female gender: The father of Chandidasi, Patitpadan Gangadar thrusts his job into Chandidasi's hand, as we understand in the beginning of the play. However, she is unable to go on with the burial and guarding of the graveyard at night. It is evident that Chandidasi is unable to embrace her multiple identities: as a woman, a professional woman and a mother. She considers herself an anomaly for, what she feels and does aren't what the women of her society do. She aches to quit her job:

Why can't you see it Gangaputta, why I think of throwing up the job again and again? When I guard the graves through the night, my breasts bursting with milk ache for my Bhagirath back I can't, can't stay away from him. (82)

However, She feels the presence of her father urging her to go back to the job, whenever she tries to quit the gravedigging job. She tells her husband: Whenever I seem to have made up my mind that I won't do go back to the job ever, I seem to hear my father's voice roaring like thunder: if you opt out ,it'll be my beat again, is that what you desire? Would you like me back on the job guarding the graves from the predatory jackals? (92)

The same father figure for whom Chandidasi was happy to take up the ancestral profession, now stands as a burden. The duty towards her father and caste haunts her consciousness. Malindar, the husband of Chandidasi offers

moral support when she, as a mother faces conflicts regarding continuing with her ancestral profession. When she asks what she must do with it, he says, “that’s one thing that you to harp on.” And later, referring to the superstitious society says, “the jobs you do is a useful one, but the bastards won’t recognize that” (83). Malindar however does not treat his wife’s complaints and frustrations with seriousness. Not surprisingly, towards the middle of the play, the husband who once tauntingly calls his wife a Bayen ends up calling her a real witch, when he finds her in a trance in the midnight guarding the grave, talking to herself. About witchcraft, E. Satyanarayana notes in his *Five Plays of Mahasweta Devi* that:

Its (witchcraft’s) negative compliment was an additional means of damning the spirit of women of the working class who had plenty of pluck and creative energy lent them by labour. To sum up, witchcraft was made use of as a vicious instrument to take away the freedom of the working class. (84)

Interestingly, at that point, Malindar utters an illocutionary sentence (a performative sentence where the action takes place in virtue of the utterance itself) when he declares his wife as a Bayen : “I ...Malindar Gangaputta...strike my drum...to declare that my wife has turned into a Bayen, a Bayen!”(87). Here, Malindar’s declaration tries to subsume the very gender of the person called Chandidasi. It, in that sense is a doubly performative sentence; in the plain linguistic sense and the other, in the gender performativity sense. “Gender identity is a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo” (“Performative” 520). Therefore ,deviated from the constructedness of gender and unable to understand her multiple identities and longing for her son, Chandidasi is left with no choice but to exist as a Bayen, an outcaste, in the society which greatly affects her psychologically too.

Malindar further tells his son: “Once a Bayen she’s no longer human. So I tell you, you don’t have a mother”(79). Once again with a performative sentence, Malindar tries to destructs her identity as a mother, before their son. “Discrete genders are part of what 'humanizes' individuals within contemporary culture; indeed, those who fail to do their gender right are regularly punished” (“Performative” 522).Though the “punished” refers to the Queer community, for its non-concurrence with the established gender norms in the society, it can be also aptly applied to Chandidasi for she did not do her role of a mother, (which paradoxically again is regulated by the society), something that “makes” her gender. Therefore she is not a human, according to the husband as well as the society and hence is punished.

On the other hand, in *Hangwoman*, the father Phanibhushan Grdha Mullick has a different function when compared to the way Chandidasi’s father

molds her. Chetna initially agrees to take up the work only due to the fear of her father. She mentions : “His look frightened me, in school and at home, I was taught never to utter a word against Father”(80). An important point of difference between Chandidasi’s performance of gender and that of Chetna happens when Chetna is able to acknowledge her social conditioning which helps her in the unlearning process. She contemplates: “I was taught at a tender age that women do not reveal their troubles. I always had to think a lot before speaking openly. And I would end up lowering myself in my own eyes, revealing things too late” (108). Further, according to her grandma, a good woman is the instrument of procreation and she can have no great woes. The female folk are also conditioned to believe that they can never achieve economic independence.

A crucial point in the novel and Chetna’s life is when the job of hangwoman completely falls into her hands, when her father, the chief hangman is arrested for murdering his brother and sister in law. This meant that she no more can be an assistant hangwoman but has to carry out the entire process by herself. Phanibhushan however, does not approve of his daughter making her own decisions and wants her to withdraw from the job. When she refuses to step back, the father angrily snaps, “I am a man, whereas you are a mere woman!” (396). At this point we get to see the hypocritical nature of the father whose previous claims, that his daughter was an embodiment of women’s power, were merely “politically correct” (396) talks. Later, a sudden change in Phanibhushan Mullick is seen. As a father, he is now more worried about who would marry his daughter if she is in fact ready to kill a man with a noose, in the name of carrying out justice and secondly fears that the bloodline would be tainted if the hanging goes wrong.

Thus, the male figures of the texts hold contradicting attitudes toward the protagonists taking up the familial professions. In “Bayen” while the husband though initially is supportive of his wife, later turns against her. Chandidasi’s father whom she reveres, haunts her and forces her never to leave the job. Phanibhushan Mullick, though is proud of his daughter, when it comes to hanging, considers her only secondary to himself. The effect of this conditioning by authoritative forces on the protagonists are varied.

The life as a Bayen undoubtedly takes a toll on Chandidasi’s mental health. In the beginning of the play we find Chandidasi singing a lullaby and also talking to her dog named Jhumra. Later in the encounter with her husband as a Bayen, we learn that the dog had been dead for several years now. This shows an evidence of her psychological disturbance. The archetype of a mad woman or witch isn’t alien to literature: Bertha Mason of *Jane Eyre*, the unnamed protagonist in Charlotte Perkinson’s “Yellow Wallpaper”, or Ophelia

in *Hamlet* and the mother in Louis Nowrah's *Radiance*, there is a presence of mad woman or witches. As *The Mad Women in the Attic* analyses, the traditional patriarchal literary world depicts the "female" as either angel or demon; fragile and emotional, and therefore susceptible to cognitive dissonances.

Later, Chandidasi, the very person who is dehumanized and portrayed as mentally disturbed, dies bravely in the humanistic act of saving a train from derailing. In the end it is her son Bhagirath, who finally unhesitatingly comes forward to claim the dead body. Not only does he recognize and accept her as his mother but refutes the claim that she is a Bayen: "...my mother, the late Chandidasi Gangadasi...my mother, the late Chandidasi Gangadasi, sir. Not a Bayen. She was never a Bayen, my mother"(91). The son nullifies the previous performative utterances of his father who declares Chandidasi a bayen and no more a mother or woman. The son, though defies the societal morals at one level, once again places Chandidasi back in the normative gender framework .On the other hand, Chandidasi can be seen as a free being who was rebellious against the society and regulations by choosing to sacrifice herself in the act of saving a train. Thus, we see that Chandidasi after a point, could not carry on with her life and profession as she had deviated from the normal performance of her gender and finally dies.

Contrasting to this, what we find in Chetna is an inner awakening. An important moment of realization that Chetna experiences in the novel, when her father takes her to the gallows is that, "No female –born human can pull this lever without waging a war against herself and winning it" (73). The translator's usage of "female – born human" could be interpreted as a sexed body which though not initially but inevitably assumes the gender of a "woman" after her birth. This point in the text also marks the subversion of her gender from the existing norms. As Sarah Salih paraphrases Butler's arguments in her "On Judith Butler and Performativity":

"There is no sex that is not always already gender. All bodies are gendered from the beginning of their social existence (and there is no existence that is not social), which means that there is no "natural body" that pre-exists its cultural inscription" (55).

In a sense, Sanjeev Kumar Mitra, the person who promises to marry Chetna only for his personal benefits and towards whom she has mixed feelings, plays an indirect role in her inner awakening. Many a times he makes her realize her inner strength. For instance, Mitra asks her in one of the interviews, "This is a work that can throw even men off balance. Do you think that a woman like you, Chetna, is capable of it?" for which she replies, "There is nothing a woman can't do" (87).

She also declares to herself: “Henceforth, I smiled to myself. I cannot submit to the will of the father or the lover or the husband or children to come in the future” (276). Rather than its strong feminist tone, it transcends beyond that and reaches the point where she realizes the performance that she is in and her conscious decision to subvert the very performance, to upset the categorizations that the gender has shaped for her. The completion of Chetna’s awakening and physical and mental independence is greatly evident when she finally musters up the courage to put across crisply that, “I want the status of a hangman, not of the hangman’s daughter” (397). The father realizes the strength of Chetna and is no more able to hold his daughter back. Here, unlike Chandidasi, she is able to take up her profession. For, she also remembers what her father ironically once taught her: “There is no male or female before Duty” (128).

Chetna faces immense range of obstacles in fulfilling her responsibility as a hangwoman, the important ones being the male gaze and objectification, from the very police officers at the jail before she could successfully execute the rape convict. Even when she finally goes to perform the duty there are only constant reminders that she is a mere woman. Interestingly as a kid, she had accidentally strangled a three-year-old girl to death, with the noose made of her ‘duppatta’ and as her grandmother tells her, she had played with her umbilical cord, tying nooses as an infant.

Chetna feels that she is an executioner and not herself while she pulls the lever and Jatindranath falls into the gallows and is declared dead within 20 seconds. The breaking of the vertebrae is described by the doctor as: “Like a sea shell splitting open” (416). Further the inspector comes up to Chetna in awe and remarks, “you’ve cut at the very root of the male race, my dear girl” (416). She feels a sense of rebirth after performing her first hanging. A hangman’s genius lies in tightening the rope between the third and the fourth vertebrae before the convict could know what is happening to him/her and what Chetna did was demonstrate this genius effortlessly and successfully.

Thus, we see various factors that are regulated by the society and the people within it that are responsible for the performativity of the female gender, by taking the examples of Chandidasi and Chetna Grdha Mullick. This performance is however subverted, thereby de-gendering the professions too. The commonly acknowledged dark professions of gravedigging and hanging are performed by women in these stories. The role that cultural factors and language play in the social conditioning are important and can be kept at par with other non-verbal agencies that regulate the “masculine” and “feminine” gender, as analysed.

Conclusion

According to Butler “Gender is a project which has cultural survival at its end” (“Performative” 522). While Chandidasi is a professional gravedigger whose job is to bury dead children and guard the graveyard at night in “Bayen”, *Hangwoman* tells the story of Chetna’s journey of becoming a hangwoman.

Though unavailability of male heirs is the prime reason that propels both these protagonists into the limelight, what happens in the process of taking up a traditional “masculine” professions is that, they break away from their given gender performances and subvert them, challenging the phenomenon called ‘gender’. While Chandidasi is rebellious and gives much importance to her freedom, her multiple identities as a woman, mother and professional woman (regulated by the society that includes herself) throw her off balance. She is branded as a witch by the society and dies in the end.

Contrasting to this, Chetna in *Hangwoman* experiences an inner awakening in her. She subverts her default performances that make her gender and at the end of the novel successfully hangs the convict Satyendranath BaneRjee, with all genius of a seasoned executioner.

These texts show how the gendered professions are subverted, concurring with Butler’s idea that she discusses in the first chapter of *Gender Trouble* that, “There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (25).

Thus, the two texts also: (i). Challenge the traditional stereotypes of placement of feminine attributes such as passivity, flexibility as inferior to the masculine traits of strength and aggressiveness (ii). Remove the coercion to make men and woman to choose to be masculine or feminine. Only through such an approach can the “individuals be assessed by their independent choices and individual merits” (Kadambari 19).

As mentioned earlier, Gender Studies aims at reconstructing the relationships between both the sexes by empowering woman to become controllers of their lives. Though we claim to have achieved a lot in this sphere, the reality speaks otherwise. The recent signing of an executive order by the U.S. president Donald Trump blocking foreign or federal funding for international non-governmental organisations that provide or promote abortions, or the defeat of Manipur’s iron lady Irom Sharmila are important evidences of the dangers of gender inequality.

Gender mainstreaming, a major global strategy, was established for the promotion of gender equality in the Beijing Platform for Action, from the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

Gender mainstreaming acknowledges the issue of gender bias at the centre of issues related to policy decisions, medium-term plans, programme budgets, and institutional structures and processes .It brings men and women together to the centre to redress the various associated problems. Gender studies aims to attain the much needed equilibrium in the society. Mainstreaming of gender gives broader perspectives and greater opportunities to unlearn social constructs and fight against gender bias. It sensitises men about their role in the problems that women are facing today. It is not a strategy far removed from our immediate reality. On the contrary, every one of us has a significant part to contribute towards it.

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