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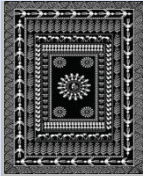
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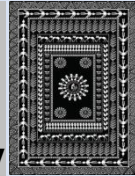Project   folklore studies in India View project

Lokaratna

The e-journal of the Folklore Foundation, India

Folklore Foundation, India, Lokaratna Vol. X, 2017 ISSN No. 2347-6427

Lokaratna, Vol. X, 2017

Lokaratna is the e-journal of the Folklore Foundation, India. The purpose of the journal is to explore the rich cultural tradition of Odisha for a wider readership. Any scholar across the globe interested to contribute on any aspect of folklore is welcome. This volume represents the articles on culture, folklore, education, and language pedagogy.

Cover Image: Traditional Saura Painting

Lokaratna is the official journal of the Folklore Foundation, India and it is a peer-reviewed academic journal in English.

The objectives of the journal are:
- To invite writers and scholars to contribute their valuable research papers on any aspects of Indian Folklore. They should be based on the theory and methodology of folklore research and on empirical studies with substantial field work.
- To publish seminal articles written by senior scholars on Indian Folklore, making them available from the original sources.
- To present lives of folklorists, outlining their substantial contribution to Folklore
- To publish book reviews, field work reports, descriptions of research projects and announcements for seminars and workshops.
- To present interviews with eminent folklorists in India and abroad.
- Any new idea that would enrich this folklore research journal is welcome.

We also review newly published books, to get your book reviewed write to:

From The Desk of Editor-in-Chief

Lokaratna completed its ten years. Hundreds of professional and scholars across the globe have contributed to this e journal in the disciplines of humanities, social science, linguistics,folklore, tribal studies,social history and cultural studies.

Mean while an Advisory Board for the journal has been set up and the Editorial Board has also been expanded. Permanent web site for folklore foundation has also been hosted. The site is: www.folklorefooundation.org. All the past issues of Lokaratna have been uploaded in the web site of Folklore Foundation. The web master Mr. Shibaram Mishra has taken much time and energy to make this web site compatible to the web site of any other global institute. He has voluntarily agreed to maintain the web site from time to time to update the readers on folklore studies.

In the mean time the field members of Folklore Foundation have completed the Odisha Volume of People's Linguistic Survey of India. About 200 people of Odisha from different ethnic groups across the state have completed the volume which contains 40 spoken languages, Odia and Santali as scheduled languages. Rest of the languages is non- scheduled.

The Sambalpuri/Koshali language from Western Odisha and Ho language from north Odisha have been recommended by the state government to be included in the VIIIth schedule of the Constitution of India. Till now 38 spoken but non-scheduled languages have been enlisted for recognition with the government of India.

Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi under its Centre for Oral and Tribal Literature in the Sahitya Akademy under the leadership of Padmashree Anvita Abbi, has released books on oral tradition and Unwritten languages. On 5th April, 2017 Kapila

Vatsayan released two books. One titled Kalahandi ki Vachik Mahakavya (Oral Epics of Kalahandi) in Hindi and another- the compilation the articles of a Seminar on Unwritten Languages held in the literature festival of 2015 in the Sahitya Akademi- titled "Unwritten Languages."

I visited International Mother Language Institute,(IMLI) Bangladesh on 21st February   2017   and took part in the international seminar on language documentation and multilingual education. The role of Bangladesh in nurturing the mother tongues, especially minority languages is crucial. It is to be remembered that, Banladesh is a country emerged from the struggle for mother tongue. In context, not with in the country itself, the role of IMLI in fostering the minority and endangered languages in Asian   countries is highly   commendable.   I congratulate Prof Zinnat Imtiaz Ali, Director General, IMLI   for his   untiring efforts to serve for the cause of minority languages.

Language and culture survives, even after the environmental change occurs in human civilization. Stories and songs , proverbs and ritual myths are still alive containing the narratives of 3000 years old civilization. The cultural continuity of human memory retains the oral , performative and visual form even after the material loss is occurred , but the memory and imagination still survive in the memory. The best examples of this are the culture hero Rama, Krishna and Shiva. These three gods are still alive in the public memory when their   geographical territories are still uncertain.

The Xth volume of Lokaratna is released to day. This contains the history of ten years of voluntary labour, and to celebrate that the modern technology has facilitated to connect from one end of the globe to the other. Many people use to say that the purity of folk culture will be corrupted by   the intrusion of modern technology. Looking   this from other point of view, it is safely said that   the use of technology   for promotion of   folklore and culture , and also documenting the original form in performance could be the   best way to restore the history of

time in the context of people's performance of knowledge in their community. The written cannot capture the thought, but the visuals can capture the expression and its details while performance. Thus either it is performance by the people or research by the scholars, technology has played a major role in sustaining and disseminating the past for future.

I am thankful to all the writers and the reviewers of this volume who have sincerely contributed to this journal.

We are committed to take more thematic work through Folklore Foundation. In future, I hope all those who have contributed to this volume will support the cause by sensitising the new writers as well as the established for a cultural inheritance.

I thank Prof Anand Mahanand, EFLU for his tireless work and support and management of the journal. I also congratulate the new members of editorial board and the advisory board to be with us for a sincere cause.

Mahendra Kumar Mishra

From the Desk of Executive Editor

"We can still maintain our oral narratives in the digital age"

One of the features of folk traditions is their vibrancy. They are lively and prevail in the forms of dance forms, songs, games and chants. This feature makes them unique and distinct from literacy. When we put oral performances into writing, the vibrancy is lost. Writing cannot capture the vibrancy and performative aspects of an oral narrative. But this element should be retained. We cannot effort to lose it. Vibrancy should remain   even though these forms are transformed to other modes. Writing cannot capture this but; digital mode can help us in retaining the performative element of an oral narrative.

 There have been concerns in some quarters that writing is losing its ground with the emergence of digital technology. Oral forms precede writing.   With the emergence and consequent dominance of writing, *Orality* was given less privilege. Writing dominated the scene but *Orality* too existed. With the emergence and spread of digital technology, oral forms are coming back with vibrancy again. The question is whether technology is enough to retain our folk oral forms. Can communities retain their folk forms in this modern and digital age. Lot of it depends on the mindset and determination of the people. We can be modern, yet retain our folk forms. We can use modern technology at the service of our traditions. Tradition can accommodate interrogation, invention and innovations. Traditions should not be thrown out. If we lose our past, there will be nothing left for the future. In this volume we have articles that not only describe unique folk forms but also interrogate the traditional notions and traditional scholarship. There

are discussions also on the status of oral narratives in the face of technology. Jayita Sengupta's article "Memory, Orality, Literacy and Translation" foregrounds some of the issues related to translation of oral narratives into written form. Umesh Patra, Ashish Mohaptra in their articles on Chaiti Ghoda and Pala respectively trace the history of the two folk forms and highlight the unique aspects of these folk forms. They also emphasize how these dance forms give evidence of pluralistic nature of Odishan society. Kapil Sagrolikar's article "Ramayana to Lok Ramayana" deals with invention in the traditions of classical narratives. He analyses what kinds of changes have taken place in the Ramayana when it is converted from classical to local form. Mamata Dash and Pankaja Sethi in their respective articles highlight the role of women in the making of folk arts and crafts. T. Akshya Kumar and Liza Swain in their article " Tribal Customary Marriage Practices among the Major Tribes of Southern odisha: An Ethnographic Approach" discusses the indigenous marriage practices of the tribes such as the Saora, Bonda, Kondh and Koya. Though they focus on the unique traditional practices of these tribes, they highlight that these have been affected by modernization processes. Priya Soma Sekhar and Siddharth M in their article "Folk Tradition in Chettikulangara with a special reference to the Ritual Art Form of Chettikulangara Kuthiyattam" describe varied traditions, beliefs, customs, rituals etc. The above articles are related to issues concerning cultural practices in India. This issue also has articles discussing cultural practices of other countries such as Russia, Nepal and Pakistan. Rashmi Kumari Jha's article "Irony in Context: A Study of Popular Russian Expressions in Soviet Era" studies songs, stories and other forms and discusses how they have contributed to literature. Suman Bantawa in his article "Kirat Myths in Some Indian Nepali poems" explores the myths in literature particularly in Nepali and Indian poetry.

In the   section of Linguistics and Language Pedagogy, Nivedita has contributed her seminal paper on Multilinguality she proposes a culturally sensitive pedagogy for the teaching of English in India. Zubair Torwali in his article "Challenges to the Linguistic Diversity of North Pakistan" enumerates issues that act as threats to linguistic diversity of North Pakistan.As a Linguistic Right Activists Torwali foresee the possibilities of linguistic diversities to foster cultural democracy in Pakistan.

Folklore has been performing the role of educating people since time immemorial. Education of learners in the multilingual contexts has been a major subject of discussion for scholars in India and abroad. Keeping this tradition alive, *Lokaratna* has been accommodating articles related to pedagogy. The next section of the issue therefore has articles pertaining to pedagogy. Koteswar Rao Malla's article "Developing English Language Skills in Multilingual Classroom" throws light on how English language skills can be enhanced by situating English in the local contexts. Kandukuri Mariyadas' article " Enhancing LSRW Skills: An Experimental Study of High School Students in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh" discusses how using role play and collaborative language learning method helped in enhancing LSRW skills of high school students. Rukulu Kezo in her article " A Discourse on the Need to Embedded Emotional Intelligence (EI) as an Essential Component in Teacher Education Programmes" argues for the inclusion of EI in teacher training syllabus. According to her, this will enable teachers help learners to grow emotionally rich and mature. Narke Pankaj Ashok in his article   " Morpheme Acquisition Order of Indian ESL Learners: A Comparative Study" stresses on morpheme acquisition as part of ESL learning . He also seeks to find out whether SL language learners acquire language in the same way as first language learners do. Amit Kumar in his article " Collaborative

Reflective Practices: A Self- Reflective Journey" explains how teachers can reflect on their teaching practices when they are engaged in collaborative teaching practices. Deepa Dass treat the ecology and peace through the sacred narratives and wish that learning on this aspect can improve the moral and ethics in education.

In this issue of Lokaratna Khazana, the treasure tove of folklore carries three stories from Abolkara stories retold by Anand Mahanand. Abolkara stories are very popular among the rural people of Odisha. They have been getting into oblivion. Hence it is an attempt here to revive them by translating them and putting them together. We also have a small bunch of Baul songs of Shah Abdul Karim translated by Amitendu Bhattacharya. These two forms are precious pieces of literature and solace for the soul for their aesthetic and spiritual values. We hope readers will love and appreciate them. We are happy to recollect with a sense of achievement that the present issue is the tenth issue of Lokaratna. Lokaratna has reached its tenth volume from a humble beginning to its present stage. It was started with the innovative and creative imagination of Dr Mahendra K. Mishra during 2008 as the journal of folklore foundation Supported by National Folklore Support Centre ,Chennai and then World Oral Literature Project, Cambridge University. Now it has full-grown as an academic journal with international recognition with its advisory and editorial boards. We thank all the contributors for their generous contribution of articles and the members of the advisory and editorial boards for their help and support. We also thank our Web Master Shibaram Mishra for such wonderful art and design in the web site www.folklorefoundation.org . We are happy to offer you our esteemed readers the tenth issue of Lokaratna!!!

Prof Anand Mahanand

Executive Editor, Lokaratna

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Call for Papers for *Lokaratna* XI (2018)

We Invite papers in the areas of folklore, literature, language, culture and pedagogy   for the next issue XI (2018)   of *Lokaratna* tentatively scheduled for publication in   January 2018. The   articles should be

- Original, unpublished and should not have been submitted for consideration to any other journal or publisher.
- To be written following APA (6th edition) or MLA(7th edition) style of documentation.
- Should have an abstract of about 200 words and five key words.
- Such articles should reach either of the following   by 31st October 2017.

 Send your entries to:

Dr Mahendra K. Mishra, Editor-in-Chief:
mkmfolk@gmail.com
Professor Anand Mahanand, Executive Editor:
amahanand991@gmail.com

Oral Tradition, Culture and Literature

Memory, Orality, Literacy and Translation*

Jayita Sengupta

Abstract: Just as the written text or *recit* can be subjected to numerous interpretations from the point of view of the Reader Response theorists, oral narratives too when translated into *recit*, and other forms of narration are subject to perception and interpretation. Memory and imagination play very important roles in the act of translation. Translation also could be pictorial, through virtual ethnography and technology mediated communication. In all cases, literacy about the oral tradition and mediums of translation is a very important factor to be negotiated with. This research article would take up the challenges of different kinds of translation of oral narratives and relate it to the issue of literacy.

Keywords: memory, orality, translation, literacy, myth, narrative, technology

Orality, Myth, Memory, History and Narrative, all these share bonhomie with each other. While memory and *Orality* allow for myth making, in contemporary theory, the line of demarcation between history and myth are blurred. Narrativization of stories, beliefs, traditions, songs, customs, codes and words of wisdom by words of mouth, travel down the ages, from one generation to another. "Shruti" and "Smriti" are two birds on the same branch, says KapilaVatsyayan (2011). If "Shruti" is primary, "Smriti", which leads to the written words, is secondary. "Shruti" creates the "dhwani", which may be passed on in verbatim or reconstructed using the spice of the imagination (rasa) by the second signifier, to others leading to a "kathasaritsagar" of tales interlinked to the original and receptive to ideas down the line. Folk in the Indian context is "loka", and the "loka" and "shastra" (folk and the elite) contrast is contrary to the Western contrast between the high and the low traditions. India does not believe that non-

literary cultures are "knowledge blanks", which need to be filled in with the modern knowledge of different disciplines and dominant cultures. Indranath Choudhury quotes Coomarswamy, in his article, "The Bugbear of Literacy" (1979), where he speaks not against literacy but instead that elementary or functional literacy cannot be considered the sole criterion for evaluating the total human potential. So, sometimes folklores, songs and pearls of wisdom are documented and made into *recit*, sometimes orality in these days of technology are archived, using computers and other modern technologies. Preservation of any archival material however entails some degree of literacy about the subject matter, along with technical skills and equipment.This paper will explore the relationship between "Shruti" and "Smriti" and relate the same to the ideas of literacy and narrative explorations.

The first section of this paper will discuss how memory facilitates orality, and myth-making, and relate the same to history and narrative, through two stories, namely, "Manik-Makao"[1]and "Wild-Flower"[2]. It will attempt to interpret how these stories use folklore and myth for its analysis of the psychodynamics of the literate society in the first case and to the protagonist herself in the second case. The second section of the paper will deal with the aspect of translation and how it is related to "re-memorying"of the tradition or myth through the processes of cultural syncreticism in art, and how literacy plays a significant role in it. The third section will discuss the role of memory, space and time in non-Gregorian calendars and their relationship with oral cultures. In conclusion, there will be an endeavour to re-define orality in the age of technology and information.

Folklore as Love Myth: "Manik-Makao" and the dialectics of the "Literate" and "Literacy"

Folkloristics or the study of the folklore would often reveal that there is a close relationship between the myth and lore of the common folk. Both use narrativization through orality. While the core of the story remains the same, there is space for the storyteller for interpretation and adding on to the story, in folklore. Once the lore takes on a symbolical meaning and passes into the cultural semiotics of a society and is part of the people's tradition, codes and beliefs, it becomes a myth. Such is the case of "Manik-Makao", a traditional love story passed down the generations, among the tribes of the Meghalaya and Assam hills. The most interesting part of the *recit* based on the myth is that it illustrates so well the Barthian theory of semiology, so the story as signified has multiple signifiers, re-presenting the love myth in multifarious ways. The story also exemplifies A.K. Ramanujan's idea of Indian myth, where he says that to assume a notion of linear development between the written and oral, or classical or folk would be fallacious. Rather it is the history of texts that is made up of written and oral forms contained within cycles of transmission that move up and down through time resulting in manifold possible re-compositions within a "simultaneous order"(1989:187-216).

The love myth, taken up for close study here, is about the young queen Makao's illicit relationship with Manik, the young flautist who lives in the fringes of the kingdom. The queen's husband, the king is on a long diplomatic tour, and the lonely queen is impelled by Manik's flute to take nocturnal journeys across the mountain pathways,forests and streams to meet him. Though Manik refuses to accept her the first night, he cannot resist her passion for him the second time she visits him. When the king is back from his tour he finds his queen as a mother of a child. Infuriated by his cuckoldry, he orders every man in his kingdom to come to his court with a banana. If the child snatches the banana from a man tempting him with it, he would know who the father of the child was, and how to deal with this betrayal. Manik is unaware of this order, but he is summoned to the court. And the

inevitable takes place as the child jumps from Makao's arms to him. A death sentence is declared, but Manik could choose how he wished to die. He chooses to be burnt alive, and playing on his flute for a while, he implants the bamboo flute in the wet mud and enters the inferno waiting for him. As the original story unfolds, the queen too enters the fire imperceptibly and the two lovers are united in death. When the fire burns down, people to their surprise find a lake in the spot and the bamboo flute is transformed into a bamboo cluster drooping over its waters.

This love myth in the *recit* by Ramkumar Mukherjee is taken up for discussion in a fictitious three day seminar in the North-Eastern Hill States University. The first written text based on the folklore which has survived through space and time through orality is by Rabon Singh Karsuka in 1899. H.W. Stein had adapted the folklore into a play titled "Ka Mahadeo" ("Mahadeo" meaning the queen), some eighty years later. The play involved an interpretative strategy for the queen's illicit relationship by stating that the king was away for a long two years' tour, soon after his marriage, and he never cared to stay in contact with the queen in this long period of separation. These details were not mentioned in the oral myth and it is possible that in those pre-literate days, staying in touch with home, while travelling was not possible. However, the play also raised questions about the king's virility, thus justifying Makao's passion for Manik, who was young and talented, and who could father a child in one night's union which the king had failed to do so in their five months of conjugality. Apart from this narrative, Mukherjee's *recit* in the second part of the story also records two more versions of the myth. JespilSiyem who visited the hills with Father Longdore wrote a long narrative poem based on the myth in six thousand, three hundred thirty-six stanzas in 2004. This was followed by a novella by Donboc. T. Lalu in 2005. The core message of the love myth remaining intact, these narratives fleshed out the story with different interpretative strategies and the signifier's imagination and ideas. So,

the point of origin of the story from the first signified to the first signifier conveying the concept-image or sign that is love, through orality goes through multiple signifieds and signifiers. The signified takes on the role of the signifier while passing on the story. When the story becomes a written word, it becomes more polyglossic as the narratives could be a story or a long poem or a play or a novella. Along with the multiplicity of signifiers and signifieds, the sign in its process of diverse significations or myth making leads to a Bakhtinian carnival of ideas and different forms of literacy. What began as a word of mouth, or as part of a folk tradition becomes a narrative exploration. It leads to diverse debates on the theme of such illicit love relating the same to gender discourse in that seminar. As a subject of academic discourse the myth becomes the "elitist's text", which takes away the "shringarras" from the oral tradition. As a narrative exploration, the story leads to multitudinous ruminations in the oral tradition and the written word. In agreement with what Barthes states in "Myth Today" (1972), Bernard Stiegler too while theorizing Truth as "orthothetic", writes how a single text, (in this case the myth) "varies   and drifts indefinitely in the dissemination of which all contextualization consists" and is "caught up in a process of irreducible difference to such an extent that the here-and-now, space and time, are themselves irreducible, and there the reader also discovers textual being itself, as a texture of accounts from that reader's past already-there, accounts that have been lived as inherited and that must be endlessly, (re-) interpreted". (2009: 58). Moreover, the dialectics through orality differ from the dialectics of the oral story in the written word. The latter involves the relationship between translation of the text from the oral speech to written speech, and thus involving the context of literacy.

While Barthes might state that "everything can be a myth", Walter J. Ong (2002) revolutionizes the idea of orality as a text perceived by the literates. The oral tradition is like weaving of tales, by the so called "pre-literates", but the

written word destroys that chain. This holds good for both the Western and Indian societies and leads us to problematize the relationship between orality in the written text, and the tension that exists between both of them. To abide by whatIndranath Choudhury contends, these seemingly simple conflicting zones lead to a web of complex issues. The oral and the*recit* traditions serve as "instruments of communication between different levels of society." (1972)Going back to Vatsayan'sobservation, they are like two birds on the same branch, illustrating the Barthian idea of Speech.

History, Memory, myth and psychodynamics:"Wild Flower"

This is a story of a warrior tribe, called the Mandi or the Garos spread across Madhupur, Tangail and Mymensigh of Bangladesh up to Meghalaya in India in the wake of 1971 War of Liberation and the formation of Bangladesh. The tribe had joined the Indian troops in the Liberation war of 1971, and with the formation of a new nation, they and their contribution for the cause of the Bengalis in Bangladesh was forgotten and erased in the grand narratives of history.

This story is a painful dialectics of the silent history, essentially subversive in its attempt to render the "the unspoken words which remain unspoken".It writes about the psychodynamics of the sufferers: the Mandis who followed the Shangsharek faith, later Christianized and betrayed by history and the mainstream literates who write and teach history. Myth in this story is a memory of the tribal rites of the Shangsharekculture erased by the war yet preserved in Molita vis-à-vis Salnima's mind. Salnima lives in memory. She was christened as Molitaby her parents and her tribal identity as Salnima was abrogated for the second time with the war and newly formed Bangladesh. Besides this, the war also stole from the tribe their Rong forest and their habitat. While Salnima vis-à-vis Molita, continues with the daily activities of walking, living, arising, etc her mind is freezed in time. So, her waking is sleeping, as her waking is a mindless waking or workingas a

hair-dresser and a compelled sex-worker in Shing Salon or prior to that as a maid in a Bengali Christian household in Dhaka. So, while cooking a carrot halwa, as a maid, she is lost in her memory of her grandfather's words to her:

'Salnima! For some reason, I have a lot of hope in you. You're not just any other girl; you are Salnima, the mother of the sun god Saljong. The god Saljong told me this in a dream … I will teach you all the stories and songs of our gods, of our old Shangsharek faith . ..''   (263-4)

The old man pleads a promise from his granddaughter that she should after his death offer the *ampengni* potato to the god Saljong during the *Wang-gala* harvest festival. Salnima's mind is lost in a maze of such memories. She lives in another reality of another time. When the smell of burnthalwa pulls the mistress of the house, from her VCR luxury to the kitchen, and the boiling hot water is poured on Salnima's body, the metal-ladle heated in the gas pressed again and again under her arm pits, adolescent breasts and her loins, she remains immersed in her sleep, and falls unconscious on the floor. Her mind perceives the tribal *mahari*, with Jobang Ambeng stooping over her immobile body with the herbal root of the *dolagipa* tree held between his teeth. The voice of her grandfather echoes in her ears,"Do not fear Salnima , Jobang Ambeng himself will look after you." (265) Again when a client, Faizal, a marijuana addict comes to her for gratifying his passion, he is transformed into her lover Mridangain her eyes and she yields herself to him with yearning and passion in her 'sleep in waking'. Despite the contraceptive precautions, that a prostitute is made to take, she conceives and her child is aborted. Her repeated resurrection as 'Salnima' in Molita leads her to travails of fate again and again. Blood becomes the sign of the sacred union of Mandi men and women before marriage, the union between Salnima and Mridanga in the black abyss of the overturned Ranikong cliff. The abyss was created after the Buddhist goddess Bhuga Rani jumped off the cliff to return to Bhutan, her birth

place when their land became tainted with Christian influence. When the mystically sorrowful *sravan* months returned in Birishiri, with the memory of the goddess's return to her birth place through that tunnel, the past became "still" in that overturned cliff. And that is where Salnima has had her first tryst with Mridanga , the handsomest young man in Kalmakanda. Blood becomes the sign of delusive love aborted, when Salnima mistakes Faizal for Mridanga, and blood becomes the *kudima* or the sacred first union between lovers each time she becomes the victim of men's passion. So *kudima* is a "prolonged pathway to sleep", taking her back to her past. So, when the mistress of the parlour, Mrs Shing Shanghai hits her on the face with her steel heels, for going wrong with her scissors, and blood spills from her nose and mouth, she is "engrossed in an eternal *kudima*". Sometimes she herself is confused whether she is 'Molita' or 'Salnima'. The narrative structure of the story is such that there is a story within a story. The linear progress of history from 1971 to 1975 is challenged by Salnima's memory of her tribal identity and culture, erased by forced Christianization and the 1971 war. The satirical twist comes in the conclusion of the story, with an old and mad beggar, frequenting the tourist spot, with a placard with red lettering hung round his neck: "Help Freedom Fighter Prabeer Chiran. He played a valiant role in the Liberation War of 1971 …". He ambles around dumbly in the originally Rong forest area, where the tribe lived and which was converted into a tourist spot, after the war. The professors of the Dhaka University, who were supporters of the Liberation war, knit their eyebrows and wondered, "Tribal people are free from three major repressions of civilized society: insanity, rape or sexual crimes and thievery. Then why is this man mad? Has the dehumanization process of society and the state reached such a critical level?" (p.271). The story with extreme ironic subtlety unravels to a discerning and sensitive reader, that the man is none other than Salnima's father, who was the head of the tribe, and had led his tribe to the

Liberation War. If the daughter suffers from a dual personality, where her identity as Salnima is forcefully abrogated and replaced by her Christianization and history, and she prefers to sleep in her waking reality, the shock and betrayal of history has struck her father dumb. The narrative empathizing with the Achik Mande, the people of the mountains, laments rhetorically, "Yes, how long was it? Achik Mande, the people of the mountains, as powerful as wild eagles, before they became as cowardly as the people of the plains … ."(256) or "How long ago was that? When the stones moved around, when they spoke like human beings? When the good wind like the pink petals of the *macchajaseng* blossom shook the mountains, the past continuously weaved its pulsating events … ." (263).

The narrative complexity moving back and forth from the past which takes the shape of myth, lost forever except in Salnima's memory weaves itself , and is more of a living present than the reality of the present in Salnima's consciousness. The story as *recit*, criticizes the grand sweep of history through the illiterate and ignorant comments of the "so called literate" people from the Dhaka University. At the same time, it empowers the narrative of Salnima's consciousness with pre-literate knowledge. Her consciousness defies the present, silently through the semiotics of silent speech which the written word tries to record. To agree with Ong on Literacy and orality, the story, criticizes the literate, just as it uses literacy to codify orality, myth and memory in the written word. (Ong 14-15). If the earlier *recit* based on a folklore becomes a cultural myth and is subject to ruminations and deconstruction by literacy, in this case the myth itself remains as a piece of living memory where the sufferers of history are entrapped psychologically and the so-called literates fail to understand the depths of their loss, disorientation and pain. Literacy serves two purposes here: firstly, the narrative as a written text codifies the myth which speaks of the moment of disjuncture and erasure, within the literate narrative; secondly, it comments on literacy and explores the dynamics of a

revolutionary poetics of the unspoken words which remain unspoken by Salnima and his father but spoken through the dialectics of the narrative in the *recit* by the writer. Orality, in the second case only survives through the *recit*.

Cultural Memory, Literacy and Translation

This section is going to discuss briefly the problematics of literary translation, with reference to the two stories discussed in this essay. It is also going to touch upon the translation of cultural ideas and narrative explorations of the same.

Shabnam Nadiya in translating Audity Falguni's "Wild Flower", has retained the tribal songs in the original, and explained their narrative in a parenthesis. Any attempt at translating these verses would be a daunting task, for the rhythm, resonance, would be lost and not be in proportion with aesthetics of the mood and texture of the original story. My translation of Ramkumar Mukherjee's story from his novella, *Kathar Katha* (Word of Mouth), is actually the first story in the chain of connected myths reconstructed by the writer, each independent, yet in some way linked to another. As a translator, my challenge was to render the rhythm of the myth so embedded not merely in the hearts and minds of the people of the hills but one which flows in the breeze and is known by the trees, the streams, the mountains, the night sky, moon and the red-cock, who all did see it happen. The myth begins with the red-cock getting ready for his first wake up call to Nature, spotting the young queen slipping out of her lover's home, in the hazy dawn to walk back to her palace. The second part of the story has a satirical twist, so evident in Ramkumar Mukherjee's style of writing, where, he makes a dig at the so called literate and educated. My task was to recreate this subtle satirical humour with the punch line, where Lao Tse's grandson's grandson in conversation with the writer tells him, "A lover never made a good scholar, or a scholar a good lover!" So much is for the discussion on the two narratives in translation.

Other forms of translation of cultures apart from the literary ones, could lead to various classifications, such as:

- Indian classical music traditions and anonymous bandishes, Ramcharitkathas, folk songs, among musical orality

- Patachitras of Orissa and Bengal

- The Baluchori Sarees of Bengal

- The sacred Thangkas of Tibet

- The shawls of the North-East

- The Rajasthani story-box

- The Rajasthani Carpets narrativizing the folklore

- Madhubani art

- Narrativizing through *dastangoi*, *kobirlorai*, dance mudras , yatras and performative arts

- The oral history of tribes in Naga houses, cultural specificity in adivasi houses, in different ways, depending on space (region)

- Orality through mime, dance, through rites, rituals and festivals, eg., Cham, Chorten, shamanistic rituals (in Tibet, Sikkim belt) , cultural festivals in various regions, where syncreticism is an obvious reality, through travelling cultures as texts and intertextuality through orality and natural processes of assimilation and change.

- Kathasaritsagar, Betal tales, Puranas, Hatim Tai, Arabian Nights , - the process of weaving and stitching motifs in an ever expanding blanket (kantha/ katha) of tales.

- The graphic narratives of myths or folklore.

It is not possible to discuss all of these translations of cultures through narrative explorations, within the space of one essay, as each could be separate

areas of research. However, I would attempt to discuss briefly a few. The *patachitras* of Orissa and Bengal, the tribal art on the walls of the mud houses in different part of India, the traditional *thangka* scrolls, the engravings of folk fables on the rocks of the ancient temples in South India, the temple architecture as visual representations of a cultural memory and dialectical history require literacy for translating them into a historical and/or designer narratives through pictorial representation. While the designer narratives could be subject to multifarious translations and interpretations creating a carnival of point of views and a body of dialectical new historicism, they embody the message (s) of a time envisioned and the attempt to trap it or codify the semiotic in the written word. With the change of times, and that of a dying art, the folk tales in Rajasthan sung to the accompaniment of folk instruments of the place, find re-presentation through carpets which make way for a rich tourist industry. The Baluchori sarees in Bengal too use designer motifs from Hindu epics and myths. Similarly, the motifs in the shawls in Meghalaya, Assam and Mizoram codify designer narratives, which need to be decoded to understand the life and living of the tribes in those places and their animistic faith.

The various traditional festivals following the local calendars like the Tibetan calendar or the Vikram Samvat calendar codify the "mythos" or the "mithas", directly contradicting the "itihaas" or the Gregorian calendar. That is also a case of the symbolic codifying the semiotic processes of orality through the festivals, like *sarul* in Jharkhand, *cham, chorten, Bhamchu* in Sikkim, and so on. Each of these festivals through dance, song, use of mask, rituals and customs relate to man's belief in primal forces in Nature and the attempt by the "pre-literate" culture to understand and interpret the same, through mythical archetypes of gods and goddesses. They speak of orality in time rapture, breaking the narcissistic

Historical gaze. These narratives confront us with several questions which Stiegler raises in *Technics and Time, 2* (16)

What is history of gazes, what are their stages, what is the first mirror? … These questions must be confronted in the name of the image itself, as the constituting of the imago across those reflections comprising the techniques of imagery: paintings, songs,   narratives, writings, photographs, cinematography, videography, television, numeric and analogo-numeric images – and to guide the modalities of identification and dissociation of these gazes "subject". .."

Mapping time cycles through oral cultural traditions

Time for official purposes is Gregorian, but time for connecting to one's roots is indigenous. So, in India, the calendar which is related to rites, rituals, festivals and myths is the Vikram Samvat, generally built around the lunar calendar. The grand narratives of history would be documented in the Gregorian Time, but the mythos or "mithas" would contribute to the dialectical Time. Agyeya's Samvatsar lectures, "Smriti aur Kaal" and "Smriti aur Desh" in *Smriticchanda* take up the category of time and space, and "together they subvert the monolithic centre of power represented by imperial epistemologies." (Jain 2006: 40). The measurement of time depends on various cultural traditions. Agyeya questions the singularity and certainty of Time in Gregorian paradigm, and argues for the simultaneity of multiple frameworks, in a similar manner Indranath Choudhury in his essay "Where Mirrors are Windows" (1989) argues for manifold possible narrative re-compositions within a "simultaneous order". Further Agyeya compares the Gregorian calendar with that of the Vikram Samvat. If we follow the Vikram Samvat, India was on the threshold of the twenty first century in 1942 and there is a difference of fifty-seven years between these calendars. The imposition of the Gregorian calendar has necessitated the dividing lines between the pre-

historical and the historical, the *purana*and *itihasa*. Jasbir Jain in her very perceptive and ground breaking essay on Agyeya, points out,

If we shift our history by fifty-seven years which VikramSamvat provides us, our   perspective would shift; and the time-lag theory would go for a toss. The fact s which   cramp our thinking are the idea of linearity, of an all-powerful notion of universality,   epistemological frameworks and the concept of progress, each one of them being   overloaded by political power. The challenge to this comes from diversity, cyclic time   and difference. It also comes from being located in a different, more immediate   perspective and through the presence of our cultural memories. (Ibid 41)

While discussing the second essay "Smriti aur Desh" ("Memory and Space"), Jain also points out the aspect of "time reversals", where we do not live in time, rather 'time lives in us'. This problematizes the definition of Time, (which Joyce calls "Ein's time" or relative time), and its connection with narrative and language of representation. If memory defines personal identity and language itself becomes the circumference of memory, to agree with Jain here, it contains within it the Wittgensteinian belief 'that the limits of one's language are the limits of one's world.' (Ibid 42)It also echoes George Steiner's contention in "The Language Animal", which constructs the relationship between language, memory and knowledge. What Wittgenstein and Steiner are trying to argue comes very close to Agyeya's conception of time with reference to India.   Memory is a chain of signifiers and signifieds in a continuous flow of creative cycles providing us with the "cognizance of time, history, literature and even the nature of reality". This brings us to consider space-time relationship. The myth of Vyasa narrating the *Mahabharata* and Ganesha penning it down could serve as a fine example of time in spatial dimension(s) of futuristic memory, in the instant of "present".   It

undercuts any linear perception and attributes to "simultaneity of perception", or "cosmic perception", or what in Steiglerian terms would be "cinematographic perception" of Time. To come back to what this has to do with orality and cultural space among various others, we could take up the phenomenological philosophical content in the Kalachakra festivals with their syncretic variations and added on flavours of imagination of the individual artist. One such example of a thangka is the one on the wall of the Tibetan Library in Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim or to be found in Tibetan Buddhist homes. This thangka could possibly serve to answer the rhetorical questions and illustrate the answers which Jain posits in her essay, we have been discussing so far: ". .. What phenomenological processes are at work in order to apprehend time? … What form do we have for space? … The awareness of expanding space can be experienced, but how do we articulate or express it?" (44)

This is a protective thangka depicting the 'Wheel of Life', which is to ward of an evil eye and to usher in prosperity. The central figure of the thangka depicts a fierce manifestation of Manjusri (who could be compared to Matangi in Hindu mythology and comes somewhat close to Diana in her masculinity in Greek mythology) or the masculine-feminine principle of human consciousness) as the universal tortoise in its ventral position. The god with a feminine name is surrounded by the flames of protection, and within the flames at the central point one finds the numerical signs of the nine influencing deities or "Nine Mewas". Surrounding these dieties are the four cosmic manifestations of wood (tree as the

sign), fire (the flames at the tortoise's head), Iron (sword as the sign), water (the blue at the base), earth (the four squares at the corners) and the twelve animal manifestations of the twelve offering goddesses representing both the twelve months and the twelve-year cycle. These offering deities are surrounded by the sign of the eight Trigram deities, who are surrounded by their four favourable and four unfavourable signs. The talisman of the Kalachakra deity is at the upper left corner, immediately below the sun, and the talisman of Padmasambhava, at the left corner, right below the moon. From left to right are the icons of Avalokiteshvara, Manjusri, and Vajrapani. The long signs at the right and left sides of the tortoise are the promissory signatures of the malignant deities of the six worlds, renouncing their evil powers. At the side, the arches of the tortoise's circumference are the signs of the seven days of a week, and Rahu is signified as the two wheel talismans of *Nag-rtis*, or the astrology of Directness.

Each of the icons, the designitself, have definite measurements, and intricate geometrical calculations. At the same time, they juxtapose the myth of the turning wheel with that of the cyclical Time and its manifold perceptions through phenomenological representation of the Tantric Buddhist philosophy. The tortoise holds within it the ruthless nature of Time and space in cosmic dimensions through the art of concrete symbols or signs. They render a cultural narrative through painting, which follows the oral tradition of the mythical belief of the tortoise and the cosmic image, rendering a simultaneity of perception (s) of otherness(s) of reality.

Conclusion

Redefining Orality in the age of Technology and its limitations along with desirability

Bernard Stiegler problematizes the issue of memory, its preservation in the age of technology in his essay, "The Orthographic Age" (2009), in a manner which

does not allow us for a straight forward solution to technology's desirability or non-desirability. If we consider the preservation of Indian classical music through electronically produced sounds, there is definitely an apparent discrepancy between the real "shruti" and the artificial one. The keyboard can never make up for the sound of stringed instruments like the sitar, veena, sarode, violin or folk instruments like *pahari sarangi, madaal, susira*. Keyboard fails to evoke the essence of the music produced through the instruments made from the ingredients in Nature, say wood for the *tumba*, gourd for the sitar, the horse's tail for the bow of the violin, deer skin for the *damphu*, etc.

The idea of "nada" (sound of the Bramha from the sacral chakra), related to "dhwani" (audible to others) suffers the loss of intensity and the connection between music, meditation and spirituality too is lost. Each of the Indian ragas in Indian classical music have different semitones (shrutis of the note), which can never be documented in a notation. The intricacies of mood and aesthetic contours would be absolutely flattened rendering a flawed "shruti". Indian classical music cannot be passed on in any other form than orality. The relationship between the Guru and shishya in the Indian context is a sacred one. It is not a sense of camaraderie in the western sensibility, rather it is one based on love and regard, in the intensity where the teacher is not just a "human resource", but the beloved, so beautifully expressed by Amir Khusro in his kawaali song dedicated to his Guru NizamuddinAulia in "Cchhap tilak sab cchini re/ Mos-e nainamilaike …" . Here "shruti" and "smriti" merge together in Sufi love to create "dhwani", where the signifier and the signified however share an intellectual and romantic union opening space(s) for cherished creativity in resplendent colours of aesthetic (sacred) imaginary. Such is also the relationship between the oral traditions of mantra whispered into the ear of the disciple in Shamanistic traditions, Buddhist, Sufi and Hindu spiritual traditions. What is sacred requires a semiotic communion,

between the signifier and the signified or the Guru and the Shisya, along with the oral communication from mouth to ear. Preservation, creativity and expansion work simultaneously here as explained earlier in the essay. One of the best examples of this phenomenon in western classical music is the scene in *Amadeus*, where Mozart in his death bed at one point of time communicates semiotically the notes which Salieri jots down in notations. So, for the accurate *recit*, there has to be accurate "dhwani" created in the mind of the receiver. Say, just as Vyas did not probably always speak but connected mentally with Ganeshato receive and render images, sounds and colours of a future vision to betranscribed and translated into a *recit*.

However, scientific techniques for purposes of archiving *are* necessary for the preservation of myths and history. There is a chance of their getting lost and distorted through time in the process of globalization, simulation and what is accepted as popular culture in the name of fusion brands of music, food, clothes, beliefs etc. Both tradition and individual talent which T.S. Eliot writes about and Tagore insists on, as the ideals of literacy and education, allow for preservation without a deadlock. Cultural exclusivism leads to its death in the long run; the flow of creativity through patches of otherness needs a synchronization to re-define aesthetics of the new text. In that case, we are prompted to question the desirability of artificial intelligence. Clinical memory is a fixity, it remains as a record of a certain time and history, not as a dead repository but as a route to a past and orality. Also, the graphic dimension of folk and oral narratives through technological revolution open up a new space for creativity which matches with the flow of time, and the requirements of the receptivity of the x and y generations. To explain further the role of artificial intelligence and orality, 'Mass Effect', a very popular sci fi game could be cited. In this game through certain simple mathematical calculations and use of reasoning faculty, the story could have

numerous endings. Also, the fact remains that these virtual world fictions are actually made by involving kids who are passionate computer explorers, across the globe, to create patches of their versions of the turn of the story. These are ultimately knit together by the games company in US to produce the final version, which as I referred to earlier could also have multiple endings. These games undoubtedly entrap the kid and adult alike from the real world to a make-believe virtual world. They could be questioned based on desirability, its limitations and harmful effects. However, it is time to ponder and question ourselves, whether in grandmother's tales, the objective was any different? In such cases, to the best of my belief, literacy using artificial intelligence intelligently for preservation and its reception in the contemporary society, probes new dimensions of creativity with the material of the oral traditions as its "index". This could be an exciting and promising field of narrative exploration and translation of fantasy.

This paper was presented at a Sahitya Akademi Seminar in the Department of Nepali, Sikkim University, in 2016.

Notes (literary texts)

1. In Ramkumar Mukherjee's *Dove or a Man.* transl. by Jayita Sengupta. New Delhi: LiFi Publications, 2016.

2. In *Short stories by Women from Bangladesh*, Edited by Firdous Azim and Niaz Zaman, Saqi Books, 2005. pp. 253-273

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Tracing the History and Evolution of *Pala*

Umesh **Patra**

Abstract

Pala is a unique folk theatre of Odisha. It is a syncretic art form which assimilates dance, drama, music, and oratory. It is also viewed as a communion of Hindu and Muslim faiths, and at the same time as an assimilation of various Hindu sects. In this paper, I endeavor to give a seemingly coherent shape to the bits and pieces I have gathered from my interviews of eminent Pala singers, study of extant books on Pala, the Odia translation of Kabikarna's *Sholapala*, observation of recorded *Pala* videos and, of course, the enjoyment of live Pala performances. In my quixotic attempt to trace its history, I do not fathom to chaff facts from fiction partly due to due to my conviction that in the distant horizon of past, facts and fiction commingle. I also offer an analysis of the present incarnation of *Pala* and its gradual evolution. This paper also analyzes the practical impediments *Pala* singers are facing today in their battle for survival.

Key Words: *Pala*, *Pali*, Satya-pir, *Sutradhar, Vidushaka*

1 Introduction

Every year during the festival of *Sarala Puja*, a makeshift platform is erected in the precincts of Sarala temple in sector-6 in Rourkela. A performance begins at around nine o'clock in the night and continues till dawn for consecutively four nights. Many nights I have spent in the enjoyment of these nocturnal performances called *Pala* with singing, dancing, oratory and raucous buffoonery. They have left an indelible impression on me and compelled me to engage in a formal research. Like most cultural artifacts, *Pala* too has contending and overlapping theories of origin and evolution. In Assam, Bengal and Odisha, the

term *Pala* has more or less the same signified as a musical folk theatre. There have been debates whether Odia *Pala* is a folk or a classical art; it's born in Hindu culture or as a communion of Hindu and Islamic faiths; it's a religious affair or a secular theatre. However, it is undisputed that

Odia *Pala* is the vehicle of the lived experience of Odia life which is a confluence of both Aryan and Dravidian cultures. Like the Odia deity Jagannath, Odia recipe *Dalma*, *Pala* too is a syncretic art, a convergence of many faiths and traditions.

2 Origin of Pala

2.1 *Pala* = *Pao* + *Lao*/ *Paa* + **Allah**

Mohammed Yamin (2009), in his book *Impact of Islam on Orissan Culture*, maintains that *Pala* "derived its origin from Hindu-Muslim unity" (p. vi). Pala has been considered as a form of syncretic worship of a hybrid deity called Satya-pir. It is also believed that *Pala* is a manifestation of Din-i-Illahi, a religion propounded by Akbar which assimilates the merits of various religions. Often a tale is heard that in a religious congregation, the Hindus offered the *prasad* (consecrated food) to the Muslims saying *Pao* (get it). The Muslims said *Lao* (bring it). The frequent utterance of *Pao* and *Lao* led to the coinage of the word *Pala*. It is also believed that Pala is a portmanteau word made of Paa (receive) and Allah.

2.2 *Pala* = *Pathya* + *Lasya*

As *Pathya* means literature and *Lasya* connotes dance, drama and music, *Pala* is conceived to be named so as it is a combination of all these elements. *Pala Gayaka* (singer) quotes from a variegated source of literature ranging from Sanskrit, Odia, Bengali, Hindi, Telegu, English and others. The *Pala* performers link metaphors from gastronomy to astronomy for a comic and elaborate rendition

of their tales. At the same time they narrate by means of enactment, music and stylized dance.

2.3 From *Panchali*

Panchali is made of two words: *Pancha* (five) + *ali* (congregation). Pala often begins with this versed dedicated to five deities:

Gane Narayane Rudre Ambike Bhaskare Tatha

Each deity had a cult of worshippers which vied for supremacy against each other. They were called *Gouna* (worshippers of Ganesh), *Vaishnava* (worshippers of Narayana or Vishnnu), *Roudra* (from Rudra), *Shakta* (from Shakti or Ambika), and *Soura* (worshippers of the Sun god). As *Pala* assimilates the worship of all these five deities, it might have been derived from the word '*Panchali*'.

2.4 From *Parjyaya*

Initially *Pala* was conducted like episodes where one *Gayaka* would leave a riddle to test the next singer. Solving it would prove the acumen of the next *Gayaka* who, at the end of his turn, would ask another riddle for his competitor. *Pala* continued episodically for days together and the one adjudged the best would be awarded by the patron. The Sanskrit word '*Parjyaya'* which means episode is therefore taken to be source word of *Pala*.

2.5 From *Pali*

Dhiren Dash (1984) maintains that "The word Pala has been derived from the word Pali" (p. 52). The term "Pali" came to connote a language since the 6th and 7th century A.D. prior to which it used to mean the original Buddhist texts and therefore was distinguished from the Buddhist commentaries, called the Attakatha. Dash (1984), therefore, finds a cousin of the Odia *Pala* in the Kathakali dance of Kerala which is the enactment of Attakatha.

"Pali" is defined as "Palyate iti pali"—that which saves or sustains is Pali. As the Buddhist doctrines sought to sustain the ethical values among citizens, their language was termed Pali (Dash, 1984. p. 77). Pali was also regarded as the ancient language of Kalinga or Odisha. Buddhist monks used to spread their doctrine by means of singing, dancing and elaborating on the esoteric *slokas* (verses) among the masses in the very language of the masses. Such was the earliest form of *Pala*. It continued till the invasion of Kalinga by Ashok. When Ashok embraced Buddhism, he eschewed from revelry and demanded moderation in all aspects in his kingdom. It had a lasting impact upon *Pala* and it became narration-centric. Later when Kharavela ascended the throne, the kingdom was bustling with theatre, music and dance. *Pala* regained its lost theatrical grandeur, yet the scholarship of the *Gayaka* remained the most significant component.

Gradually tantric practices entered Buddhism and led to its decline. Various deities of erstwhile Sanatan traditions gained prominence again and entered into Buddhist tantric practices. In 4th century AD, assimilation was attempted of five deities. Satyanarayana became a representative of the union of these five sects. His glory was narrated in Sanskrit and was explained to the masses in Prakrit. The singers sang these religious sagas with entertaining anecdotes in plain vernacular.

With gradual rise of Odia as an independent language, *Pala* was performed in Odia. With the Muslim occupation of Odisha an adjustment was required again. Therefore Satyanarayana became Satya-pir. Kabikarna wrote sixteen *Palas* narrating the glory of Satya-pir in a mixed language of Odia, Bengali and Parsi. Henceforth, *Pala* became a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity.

2.6 A Manifestation of *Gathagan*

Niranjan Panda (1986) traces the origin of *Pala* further back and considers it as a predecessor of *Nataka*. He claims that Pala owes its origin to *Gathagaan* (singing narratives) tradition in the Vedic period. *Gathas* were sung on the

occasions such as the coronation of kings, *Swayamvara* of princesses, name-giving ceremonies of children and the like. The literature in the Vedic period is replete with instances of such singing traditions. Laba and Kusha, sing the entire *Ramayana* in Rama's court. The child Nachiketa sings the Vedas at the door of Yamraj.

Later the singing of these tales became confined to the royal court where erudite scholars would employ rhetorical devices like pun, irony, metaphor, double entendres, extempore poetry, allegories. The royal public would derive pleasure by working out these riddle-like verses. The *Gatha* singers also had the freedom to quote other poets to vindicate their arguments and to make the performance interesting. They also provided witty answers to questions posed by courtiers. The kings and patrons would tolerate their sarcasm and savor their performances. Of special interest was the rivalry between two teams of singers.

This tradition was not so popular among the masses which derived simple pleasures by watching enactment of the lives of saints in form of *Natakas*. Gradually, *Gathagaan* might have come to the streets from the royal courts being inspired by the popularity of *Natakas*. *Pala*, Panda (1986) claims, is the result of the entrance of the *Gathagaan* tradition among the masses. The musical elements in *Gatha* later gave rise to *Leela* and *Suanga* performance in Odisha. In a *Nataka*, the preamble is set by the discussion between *Nata* and *Nati*. Similarly in Pala, the *Gayaka* would converse with the *Palias* regarding the tale to be narrated. He or she would also invoke the blessings of God and seek their prosperity.

3 Satya-pir and *Pala*

Satyanarayana or Satya-pir is the presiding deity of Pala. Satyanarayana is a Hindu deity mentioned in the *Skandha Purana* in Reva Khanda in four chapters.

Here I briefly mention the account of Satyanarayana as narrated in the book *Odisara Pala* (Panda & Dash, 1986. p. 18-22).

In the first chapter of *Skandha Purana*, it is depicted that Satyanarayana, in guise of an old Brahmin, teaches the rituals of his worship to a poor Brahmin in Kashi. As the Brahmin performs the rituals, he is blessed by Satyanarayana and becomes prosperous. According to the second chapter, the aforementioned Brahmin offers the *prasad* (consecrated food) of the worship to a poor wood-cutter and advises him to worship the deity himself. The wood-cutter does as told and becomes prosperous. The third chapter narrates the tale of a childless *Sadhava* (maritime trader) who vows to worship Satyanarayana if he gets a child. Subsequently, his wife begets a daughter and reminds him of his vow. The *Sadhava* delays the worship and wishes to perform it when his daughter gets married. When he fails to perform it for the second time, his family encounters a series of hardships eventually resolved as the *Sadhava* worships the deity. In this story too, *Satyanarayana* appears as an old Brahmin. In the fourth chapter, an arrogant king ignores the worship of Satyanarayana and suffers the loss of his kingdom and children. He worships Satyanarayana after the latter bids him, in the guise of an old Brahmin. As he does so, he regains his lost wealth.

The story of Satyanarayana falls under the common rubric of *Puranas* which promulgate the cult of one god or the other and thrive on the fear and faith of believers. The cult of goddess Santoshi worshipped on Fridays, Goddess Khudurukuni worshipped by maidens in rural Odisha in the month of August, Lord Shani worshipped on Tuesday are but a few of the countless examples of such cults. The story of Satya-pir is also modeled in this structure.

When Odisha was captured by the Muslims, the fear of persecution led to the creation of Satya-pir, a hybrid deity born out of the synthesis of Hindu

Satyanarayana and Musilim *Pir*. This new god needed a birth story. Here is one of the stories of the birth of Satya-pir.

Peerjada, the King of Macau had a daughter named Sahjadi. The girl once went to a pond to bathe with her friends and was enchanted by an extra-ordinary lotus flower. Her friends brought the flower to the princess who conceived a child just by smelling it. The king came to know of her pregnancy and was determined to sentence her to death, but changed his mind by the advice of his minister. The princess was imprisoned. In the prison, Satya-pir took birth and told her that he is born to save the world, and vanished. There were rumors that the princess gave birth to a child and ate it. Subsequently, the king left his daughter in the forest to be eaten by predators. Satya-pir asked Viswakarma to create a Palace in the jungle for his mother. After some days, two tigers created turbulence in the kingdom of Peerjada. The king arrived to confront the two. The tigers ran to the jungle near the residence of the princess. The king saw the palace and assumed that the princess has earned the wealth by immoral means. He attempted to kill the princess but Satya-pir appeared and sought to kill the king himself. However, he relented at the behest of his mother. He asked the king to arrange for the worship of Satya-pir for the wellbeing of the world.

The tale of Satya-pir tale was proliferated thus. Various stories were written related to the birth and miracles of Satya-pir. The most prominent of those are the *Sholapalas* (sixteen Palas) by Kabikarna. As the poet calls these tales *Palas*, it's logical to assume that *Pala* existed as an established genre before the composition of *Sholapala*. Like the hybrid god, the language of the composition was a mixture of Odia, Bengali and Parsi. Some instances are:

> *Ami sehi devata alekha nirakara*
>
> *Swarga martya rasatale karani amara*
>
> *Jagannath rupe ami Odisha re aar*

Hindu Musalman sabu kari ekakar…

Dariyate darubrahma rupeta bhasena

Padma fula rupa haia satyanarayana (Qtd in Panda & Das, 1986. p. 25)

I am that deity beyond description and shape

My abode is the Swarga, Martya and Rasatala

I reside in Odisha in form of Jagannath and

I unite both Hindu and Muslim

I floated in the ocean in form of the sacred log

I am Satyanarayana in form of a Lotus (my translation)

Kabikarna's *Palas* were permeated with the belief in the equality of both faiths. Jagannath was a constant trope for the unification of various faiths in Odisha. Prabhat Mukherjee (1981) says, "every religious movement, which flooded in Orissa at a certain period of history, established its sway in the temple-precincts of Jagannath; and when the flood subsided, it had left water-marks within the temple-precincts" (p. 1). No wonder that Satya-pir has often been compared to Jagannath as well. Another line from the *Sholapala* runs like this:

Alekher mahima ke bolte pari,
Turk take Khoda kole, Hindu bole Hari (Arun Panda, 2013)

-How to relate the glory of Alekh?

Turk calls him Khoda and Hindu calls Hari. (my translation)

The worship of Satya-pir usually ended with singing of songs accompanied by Mridangam and cymbals. This has led many to believe that what we call *Pala* today is just the gradual metamorphosis of Satyanarayana worship. Niranjan Panda (1986) cogently argues that Satyanarayana has been worshipped in various parts of the country. Yet, nowhere else an art form has emerged with such a subtle

confluence of literary and theatrical traditions. Secondly, while Satyanarana worship is strictly a religious affair concerned with encomium of the deity, *Pala* discusses various gods and goddesses. Thirdly, the narrative in Pala is not confined to religious mythologies alone, but dwells chiefly on the larger panorama of human life. He asserts that *Pala* and Satyanarayana worship are two different traditions. He considers Pala to be an original Odia art form which assimilated the worship of Satyanarayana as its presiding deity, but existed much before it. After the British occupied Odisha, the fear or Muslims disappeared and thus Satya-pir receded to the background. He just remained the presiding deity of the Pala, but gave way to major Hindu myths for the content.

4 *Pala*: A Critique

In Bengal *Palagaan* is a generic term "covering a wide range of oral narrative, music and theatrical traditions" (Lal, 2004. p. 330). In Assam, *Pala-Bhaona* is an assemblage of *Jatra*, *Oja-pali* and *Ankia bhaona* traditions in Assam. It begins with a prayer to Lord Ganesha followed by the advent of *Viveka*, a unique character of Assamese Pala usually essayed by a young girl. *Viveka* announces the entry and exit of principal characters on stage, converses with both the audience and characters, and performs stylized dance. *Pala-Bhaona* uses costume, stage design and a greenroom. It uses a variety of traditional and modern musical instruments such as khola, tala, harmonium, tabla, flute, thamak, ektara, cassio and others. The actors wait for their turn in the green room and appear on the stage with the cue from *Viveka*. As the entire dialogue is in verse form, it can also be called a *Giti Natya* (verse play) (Goswami, 2009).

By *Pala*, I refer to the *Thia Pala* (Standing *Pala*) performed is Odisha by usually five to sex performers. When two *Pala* teams engage in a war of wit, it is called *Badi Pala* (Competing *Pala*). There is also a variant called *Baithaki Pala*

(Sitting *Pala*) which is just the recitation of the Odia translation of *Sholapala* depicting the glory of Lord Satya-pir occasionally accompanied by cymbals and Mridangam. There is no element of dramatization involved here.

In "*Thia Pala*" (called simply "*Pala*"), we see an astounding synthesis of singing, dancing, acting, chanting, oratory and literature. The performers are: the *Gayaka* (main singer and *Sutradhar*); the *Badaka* (the Mridangam player); and the four *Palias* who sing, dance and play the brass cymbal. The *Palias* are: the *Sripalia*, the leader of the chanting group; the *Vidushaka* (the clown); the fellow *Palia* who has the most beautiful voice for songs and lyrics; the dancing *Palia* who leads the dance duets or group dances; and the *Palia* who performs female roles.

Pala begins with the chanting by *Palias* with the accompaniment of Mridangam and cymbals. It is followed by the ceremonial entrance of the *Gayaka* who pays obeisance to the deities and the audience, and wishes their wellbeing. This ritualistic worship of deities in the beginning of performances is to be observed in various classical and folk theatres which have their origin in the *Purvaranga* of the *Natyashastra*. In *Pala*, this is known as *Mangalacharana* which has two parts. In *Namaskaratmaka Mangalacharana*, the Gayaka pays homage to all the audience, the organizers, the deities and everyone concerned with the performance by means of an elaborate recitation of verses. Then in *Asirvadatmaka Mangalacharana*, the *Gayaka* wishes their well being in similar fashion. After spending an hour on the preliminaries, the *Gayaka* delves into the main narrative either pre-conceived by him or suggested by the audience members.

While narrating a tale, let's say *Satyabadi Harischandra*, the *Gayaka* assumes the role of Harischandra and the *Palias* become the subsidiary characters. There are constant role-changes and role-reversals. The acting is also interrupted by elucidation of specific verses, songs and dances. Acting in *Pala* is gestural. Gestures are symbolic. Coomaraswamy rightly translates *Abhinaya Darpana* as the

Mirror of Gesture. As a blend of both classical and folk theatre, the gestures of *Pala* do not strictly adhere to the classical rules; yet they show a marked lineage from them. For example, to depict a river, the *Gayaka* would move both his palms in form of waves. To suggest Krishna, the *Gayaka* would stand in the traditional Krishna pose with his fingers on lips resembling the flute. At a gesture from the singer, the Badaka would start playing his Mridangam, and the *Palias* would start singing in accompaniment to the beating of cymbals. When the beat riches its crescendo, suddenly the *Gayaka* would perform a stylized jump and the music will stop with a bang. The more talented a *Gayaka* is the more gestural are his actions.

Pala is a minimalistic theatre. It makes no use of stage craft or role-specific costumes. The stage is an empty one without curtains or background surrounded by audience on all sides. In rural areas, *Pala* is often performed on a demarcated parallel ground set apart only by matting on the floor. Such a stage requires a performance addressed to people in all directions. The dancer often orbits the stage and the *Gayaka* takes a full circle to address everyone. The only prop used by the performers is the *Chamara* or flywhisk which can be compared to the *Danda* (stick) in Odia *Dandanata* or the *zarzara* mentioned in the *Natyashastra*. The performers make extensive use of the *Chamara*. For example, in the *Pala Satyabadi Harischandra*, the king would hand over the *Chamara* as a symbol of the crown. In one scene it will become the celestial bow of Rama, in another the trident of Shiva.

The interaction between the erudite *Gayaka* or the *Sutradhar* and the *Vidushaka* often played by *Sripalia* achieves the blend of the sacred and the profane, the human and the divine. *Sutradhar* and *Vidushaka* are two traditional figures of Indian theatre. In the words of Kapila Vatsayan (1980):

Indeed the Sutradhara is used as an important device for interlinking phases and as chorus; the Vidushaka is used to connect two dimensions of time, the past

and the present. The world of god and men is brought together by them, with freedom and sharp innovative skills which lends the air for earthly concern for the immediate life around. (p. 13)

The *Gayaka* is the leader of the troupe, the principal actor and director. He is also a virtuoso dancer and singer. The *Gayaka* is a meticulous researcher as well. His brain is the store house of various *slokas* from myriad *Puranas*, Upanishads, *Alankara Shastras*, literature and even film songs. He leads the chorus singing and has a knack of extempore poetry. He is solemn and immensely patient. *Vidushaka* is a disobedient disciple, an unruly child, who takes delights in the amoral enjoyment of mundane pleasures. He believes in what appears to eyes. The Odia proverb says about the ideal disciple:

Jaha na dekhiba beni nayane

Parate na jiba guru bachane

What you haven't seen with the eyes

Do not believe even if Guru testifies *(my translation)*

The *Gayaka* and the *Vidushaka* are complementary to each other. By misinterpreting verses, asking imbecile questions, mimicking people and manners, referring to contemporary reality, he does not dissuade but compels the *Gayaka* to elaborate on complex issues. He treats gods and legendary figures like persons on the street. If the *Gayaka* speaks the spiritual truth, *Vidushaka* interprets it in the pragmatic realm. For instance, in one *Pala*, a pleased audience member offered a garland with a currency note stuck on it. The *Gayaka* blessed the patron with his *Chamara*, and prayed for his well-being to the almighty in all solemnity. But, the *Vidushaka* cheekily uttered, "What's the use of buying the garland? We would love to take the extra cash instead of the garland". He was immediately silenced by the *Gayaka* but not before cracking a laughter riot among the audience. A garland as a

badge of honor holds no value to the practical *Vidushaka* who has to board the train in a crowded general compartment after the show is over.

One of the most alluring features of *Pala* is what people call *rasabhanga* or the dissolution of *rasas*. When *Gayaka*, in the role of Harischandra, would ask his parting wife of the last gift she needs from her husband, the *Vidushaka* in the role of his wife would say, "I like to eat *dahivada* (a street food) of this place, let's order a plate". This utterance would not only transport the audience from the pathetic to the comic but also from the fiction to the tangible contemporary world. The crude, irreverent buffoonery of the *Vidushaka* in the pinnacle of tragic discourse binds together the sublime and the carnivalesque.

5 Recent Changes and Concerns

Within the span of a century there have been many changes in the performance of *Pala*. Till the twentieth century, Pala singers wore the royal attire with royal *Pagadis*, earrings and *tika* on their forehead. Such attire was also feminine. Being asked the reason for such getup, Jagannath Behera (2014) said that *Pala* singers aspired for a union with Krishna who rendered all humans female. Today, Pala singers choose dhoti and kurta over the flashy costume of lost monarchy.

While earlier the Pala singers used to delineate only mythological stories, today historical and semi-mythical stories are also used. The biggest change has occurred in the very structure of *Pala*. According to Prasant Nath Sharma (2014), *Pala* resembled theatre during 1960 to 1980. After 1980s, it has become more akin to *Prabachana* (preaching). Earlier Pala used to be one of the very few forms of entertainment for the rural folks. Today it finds uneven competition from audio-visual and digital media. According to Sharma (2014), in order to fit into the decreasing durations, they are compelled to do away with extraneous use of music,

comedy and ancillary materials. Recently, I watched two *Palas* of four hours each solely built on the elucidation of the cult of Jagannath. Bereft of plot, characters and theatrical conflict, these performances were merely the display of who knows how much. Today humor is considered redundant and digressive in the intellectual discussion of Pala. Even though such a practice would require immense perseverance on the part of the *Gayaka*, it would eventually be much the poorer.

The last two decades have also seen an upsurge in the popularity of spiritual gurus in India. In religious congregations called *Satsang*, acclaimed Gurus are invited by wealthy patrons to preach to urban followers. The advent of new satellite channels have but provided new space to these spiritual programs. Apart from 24/7 spiritual channels, news and entertainment also air many spiritual programs with an acclaimed preacher. It is no wonder that the poor *Pala* singer is lured to minimize theatrical and adopt the spiritual to ensure a better livelihood. If *Pala* becomes yet another commodity of this growing spiritual market, it will no longer retain its artistic dimension.

Due to its synthesis of various traditions, it is difficult to classify Pala into any one genre like music or theatre or literature. Dhiren Dash (1986) made an appeal that Pala singers be considered for recognition by both Sahitya Akademy and Sangeet Nataka Akademi. Till now Jagannath Behera is the only *Gayaka* to be awarded by Kendra Sahitya Akademi for his contribution in the field of art. It's high time that the labor and art of the practitioners of this ancient art be given due recognition.

There have been some signs of hope lately. Ravenshaw University, Cuttack has continually organized Pala competitions where they train and evaluate Pala troupes and bestow awards. Recently the government of Odisha created awareness about Polio and Aids among rural people through *Pala* singers. Some *Pala* programs are being aired on television and some are available on *YouTube*. More

remains to be done of course. A *Pala* Akademy or workshop at least should be created to train people this art which can be rendered in many languages. In his interview, Jagannath Behera (2014) recounted with pride that he performed a *Pala* entirely in English in front of President Pratibha Patil for half an hour when he was awarded the Sahitya Akademy Prize.

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Ramayana to *Lok Ramayana*: an Act of Contemporizing Sacred Texts through *Lok*(cal) Practices

Kapil Sagrolikar

The focus of my paper is located on the difference between grand narratives like *Ramayana*[i] and the efforts of little narratives like *Jatyavarachya Ovya*[ii] in making the grand narratives accessible to every individual across India and contemporizing it. This paper studies *Ramayana* and its stories dealt in the oral narrative of Maharashtra women: *Jatyavarachya Ovya*. In this paper I have taken some of the stories that are associated with the female characters like Mandodari, Sita, etc and some of the incidences in order to throw light on the way songsters of *Jatyavarachya Ovya* have successfully discussed the status of women depicted in the *Ramayana* and to do so how they have localized and contemporized such narratives through renewing, refining and redefining the *Ramayana* which are later on studied as separate version of *Ramayana* as *Lok Ramayana*. In order to substantiate my point I shall put forward the discussion between me and one of the songsters of *Jatyavarachya Ovya* and how they have taken the task of transmitting knowledge of *Ramayana* and other Indian epic *Mahabharata*[iii] among the younger generation and how they have succeeded doing this. In order to make my contention explicable I have divided paper in two part: part one deals with the difference between Valmiki *Ramayana* and *Lok Ramayana* and the later part discusses my conversation with one of the songsters of *Jatyavarachya Ovya* which is very significant to trace the necessity and significance of *Lok Ramayana* in contemporizing sacred texts like *Ramayana*, etc.

Part I : **Difference between *Ramayana* and *Lok Ramayana***

Ramayana though attributed to one sage, has been retold, re-narrated, written and rewritten in many regional languages of India. Much before its first composition by Valmiki, stories of *Ramayana* had been there, contends Devdutt Patnaik in his book *Sita: an Illustrated Retelling of Ramayana*, in the form of Srutis or orally transmitted songs and tales. These Sruti stories transmitted from one person to another, or from one generation to another have been called *Lok Ramayana*. *Lok Ramayana* had been sidelined after the Valmiki *Ramayana* due to Valmiki's ability to compile all these scattered Sruti stories (of *Ramayana*) into one entity giving it the importance as authentic *Ramayana*. Apart from the compilation there are other reasons too which had its share in the sidelining of the traditional *Lok Ramayana* and bestowing more privileges to Valmiki *Ramayana*. The formation of *Ramayana* did not stop with the compilation. In addition to that Valmiki held together these stories through the meta narrative into an epic literary form. He dealt with them with the added celestial, godly, and magic realism qualities. This and other such attributions like- Valmiki *Ramayana*'s wide availability in the written or printed form have made Valmiki *Ramayana* as the *Ramayana* or the authentic *Ramayana* in essence. On the other hand *Lok Ramayana* being merely small scattered stories had been marginalized throughout history. Even in the medieval and modern times different regional writers and translators have copied Valmiki *Ramayana* as authentic one to translate it into different regional languages for example, Sant Eknath's Marathi *Ramayana* version *Bhavarth Ramayana*. What *Lok Ramayana* has lost, Valmiki *Ramayana* earned and vice versa.

Though Valmiki *Ramayana* is regarded as the authentic *Ramayana,* redundancy became its major loophole. On the other hand *Lok Ramayana* had

undergone certain necessary and timely changes and modification in tune with the needs of the social betterment, kept the sruti stories up-to-date and cast away its outdated redundancy. *Lok Ramayana* is composed by masses that incorporate matters of everyday practices. Here is an instance where an incidence in a farm is narrated by Marathi women in Jatyavarchya Ovya:

> *Ravanachya bagamandi vaner he ala bhari*
>
> *Ravanachya bagamandi vaner he ala bhari*
>
> *Ghali shepatachi hadi, zade hasdun padi*
>
> *zade hasdun padi, zade hasdun padi.*
>
> *Ravanachya bagamandi, Marvati hay bhukela*
>
> *He tar padlya phalachi, aadnya magto Sitela*
>
> *He tar padlya phalachi, adnya magto Sitela.*
>
> *Marvati raja mhane bhuk lagli Sita maye*
>
> *Marvati raja mhane bhuk lagli Sita maye*
>
> *Baag vairyacha ahe, padlele phal khay*
>
> *Baag vairyacha ahe, padlele phal khay.*

In the above lines songsters deal with two things: first is the Ramayana incident of Hanumana going to Lanka, meeting Sita in Asoka Vana, destroying the trees, and seeking Sita's permission to eat the fruits. Secondly they transfer this incidence by contemporizing it through telling the real incident that took place at their agricultural field where one hungry monkey dropped all the fruit of a tree and then looked at this woman songster. She thought as if that monkey is seeking her permission to eat the fruit that fell on the ground. She furthers says that the permission you are seeking from me is meaningless as she is just a worker at this agricultural field. To convey this point she says that though you asked me

permission I have no right to say yes because this land belongs to some other people as Asoka vana belongs to Ravana. In this way she equates Ravana with the land owner who is her enemy or vairi. This and other such stories have been retold by the songsters separately. Most of the scenes of the grand narrative *Ramayana* have been coloured with local, daily, day-to-day life examples. Without letting the listeners know that they are becoming a part of grand narrative, songsters through the little narratives like *Jatyavarachya Ovya* have put the *Ramayana* into the hearts and minds of the listeners. To put it in other words, *Lok Ramayana* being ubiquitous, local and channelized through day to day habitual actions has been nurtured, implanted, transferred and thus contemporized through the mini narratives like *Jatyavarachya Ovya* which catered audience by fusing it with local flavour and daily practiced incidents.

Both Local and *Lok* are involved in this type of *Ramayana* which brought it closer to the hearts and minds of the common people. That is to say the gap between Valmiki *Ramayana* and *Lok Ramayana* has been the split between an upper class and the lower. Valmiki *Ramayana* was literary, elite and saksritized composed for the elite, educated, and well off which had an author or patent to dealt with the high class people of the society. On the contrary *Lok Ramayana* was the outcome of the mass, common, general people who do not own the authorship and patency and moreover who don't even mind to transfer the ability to reproduce the *Ramayana* stories to the following generation. Thus to cut the long story short, I would say that it was *Lok Ramayana* and not the Valmiki *Ramayana* which has been into the hearts and minds of the common people and which has been carried forward throughout history. But the credit is given to the Valmiki *Ramayana* as the source of *Ramayana* stories that are ubiquitously known to every individual. Even modern electronic media had its share in upholding and assigning the Valmiki *Ramayana* as the source of known *Ramayana* by basing their productions on it.

Lok Ramayana has been refined, redefined and distilled. The following song does talk about again two things: one Sita's relationship with Kaikayi and the other one, songster's exploitation at her in-law's house. Songster compares the *Ramayana* incident of Kaikayi and Sita's relationship to her relationship with her mother-in-law. In both the cases daughters suffer at the hands of their mothers-in-law. On the one hand songster in the very first two lines deals with the daily household works that she has to do everyday from dawn to dusk which makes her to forget on the one hand to pray as "ramram" and on the other hand to please or serve her husband. So the word "ramram" here stands for both the activities: praying in the name of 'ram' and Sita's or a wife's wifely services. Furthermore songster complains to Ram (on behalf of Sita) or to her own husband of his ignorance of his mother's (domestic) violence (words like: 'marat-jhodat' or 'Sitabai rade ticha radna aika' or 'dagdachi keli ushi') on her despite her everyday hardship. Precisely speaking women of Maharashtra through the medium of *Ovya* (un)willingly contemporized and made use of sacred textual characters and incidences widely in order to compare and resemble those incidences and characters with their everyday life.

> *Sakali uthuni mi tar ramram visarli*
>
> *Asturi janma kamdhandyala guntali.*
>
> *Ram tujhi Sita Mahadevachi Parvati*
>
> *Sanyashi basla jodya bigar Maruti.*
>
> *Sitala sasarvas Ram tula kay kale*
>
> *Vanachi vanaphale rasrumali ka gale.*
>
> *Sita sange katha ram vachvito pothi*
>
> *Kavadchya aade kengahya kan deti.*
>
> *Sitala sasarvas neli marat jhodat*
>
> *Sadodyachya panavari geli akshar kadhat.*

Sitabai rade ticha radna aika

Hichya sobatni bori vaghuli bayka.

Sitala sasarvas dagdachi keli ushi
Evadhya airanat (aranyat) tula zop ali kasha?
Paus padto mirugh adhi rohinicha
Palna halto bhau aadhi bahinicha.
Sakali uthuni jhadu devacha devhara
Anjanichya poti dev Maruti Kuvara.

Thus this chunk of the *Ramayana* story has been transferred through Jatyavarachya Ovya from the elder women folk to the younger. In this and other songs like this women put stress on two people: Maruti and her children (Lav-Kush). They confide in Maruti because it was Maruti who came to Sita's rescue when she was in trouble. The women too seek a Maruti in their lives to rescue them from their ordeal. The second part of this paper deals the significance of her children Luv and Kush in Sita's life and also in the life of common Hindu woman.

Part II: **Why *Lok Ramayana* and not *Ramayana*? A Conversation**

While conversing with one of the songsters I have come across with an interesting thing which highlights the *Lok Ramayana* and its importance in the life of songsters, how they keep this genre alive through their folksong culture and why women incorporate the *Ramayana* stories into their singing. Though Valmiki *Ramayana* has overshadowed *Lok Ramayana* with the facilitation of electronic media, *Lok Ramayana* has not been an outdated phenomenon for the common people. This *Lok Ramayana* and not any other *Ramayana* was significant for them. Because according to her, *Lok Ramayana* is the known and generally accepted *Ramayana* for them which has been transferred to them by their ancestors and it is their duty to transmit the same knowledge among the younger generation with the

same intensity. In order to pass these sruti *Ramayana* stories they correlate them with their daily habitual activities, local practices, etc. she further contended that the Twenty-First century generation does not know what is *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata* and "Pothi Purana". Hence she said that it is their duty to impart the knowledge associated with the Hindu sacred texts like *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, etc. to the next generation. And when she was asked about how they do that, her answer was interesting. She said that they pick small stories and incidences, weave them along the songs and narrate them to the younger generation. In addition to that she says that the younger generation get to know the sacred knowledge playfully (playfully in the sense that they listen to songs and (un)knowingly get the knowledge imparted).

Following is the song followed by a narration done by the songsters.

Bara varsh zale bai, Kapalala kunku nahi

Kapalala kunku nahi, Bara varsh zale ga bai

Bai nahi, an kapalala kunku nahi.

Sita baicha vanvas, zalaya ga sandobandhi

Sandobandhi, an Rama hote Dhundimandi

Dhundimandi, an Sita hoti Jwani mandhi

Sita hoti Jwani mandhi, an Rama hote Dhundimandi

Dhundimandi, Rama hote Dhundimandi.

Sita baicha vanvas, asa kiti divaaila

asa kiti divaaila, Lahu potalayeila

Lahu yeila an sud ramacha gheil.

asa kiti divaaila, Lahu potalayeila

Lahu ye ga lavhalyacha, Lahu ye ga lavhalyacha.

An Kush bal sita baicha, sita baicha

An Kush bal sita baicha, Sita baicha vanvas, asa kiti divaail.

Sita bai cha vanvas, kukachya dabyapai

Bara varsh zale bai, kapalala kunku nahi

Ek nahi an kapalala kunku nahi

Sita bai kuku leti, jasa gandha tikla

jasa gandha tikla, he tikla an ravan matacha ekla.

Sita bai kuku leti, jas nagelicha pan,

ek pan, kapatya ga ravanane

kapatya ga ravanane, gela kuka vari dhyan

ek dhyan,an gela kuka vari dhyan.

Sita baicha vanvas, asa kiti divaila

Sita bai balatin, tichya balachya jivana

Het van, todi palsacha pan

Het pan, an todi palsache pan

Aronya ga vana madhi, bori babhla halti

Re halte, an sita palna jhokiti

Sita palna jhokiti, lahu ani ankusacha

Ankusacha, sita palna jhokiti.

The story she narrates goes in conjunction with the above song like this- when Sita was rescued from Ravana, Rama abandons her for her being defiled. Henceforth she stays in the same Aranya even after the end of fourteen years exile bestowed upon Rama whom she accompanied. But even during the vanvasa stay she was spied by Rama and her every act has been reported to Rama. And the later part of the above song is the description given to Rama where they say that in the Aranya or forest where Sita is staying, they have heard of two children swinging, etc. and the beginning part of the song is Sita's outcry on Rama's departure leaving Sita all alone in the forest. In this narration this songster also talks about a

generally accepted Hindu social norm that a woman's vanvas or exile or suffering in general does not end unless and until she begets a son. That is the reason why they (songsters) have special longing to the Lav-Kush and whenever they are exploited, they either sing songs pleading for Hanumana who is their true friend, and/or Lav-Kush for they represent the male-children because of whom Sita retains her previous honour as Rama's wife. Woman in general through mentioning the Lav-Kush actually hopes for their better life at least after they beget male-child.

Conclusion

Towards the end of this paper, I would like to say that women in Maharashtra through their folksong culture, namely, *Jatyavarachya Ovya*, have preferred to incorporate *Lok Ramayana* in order to impart the knowledge present in the sacred scriptures like *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and other such sacred scriptures (in their words "pothi purana")

The first part demarcates and deliberates between Valmiki *Ramayana* and *Lok Ramayana* and why Lok Ramayana is more significant in the study of contemporizing the Indian sacred texts like *Ramayana*. My discussion with the songster provided enough information to say that songsters use(d) to incorporate *Ramayana* stories and impart the knowledge pertaining to the Hindu scriptures and while doing so they have contemporized these sruti *Ramayana* stories through the folk media like *Jatyavarachya Ovya*.

End note

[1] *Ramayana* is one of the Epics ever composed in India. *Ramayana* has many versions but in this paper I am dealing with the authentic one composed by Valmiki. Here after different characters from this epic will do appear in this paper like- Sita, Rama, Maruti or Hanumana, Ravana, Mandodari, Lav-Kush and so on.

[1] *Jatyavarchya Ovya* are those songs which are sung on the grind mill during grinding the grains by the women of the rural Maharashtra. In English it is being translated either as "Grind mill songs" or "songs of the grind mill".

[1] *Mahabharata* is the second Epic composed in India by Vyasa. In this paper I shall be incorporating the name of this epic only when I talk about Indian epic in general

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Complementary Nature of 'Oral' and 'Written' Literature: Application of Ruth Finnegan's Idea on Maharashtrian Folk Art

Banekar Tushar

Abstract

'Oral' literature and 'written' literature are always being compared for their different characteristics. Most of the scholars see these two terms contrary to each other rather than complementary. Hence, what is not 'oral' becomes 'written' and what is not written that becomes 'oral'. But when we look at such distinctions several questions arise in our mind- is it as real as it appears? Are these boundaries concrete? Do they always have to stand against each other? Or is there any other way or approach to look at these two concepts as complementary to each other? This paper is an attempt to answer such questions that we need to consider before we approach to 'oral' or 'written' literature through two different spectacles with some layers of prejudices on them. In order to do so, I will make an attempt to go back to some Maharashtrian Folk arts to see how the boundary between 'oral' and 'written' has disappeared with the use of some of the concepts from Ruth Finnegan's *How Oral is Oral Literature*.

Key Words: Oral, Written, Art, Media

Let me begin with the definition of the terms. The term 'literature' is derived from the Latin *literaturae* which means "writings". It is commonly used to designate fictional and imaginative writings – poetry, prose fiction, and drama (Abrams 156). Here, the dominance of the word 'written/writing' in most of the definitions of literature must be noticed. Because it indicates literature means majorly something that is written down or scripted. Though the 'oral' is also accepted as a part of literature, it has always stood on the periphery compared to

'written'. The University of Cambridge Yale says that "oral literature refers to any form of verbal art which is transmitted orally or delivered by word of mouth." (http://www.oralliterature.org/). Whereas the Encyclopaedia Britannica says Orality, in other terms oral tradition, refers to a dynamic and highly diverse oral-aural medium for evolving, storing, and transmitting knowledge, art, and ideas. It is not surprising that oral literature is sometimes used interchangeably with *folklore*.

It has been an unconscious effort to look at 'oral' literature through all those old conventional understanding of the term and that could be a reason Finnegan expresses his doubt about accepting the contrasting types, i.e. 'oral' and 'written', as universal. Because it is always difficult to go with the assumption that one (oral) is more organic and close to nature, untouched by mechanization, advanced technology, and mass culture. (he calls this 'type A' society), and the other (written) as literate, which is dominated by the tradition of the written word; secular and rationalistic; oriented towards achievement and individual development; highly mechanized, perhaps artificial, and well-developed technology (he calls this 'type B' society).

Ruth Finnegan puts forth an interesting idea that both 'oral' and 'written' literature may be considered two poles with a continuum between, or as a model to illuminate reality, it would be more useful if we have a comparative perspective. There is always a time when the boundaries go narrow or dissolve. Let us look at some examples...

Lavani [1]is a very famous folk art form in Maharashtra. It constitutes the beautiful combination of traditional song and dance, which is particularly performed to the enchanting beats of '*Dholak*', and a drum like instrument. The

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[1] *Lavani* is a popular genre of music in Maharashtra. It is a combination of traditional song and dance, which is particularly performed to the beats of *Dholki*, a percussion instrument. It is also noted for its powerful rhythm.

dance is performed by attractive women wearing *navvari* (nine-yard sari). It has been a major part of entertainment for people. The writers (male/female) hardly think of *Lavani* being read by people. They are more careful about the performing aspect of it. Though it is considered one of the most important folk arts in Maharashtra, it does not purely and completely belong to 'oral'. The writers might never think of their readers but the spectators (target group) and performers. Their focus is on the end product, i.e. the delivery of *Lavani* through performance, because these two are integral elements of each other which can hardly be separated. The same written script of *Lavani* is useful in transferring it orally to the audience, generally, by a female singer. We can take an example of *Lavani* that is being used in the movie 'Natrang[2]'. Guru Thakur, a lyricist who wrote *Lavani* songs for the film, says that it is about the demand or situation for which you write something and *Lavani* is no exception to that. Thus, before a writer writes he/she needs to consider a lot of things such as characters, situation/setting, language, form, medium etc.

It would be really a pessimistic thinking if we say that the 'type A' society is only one obvious context/setting for oral literature and is in fact its natural context, because such assumptions gives a deceptive impression of the nature and practice of oral literary doings. For example different cults of *jogata/jogatin* [3]perform some religious rituals on different occasions like *pooja*, *mela* (or religious occasions) etc. They dance, sing and/or narrate the story of goddess *Yellamma* to the crowd and try to please the goddess so that they can get blessings from her. People always need not to travel back into the ages in search of such religious or tradition-bound setting to reach these kinds of performances. In this modern and technological time it is quite easy to get access to them through different kind of media, such as movie

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[2] *Natarang* is a 2010 Indian Marathi film directed by Ravi Jadhav. It is based on 1978 Marathi novel by Dr. Anand Yadav.

[3] A male/female child offered or dedicated to the goddess *Yellamma*, respectively.

(e.g. *Jogwa*), local/global cultural performances (http://www.thehindu.com/), on different occasions such as *Mysore Dasara 2014* (http://mysoredasara.gov.in/). Thus the content remains the same but the setting changes. Therefore, it is pointless to give unnecessary stress on the naturalness and purity of oral literature. The time requires us to understand the importance of complementary nature between the oral and written.

Another example will help us to get more clear idea on the same issue. *Lavani*, which used to be a part of entertainment only for soldiers, is being widely used in different media- movies, cultural programs, schools, ceremonies, marriages etc., and by different people. These many variations we have got in terms of setting and time. That homogeneous and hereditary nature of oral art has gone now and it is widely open for the world.

We have been getting wrong understanding of oral literature as something coming from some 'uncontaminated' and 'primitive' oral stage of culture. But change is something that cannot be neglected as it is a law of nature. Most of the times change is a requirement of the time you live in, or a need. Therefore, we cannot expect the purity of something to remain untouched or unchanged throughout the ages, and same applies to oral literature. It is bound to get changed, improved according to the need and demands of a particular time. For example, when a woman performs a *Lavani* in front of a crowd she may change a part or segment of that *Lavani*; by repeating or putting stress on a particular word or a line, taking a long pause to attract the audience with her different expressions/gestures, having a dialogue with audience etc. and all these things are generally spontaneous which might not have thought of or planned before while writing or composing a *Lavani*. Thus, we should be open to accept such harmless facts about folk art.

'Literacy' is defined in a number of ways, and one of the common perceptions of it is being able to read and write. The National Literacy Trust, however, includes reference to speaking and listening in its definition of literacy: 'We believe literacy is the ability to read, write, speak and listen well. A literate person is able to communicate effectively with others and to understand written information.' The attribute of literacy, generally, refers to the ability to read and write to an appropriate level of fluency. It can be noticed that when it comes to communication most of the people have common perception of language as a medium, which might be true on the surface level, but it cannot be universally applied to every part of the world. Does it mean that where language is being not used or used only in the spoken form there cannot be any literacy? Is it right to tag them as uneducated or 'primitive'?

In my opinion primitiveness by and large does not come with the lack of language but prejudices. Communication can take place through different mediums such as drawings, paintings, sounds, etc. let us look an example; the Warlis (or *Varlis*) is an indigenous tribe (or Adivasis), living in coastal areas of Maharashtra-Gujarat border and surrounding areas. They are members of one of the wildest aboriginal tribes in Thana District, who lead a nomadic life. The Warlis speak an unwritten *Varli* language which belongs to the southern zone of the Indo-Aryan languages. The Warli people are famous for their beautiful and unique style of painting which reflects the close association between human communities and nature.

The Warlis did not have a written word until recent times and their art was a way to hand on their culture from one generation to the next. Their drawings revolve around the traditions of their communities, the tools they use and their association with nature. They deal with number of themes such as community dances, the harvest as well as "fields swaying with healthy crops, birds flying in

the sky, group dancing around a person playing the music, dancing peacocks, women cooking or busy in their other house chores and children playing." Many people do not know but a Warli person, Jivya Soma Mashe, won the Padmashree from the Government of India in 2010 in recognition for his contribution towards the arts of India.

They use a very basic graphic vocabulary for their wall paintings- a circle, a triangle and a square. It is noticeable that these shapes come from their observation of nature; the circle representing the sun and the moon, and the triangle derived from mountains and pointed trees etc. The central motif in these ritual paintings is surrounded by scenes portraying hunting, fishing, farming, festivals and dances, trees and animals. The walls are made of a mixture of branches, earth and cow dung, making a red ochre background for the wall paintings. They use only white, a mixture of rice paste and water with gum as a binding for their paintings. They use a bamboo stick as a paintbrush. The wall paintings are done only for special occasions such as weddings or harvests. They are simple but very expressive paintings. Therefore, it will not be wrong if we say that Warli art is a sort of pictorial language which is not less expressive than any other languages (script) as it is capable of expressing the whole Warli culture, customs and traditions, and their day to day life. The Warli paintings have always been an illustrative presentation of a Warli life. Then how can we call such communities 'primitive'? They are special, skilled people.

There are several other examples of the interaction between oral and written. One of the best examples could be 'drama'. The term comes from a Greek word meaning 'action' or 'to do/act'. So the primary focus of any drama is it should be performed or acted. But we should not forget that a playwright has to write down a play, and while doing it he always has to keep the end in his mind, i.e. performance

on the stage. It happens in a similar fashion, from local *pathnatya*, a street drama, to a professional play on a stage. Written cannot be separated from oral here.

In the contemporary world many playwrights write number of plays. However, not every play gets performed or staged. But it has not hammered this great genre of literary art, it has evolved in itself and reached to the world in the form of book. That is why many playwrights have been writing plays to be read by people. Even on written compositions by 'a professionally skilled author' who wrote specifically for performance; the ballads, *Lavanis*, poems etc. also appear in printed versions designed for literate section of society. Many *abhangas* (or devotional songs), ballads, even poems originally stored in written form have been used in different movies or vice-versa.

Same thing can be observed in case of novels. Novel is such a great genre of literature that it became the one of the best source of knowledge as well as entertainment, especially for those who could/do not go out, e.g. women, of their houses. People could enjoy reading novels happily whenever and wherever they want. However, the fact cannot be denied that many novels were (and are) being transformed in another media such as film, or even plays, for example, *Natarang*, *Jogwa*, and so on. Now those who do not like reading can get access to the same material that is available in written form. The plenty of examples of this kind helps to bring home that the relation between oral and written forms need not just be one of parallel and independent coexistence, far less of mutual exclusion, but can easily exhibit constant and positive interaction.

We need to remember that in various areas of the world mass literacy is still only a far-off ideal. The situation is one in four young people in poor countries unable to read a single sentence. India has by far the largest population of illiterate adults at 287 million, amounting to 37 percent of the global total, a United Nations report said (The Hindu, 29 Jan, 2014). Thus, with still many illiterate and many

more semi-literates, it is not possible to deny the existence of oral literature, and that is why it is hardly surprising to encounter the contemporary existence of oral literary forms. It has been changing, shaping, moulding itself according to need of time. One cannot simply call oral literature as old, primitive, traditional, etc. It is a lively part of our so called modern world as well. There are many people who prefer listening to reading.

In reality, oral forms can rightly well coexist and interact with written ones and can flourish in cultures characterized by lesser or greater degrees of literacy. Hence, there is no reason to deny the existence of some oral literary forms in cultures with high or even universal literacy. For example, something of the same thing can be said of popular songs or various literary forms on radio, which, even if composed and transmitted originally in written form, are only fully actualized through non-written circulation-whether through direct word of-mouth, gramophone records, tapes, or broadcasts. Let us take an example of one of the most popular programmes "*Yadon ka Idiotbox with Neelesh Misra*" on #92.7 Big FM. He and some people in his *mandal* (team) write stories that he narrates orally for the listeners of #92.7 FM. Though stories are originally in written form, those are intended to be heard by its listeners. The mass media may have added an extra dimension, but the basic situation is not so odd. The process of composing in written form with the definite aim that the finished piece should be orally delivered has many parallels. One could read out the news/poems/short stories/ballads-written, but intended to be delivered orally. So it has an element of *oral-ness* in it.

Ruth rightly says that the criteria- mode of composition; mode of transmission; actualization in performance, according to which a piece of literature is classified as oral or not, is really complex. None of them leads to an actual categorization of 'oral'. However, he still stresses on the choice that one should make among these criteria. We need to be more explicit about the criteria that is

used, because that will help us to get a much greater understanding of the different forms that oral literature.

Finally, we must accept that the distinction between oral and written is ambiguous in nature and it needs more liberal approach towards both of them. Both should be seen complementary to each other, and that will give new dimensions to the study of oral literature. It will also help to take the study of oral literature at higher and wider level.

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Chaiti Ghoda Nacha: A Glorious Chapter of Odishan Folk Culture
Ashis Mohapatra

The culture of Odisha has been presented a picture of synthesis of both classical and folk form. Due the assimilation of various types of racial and cultural elements Odisha occupies a unique place among the states of India. Odisha is known as "Utkal" (the land of excellence in art) because of her brilliant folk traditions which have been maintained from ancient past. Irrespective of their economical status, literacy rate as well as rate of progress, most of the communities of Odisha have their own folk-cultural ways of life which includes folk dance, art & crafts, theatre, songs, rituals, legends and ballades etc. Odishan folk culture is still preserved in our rural life and agrarian society. There are dance-acts with themes ranging from merry-making to martial activities and there are folk plays depicting various episodes from mythology, history and legend, which inspire the people and help keeping up their morale. Odisha has the distinction of possessing rich folk culture in all its aspects, spreading among various folk communities from one end to the other, communicating to the mass its past tradition in the present day setting and shaping folk life to its tune. Odishan folk dances are numerous and versatile, and they are systematized in multiple ethnographic areas based on their correlation, basic style, rhythmical, spatial and other characteristics. Odishan folk dances are a vessel for the individual to express their emotions through colourful presentations, music and movements. All performed movements in every dance, folk dances included, have an aesthetic purpose. The aesthetic dimension is one of the most important ones, because dances represent a source of aesthetic urges and feelings. Folk dances provide the possibility for humans to aesthetically shape themselves, or enjoy other aesthetic forms with harmony. Folk dances imbibe new influences and at the same time maintain tradition and continuity.

The dance with its simple beauty and immediateness is a medium for drawing near different clans for their better mutual acquaintance. The folk dance contributed in integrating society as a unit cultural community. As long as folk dances exist as an integral part of community life, they are sometimes linked to specific occasions, and may be associated with specific groups of people. Most of their folk dances are open to everyone in the community. Folk dances of Odisha are spectacular and a visual delight and Chaiti Ghoda Nacha or Dummy horse dance is one of the most popular folk dances of Odisha. Folk dances are still popular among different communities of Odisha and Chaiti Ghoda Nacha (Dummy Horse dance in the month of Chaitra) is one of its vivid examples. The art of folk dance is evolved from the natural instinct of human beings self expression. Dummy horse dance or Chaiti Ghoda Nacha is as natural to the fisherman community of Odisha as speech in to human beings. Fisherman communities all over Odisha, enrich their life with the joy of community folk dance performed as a part of ritual of community gathering.

Chaiti Ghoda Nacha is a popular folk dance of Odisha connected with goddess Baseli or Vasuli. Worship of Baseli and the Dummy horse dance inexplicably connected with its rituals and celebrations is the most important festival of the fishermen who observe it with great devotion and austerity. The details for the worship have been enunciated in "Kaibarta Geeta" by Achutananda Das, a mystic Odia poet of 15th century A.D. In the month Odia month Chaitra (March) there is an exclusive festival for the bonafied fishermen community of coastal Odisha who are popularly known as "Keuta" (Kaivarta). This colorful religious festival is held for an entire full month beginning from Chaitra Purnima (full moon day of Chaitra in March) and ending with Baisakha Purnima (full moon day in April). This festival as well as folk dance is connected with the regards for Shakti cult by the fisherman community of coastal Odisha. Worship of the goddess

Baseli or Vasuli and the dummy-horse dance inexplicably related with this ritual and celebrations are the most important festival of the Keuta community. Who observed it with great devotion and austerity?

Chaiti Ghoda Nacha or Horse dance is a glorious chapter of Odishan folk culture, which is also popularly known as Baseli or Vasuli puja. Goddess Vaseli, the horse headed goddess is considered to be the tutelary deity of the fishermen community. The details about the Goddess Baseli and her worship traditions have been enunciated in "Kaibarta Gupta Geeta" written by Achyutananda Das, a mystic Odia poet of 15th century A.D. In ancient the worship of Shakti had gained tremendous prominence and it is believed that the worship of Goddess Baseli or Baseli puja originated during tenth century when tantricism of both Hindu and Buddhist merged into one religious practice. Baseli a form of Mother Goddess who was earlier formless evolved during tenth century. According to legend, when the world was in deluge lord Vishnu could not able to find a place to rest and reduced his form and rested on a floating banyan leaf. During the leaf dwindling on the stormy waves of the ocean Lord Vishnu by his power created a man out of the dirt of his ear zone the leaf still with the help of a row, but soon he fell into deep slumber and a huge demoniac fish 'Raghab' swallowed the man. When the leaf again dwindling and lord Vishnu's sleep was disturbed. Lord Vishnu surprised when he found the man missing by his intuition Lord Vishnu could know everything and at once killed the 'Raghaba' and got the man out. In the mean time Lord Vishnu transformed the banyan leaf into a horse and also summoned Biswakarma and asked him to build a boat immediately. Then Lord Vishnu said to the man that you and your community will be known as Kaibarta and you would be the king among them, make this horse as your carrier and use this boat for trading. As you were swallowed and almost got killed by a fish, so generation by generation you would kill the species and live on them. Baseli became the name of

the horse and God ordered man to worship Baseli as tutelary deity on the full moon day of Chaitra, it is believed that since the tradition of Baseli puja followed.

Baseli puja is also popularly known as Chaiti Ghoda connected with the Dummy-Horse dance of the fisherman community of coastal Odisha. The celebration of this festival begins on the auspicious day of Chaitra Purnima and the Kaibartas (fishermen) worship a bamboo with vermillion, candle paste, butter lamp etc. then the bamboo is ceremonially split into pieces out of which only twelve are taken out for preparation of the frame of the dummy horse. The frame after dyed with red clay covered with a Pata (indigenous silk cloth of Odisha). After which a painted colorful horse head made out of wood is fixed to the frame and a garland of Mandara (Hibiscus) flowers is placed on the neck during early worship. The dummy horse is worshipped till the eighth day of the dark fortnight and after which it is taken out for dance. A man enters through the hole kept for the purpose behind its neck and then dances to the rhythm of Dhola (country drum) and Mahuri (the kind instrument) during the dance of dummy horse moves along with the steps of dancer. Basically the Chaiti Ghoda dancing party consists of two dancers, one male, one female (mostly a male in female attire), and a drummer along with a piper. Particular folk songs are sung which bear the beauty of the whole performance. This horse dance is extremely simple with minimum steps or movements very easy to learn and understand for which very popular among local people. People are fully excited while the dance performance along with the people who are witnessing the dance all around. The Chaiti Ghoda Nacha (dummy horse dance)as a part of Odishan folk culture as well as popular culture (particularly in villages of coastal Odisha) is very popular and attracts a large audience.

During the performance of Chaiti Ghoda Nacha two other characters called as "Chadua-Chaduani" or "Rauta-Rautani" also exhibit dance with folk songs based on different mythological episodes. The Rautani (female character is played

by a male) is Rauta's (male character) co-dancer as well as co-singer. During this portion of the dance the dummy horse is ceremonially placed in the centre and the performance is held in front of it, the audience sitting all around. Particularly in the coastal districts of undivided Cuttack and Puri there are both professional and amateur dummy horse dance groups perform this folk dance. Some scholars also opined that the fisherman community of Kujanga area used this dance as a way of freedom movement against the auto critic rule of British administration Because through this dance some freedom fighters easily mobilized the fishermen community of Odisha after the end of the Chaiti Ghoda and Basuli Puja festival the dummy horse head is taken out ceremonially from the frame and is preserved in a local temple, again in next year during the festival it is brought out and repainted for use during dance.

In present days the Chaiti Ghoda Nacha is not only limited within the fishermen community because people of other communities have also taken interest in this colorful folk dance of Odisha. At present the votive dancers no longer hermetically sealed in the Kaibarta community. Since the Dummy horse dance is attached to many Shakti Shrines of Odisha also people of other communities have also taken interest to join the votive dancers.

Odishan folk dances reflect the peculiarities of particular community's religious, cultural and historical narrative, as it were; the dances, their choreography and their colorful costumes naturally reflect their unique narrative. While the heritage of the **folk dance** that was passed down the generations among ethnic groups as a whole was rich and varied, it was unevenly distributed from group to group, partly because whole chapters, as it were, of the tradition had been lost, for various reasons, often owing to the upheavals of war and the struggle for survival in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds. The richness of the original Odishan folk dance, in all its aspects both in terms of choreography and repertoire

as well as in terms of the exact replication of the original costumes has slowly made a comeback, and today is recognized. Odishan **folk dances** are of course more than simple vehicles of ethnic expression; they are sometimes highly sophisticated and elaborate even dazzlingly spectacular displays of dance and pageantry, sometimes with a martial arts theme, choreographed to celebrate official ceremonies.

Through the indigenous folk traditions of Odisha are now loosing its grip day by day due to advancement of techno-culture and impact of globalization but the folk culture is still preserved in Odishan rural life. Chaiti Ghoda Nacha or dummy horse dance is untouched and unaffected by western influence and still popular among villagers of Odisha as one of our colorful folk traditions .This Chaiti Ghoda Nacha or horse dance tradition should be preserved by proper documentation through publication and audio visual presentation. As a result of which we can able to regenerate the same spirit among the fishermen community against the modern social evils as well as able to exhibit the colorful folk dance of Odisha before our new generation.

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Feminization of Folk Art: A Case Study of *Patta* Painting of Odisha
Mamata Dash

Introduction

Going down the memory lane I still remember as an young anthropologist , while doing my Ph.D. on Chitrakar community of Raghurajpur village of Puri district of Orissa, I was attracted by the linear house pattern of the village, almost homogenous occupational status(as *Patta* painters) of the population, family structure and such other anthropological issues. Being a small repertoire of folk art of *Patta* painting each house hold of the village allures me to stop at the door step and look at the painting. There I used to meet the male person of the household and take my interview while keenly observing the painting work. Many a times I had to do the job of interpreter if any foreign tourists or clients come to buy any painting or to interact with the artisans. The only time I talk to the women folk of the village is when I need some water, take food in my host family, if the head of the house hold is a widow or if I have to ask some questions exclusively related to women.

But off late when I started my career in Women's Studies and started looking at things through a gender lens same painting work reflected a different connotation. The incredible but invisible contribution of women artisans in the whole painting process and the inherent stereotyped gender roles putting a glass ceiling on their talent and aspiration became more visible. I realized *Patta* painting is one of many folk art forms which reflects the gender dynamics of Folk art.

This article is an endeavor to unfold this intrinsic gender dynamic involved in Folk art. The methods used for the study are mostly observation and informal interview with both male and female artisans.

The objective of my paper is:

- To assess the nature of *Patta* painting as a folk art form

- To explore the gender perspective of the folk art of *Patta* painting

- To find out some solution to breeze the gender gap

Etymologically folk refers to the common people of a society or region and folk art refers to to any art produced by the common people depicting their day to day life and believes.

Art is an expression of the intrinsic qualities and meaning man finds in reality with things, persons, events or life. Art is the manifestation of one's imagination as well as conception of any fact, ideas or beliefs. Art, in this way is not necessarily the manifestation of mind of the artist alone rather it owes its inception to entire social and cultural setting where the artists lives in.

And when these artistic works, such as paintings, sculpture, basketry etc. are produced typically in cultural isolation by untrained often anonymous artists or by artisans of varying degrees of skill and marked by such attributes as highly decorative design, bright bold colors, flattened perspective, strong forms in simple arrangements, and immediacy of meaning it is called Folk Art.

As defined in the free dictionary art originating among the common people of a nation or region and usually reflecting their traditional culture, especially every day or festive items produced or decorated by unschooled artists are called folk art. Folk art encompasses art produced from an indigenous culture or by peasants or other laboring trades' people. As there are thousands and thousands of culture and cultural beliefs across the globe there are corresponding folk art and it is difficult to draw upon any unanimous frame of reference for folk art. Folk art includes various art forms like dance, music, and painting etc. *Patta* painting of Odisha is one of many folk paintings.

Patta painting is a typical regional art of coastal state of Odisha in eastern India. It expresses the religious and mythological aspect of the Odiya ethos giving a panoramic view of the epic Mahabharat, and *Ramayan* in general and *Jagannath* culture in particular.   Orissa, the abode of traditional art and craft is highly esteemed and identified with the cult of *Lord Jagannath*. The daily ritual of the cult of Jagannath has encouraged much form of art and craft like appliqué, pottery, "*Patta* painting etc. The artisans are brought to Puri to supply various items required for the rituals of Lord Jagannath Temple (Sahoo:1988:20). Closely associated with the Jagannath culture, *Patta* painting adds greatly to the glorious painting tradition of Orissa. Although the painting tradition of Orissa has passed through the various historical phases and there has been some degree of impact of modernization in recent years, the Orissan type continues to maintain its originality in "*Patta* painting" popularly known as "Patta Chitra"

Rationale for *Patta* painting to be categorized as a folk art

Folk is primarily utilitarian and decorative rather than purely aesthetic. It is characterized by a naïve style, in which traditional rules of proportion and perspective are not employed. It expresses cultural identity by conveying shared community values and aesthetics. Folk art encompasses a range of utilitarian and decorative media, including cloth, wood, paper, clay, metal and more.

Folk art is indigenous, simple, direct, and characterized by its non-educational, hereditary and community based in nature. *Patta* painting has a religious utilitarian origin. It owes its origin to the jagannath cult and its devotee's religious need. In olden days the devotees from different part of country while returning back from pilgrimage after Visiting Supreme trio of lord Jgannath used to take these *Patta* paintings with them to have a daily *Darshan* of the trio and

worship them at their home. These earliest types of *Patta* paintings are called Yatri Pattis (Painting for pilgrims) which are of different shapes like circular, triangulat, rectangulat, square etc, and not very aesthetic. . Secondly these paintings traditionally are produced by a particular community called Chitrakar.

This form of painting transcends generation after generation without any formal training. Rather this is inherited as family or caste occupation. *Patta* painting is the caste occupation of Chitrakaras. Despite all these similarities the age old *Patta* painting is unique for its indigenous style of preparing canvas, brush, and pigment- the major prerequisites of painting.

However, the tradition of *Patta* painting is indigenous in its nature. Starting from the preparation of the base or canvas till the final touch of the work, *Patta* painting is unique in its style.

All these characteristics put *Patta* painting as a form of folk art.

Folk art of *Patta* painting: an analysis from gender perspective

As Collingwood (1938) puts it, the emotions of sentiments, expressed through art are moulded and influenced by various aspects of the society one lives in and by one's day-to-day life,. Thus, art is a part of one's social and cultural life. In the widest sense, as Herskovits (1951) says, art is a product of culture, and explicitly or implicitly explains various ethos and eidos of the culture one lives in. The concept of "Gender" is also nothing but social construct. It reflects one's social attitude embossed with cultural ethos and eidos. Thus both Gender and Art owes their origin to society.

Secondly any folk art be it tribal dance, music, drama weaving, or basketry etc is a microcosm of male–female roles within the family and society. Men and women either work together or depicted by their gender roles in the different forms of the art.

Above all art in the simplest sense is a creation and women are the sorce of any creation and cannot be ignored from any form of art be it folk, traditional or modern.

Thus there is an imperishable rather umbilical relationship between gender and folk art.

Coming to *Patta* paitning, there is a deep rooted close nexus between women and this age old painting tradition. It not only controls the intra caste division of the chitrakaras but also regulates mate selection procedure. The whole of Chitrakara Community is divided into three Badas or groups on the basis of responsibility of Anasara patti (the paintings of Lord jagannatha, Devi Subhadra and Lord Balabhadra worshipped inside the sanctum sanatorium in the absence of supreme trio during ansara). But the chief of Balabhadra bada (subdivisions) takes the final decision over other two chiefs, if any discrepancy arises.

Besides knowledge of painting work is one of the criteria for match selection for chitrkara boys and girls. The girl/bride, with better /more knowledge on *Patta* painting is more appreciated; even more than any educational qualified girl and lesser is the material demand from in-laws side. Even the physical boundary for marriage is fixed within *Atharnala*,(Cannal with18 drains) , the entrance of Puri Town, apprehending that beyond that the perspective brides might not possess the knowledge on *Patta* painting. A piece of *Patta* painting is mandatory among all other gifts the bride takes with her to the in-laws house at the time of marriage. Thus the life of chitrakaras, particularly of the women, revolves round the art of *Patta* painting.

How much engendered is *Patta* paintings

This folk painting form is basically a family craft, rather than an individual perfection. Each and every member of Chitrakara (painter) family contributes to

the painting work. Women do almost all the preliminary works like preparation of the 'Ranga' (colours), 'Atha' (glue) and 'Patti' (canvas) and finally the work of lacquering. The young girls and boys help their parents in their work too. Especially the girls above the age of 8-9 years help their mothers in grinding the tamarind seeds to be used in repairing the glue. Sometimes they also assist in preliminary painting works like lining thickly the borders and figures that do not need much expertise. The boys, below the age of 10-1 years, devote much of the time in learning the painting skills from the elders and also assist their parents in their leisure time. The youngsters below the age of 12-13 years after learning the craft gradually paint independently and thereby help the family economy. Thus there is an informal but clear cut division of labour among all the family members so far as craft is concerned. Like any painting the whole process of *Patta* painting can be divided into three aspects, namely I. base or canvass, Ii. Brush, III, colours (both preparation and process of colouring)

I Base/ Canvass:

Patta painting "*Patta* Chitra" as the name suggests is an art where Chitra (Picture or painting) is done on a piece of '*Patta*' which means cloth. But there are also other connotations of the word '*Patta*'. According to some people in the remote past the painting was done with the help of brush prepared from locally available screw pine stick called '*Patta*' so the name '*Patta*' painting. Some others say that the original nomenclature is Pata Chitra, as the style of painting was traditionally done on Plank of wood or '*Patta*'. However, the first explanation is more authentic and universally accepted.

Unlike the other types of paintings i.e. Kangra painting, Madhubani painting or Tassar painting etc. '*Patta* painting' is done on a special type of canvas called

'Patti' which is a primed cotton cloth. The preparation of this canvas is stated as follows:

Procedure

The process of canvas preparation passes through four successive stages like:

a)   Atha Tiari (Preparation of the glue from the tamarind seed)

b)   Khadhi Tiari (Preparation of chalk powder liquid)

c)   Patti Laga (Application of glue and chalk powder over the cloth)

d)   Patti Ghasa (Making the surface of the primed cloth smooth by polishing)

a) Preparation of glue from tamarind seeds

Tamarind seeds are soaked in water for about 12 hours, preferably for one night to make them soft enough for grinding. Then the seeds are taken out of water and ground in two phases; first on a rough grinder called *Sila* for once or twice and then the pulp is made more fine by a smooth grinder called Chikkana *Sila.* This pulp is then mixed with water in 1:2 ratio and is cooked for 30-45 minutes on the traditional hearth. The solution is stirred with a 'Danki' (wooden spoon) from time to time till it is poured from the 'Palama' (earthen plate) and is allowed for cooling down, after which the glue is ready for application. Generally the tamarind seeds are preserved against insects by adding turmeric powder.This is done by women

b) Khadi Tiari (Preparation of chalk solution)

A white chalk stone, locally known as 'Khadi Pathara' is ground to fine powder. As the stone is a soft one it does not take much time to be powdered. The powder is mixed with water in the ratio of 1:2 in a pot. Then about 400 gm of

tamarind glue is mixed with the solution to make it sticky so that it will adhere to the canvas well. This is also mostly dome by women.

c) Patti Laga

The application of tamarind glue to the cotton cloth which is used as base for *Patta* painting is called 'Patti Laga'. First of all, a clean cotton saree or cloth about 5 – 5.5 mtrs of length is taken and its borders are cut off. Then the saree or the cloth is cut into two equal halves and one of them is spread lengthwise over a plain mat over which tamarind glue is thickly and uniformly applied twice with the help of a piece of cloth and is left for drying by pressing four stones at four corners, so that it will not shrink in the sun. Utmost care is taken so that no crease is left on the second layer cloth while spreading it after it is dried fully; the cloth is taken out of the mat gently. This is done by both men and women mostly by the elderly ones. Once the 'Patti' is dried, the solution of chalk powder is applied on both the sides with a piece of cloth in a similar manner left for drying. Two or three such coatings of chalk solution is applied with an intermediate interval for drying each time, in order to make the base more perfect which will reduce the amount of colour consumption at the time of painting.

The application of chalk powder solution is also called 'Khadi Laga' (as chalk stone is locally called as 'Khadi'), which is again done by both men and women.

d) Patti Ghasa

'Patti Ghasa' is smoothening of primed cloth. The Patti is spread on the cleaned floor and is rubbed with 'Bagada Barada' (a stone with rough surface) to make the surface smooth. After this the patti becomes smoother but still has small rough patches. So the patti is once again rubbed with a comparatively fine-grain

stone, locally called 'Chikkana Barada' till the surface of the Patti is totally polished and fit for painting work. Sometimes they first of all cut the patti according to the required size and then make it smooth. After the completion of the polishing work on both the surfaces, the Patti becomes ready for painting. This is mostly done by the women.

I - Preparation of colours

a)   The colours used for *Patta* painting are indigenously prepared at home.The Chitrakaras prepare different colours with different raw materials and different procedures. Basically they prepare six colours like (1)Sankha (white) from small conch shell mixed with elephant gums , (2)Kala (black) from black shoot of the burnt weaks mixed with oil.,(3) Hengula (red)from a mineral stone called 'Hengula' (4)Haritala (yellow) from a type of mineral stone called Haritala or opiment ,(5) Geru from red ochre stone and (6) Pacha (green)traditionally by processing the 'KAsturi' stone available in the navel of a special breed of deer called 'Kasturi . But now it is prepared by processing the extracts of various leaves.

All the colours are however prepared by the women artisans after collected by the men. However in contemporary times they prefer to buy herbal colurs (exciting white and black, which still they prepare at home, or use fabric colours as there is no more forest to get raw stones.

II. Brush

Unlike the other paintings, *Patta* painting is done with a special kind of brush. Traditionally they prepared the brush by crushing a portion of the root of 'Kia' plant (Screw pine) called KIA KATHI. Then they prepare it from the body

hair of different animals like mongoose, farm rat or buffalo tied to a polished thin bamboo stick with gum of elephant apple tree. The body hairs of buffalo is used to prepare thick brush while for the thin brush, the body hairs of the mongoose or farm rats are used. This is done by men as women are not supposed to touch dead animals.

Now if we prepare a table of Division of duties (rather than Labour) associated with Painting:

l No.	Nature of work	Types of work involved	Sex of the craftsman Both	Male	Female
.	Collection of raw materials for painting	a. collection of tamarind	-		✓
		b. Collection of mineral stones	✓	-	-
		c. Collection of body hair of animals	✓	-	-
.	Preparation and processing of he raw materials	a. Preparation of tamarind glue	-	✓	-
		b) preparation of colour	-	✓	-
		c. Preparation of brush	✓	-	-
		d. preparation of canvas	-	-	✓

.	Painting work	a. sketching of motif	✓	-	-	
		b. application of colour	-	-	✓	
		c. Preservation of painting	-	-	✓	-
.	Marketing		✓	-	-	

It has been revealed from the above table that the collection of raw materials is usually done by the women and men. Accepting collection of mineral stone, preparation of brush and marketing the end product women do all in all other jobs. All the menial and time consuming jobs associated with the painting is mainly done by the females. But females are never asked while deciding the price. Nor they have any control on the income out of painting.

Though there is no formal and distinct division of labour, the total job of the craft is carried out on the basis of a conventionally approved division of labor. They classify the works into two types like,(1) *Bhidokama* (Hard work or skilled labor) and (2) *Halkakama* (light work or unskilled labor).

The differentiating criterion between these two according to the artist is the mental involvement. The more the requirement of mental involvement the more intricate the work is. Apart from physical labor, the skilled work requires both mythological knowledge and mental exercise where as the unskilled works are done only mostly with physical labor with minimum mental involvement. Since the women spend more time with household chores, they get hardly sufficient time to put their brain on painting work. Whenever they get leisure, they only help their

male counterparts in painting which involves mostly physical labor. They are not even allowed to negotiate with the customers.

However following is a brief table of division of labour:

Skilled and Unskilled Work and Division of Labor in *Patta* Painting

l No.	Nature of work	Types of work	Skilled/ unskilled	Sex of craftsmen	Age of craftsmen
.	Collection of raw materials	a. Collection of tamarind	Unskilled	Female & male	Children
		b. collection of mineral stones	Skilled	Male	Adult
		c. collection of animal hairs	Skilled	Male	Adult
.	Preparation and processing	a. grounding tamarind seeds	Unskilled	Female	Young & Adult
		b. preparation of tamarind glue	Unskilled	Female	Adult
		c. preparation of canvas	Semi-skilled	Females	Adult
		d. preparation of colors 1. Processing the raw materials by crushing and cooking	Unskilled	Male & Females	Adult
		2. Addition of exudation of elephant apple tree to the color	Skilled	Male	Adult

		3. Mixing up of exudation and color	Unskilled	Male & Female	Adult
		e. Preparation of brush	Skilled	Male	Adult
.	Paint ing work	a. sketching of motifs	Skilled	Male	Adult
		b. Application of colors 1. Hengula Banaka	Unskilled	Female	Adult
		2. Ranga Banaka	Skilled	Male	Adult
		3. Luga Pindha	Skilled	Male	Adult
		4. Gahana Banaka	Skilled	Male	Adult
		5. Mota Kala	Skilled	Male	Adult
		6. Soru kala	Skilled	Male	Adult
		7. Gachha Lata	Unskilled	Male	Adult
		8. Sankhapota	Unskilled	Male & Female	Adult
		9.. Border	Unskilled	Male & Female	Adult
		e. Presentation of painting	Skilled	Male	Adult
.	Marketing	a. Price fixation	Skilled	Male	Adult
		b. Taking orders	Unskilled	Male & Female	Adult & old
		c. Delivery of orders	Unskilled	Male & Female	Adult & old

		d. Transportation of product	Unskilled	Male	Adult
		e. Customer dealing	Skilled	Male	Adult

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Investment of time and labor by women

As *Patta* painting is a household or family craft, family acts as the basic production unit as well the marketing unit for the craft like any other household chores. So it is not so easy to say the exact time invested by a Chitrakara woman for the craft work. Their involvement with the painting is prodigious.

In the morning while preparing food, she does all the craft works which are possible inside the kitchen. Such works include processing the tamarind seeds to prepare glue, grinding the mineral stones and putting the tamarind seed in water to process it next day etc. If calculated all such works will amount to approximately 2 hours of continuous labour in the morning hours though unskilled in nature.

The women always try to finish up the cooking and other household work as soon as possible by 10 O'clock so that they can join their male counterparts to help in craft work. In the mid day from around 10 O'clock till 12 to 1 O'clock, they help in pattighasa (Smoothening the canvas) or ranga ghotibe (mixing of exudation of elephant apple tree with the colours) or sometimes in ranga banaka (applying colors to the background of the canvas etc. They take up works which does not require much concentration and expertise, att about 1.00 pm. They again go to serve lunch to the family members and clear the utensils and houses, then again from 2.30 or 3.00 pm till evening around 5.30 or 6.00 pm. They spare their time for painting work or other works related to the craft. During night hours, they remain associated with painting work such as lacquering the finished paintings which takes nearly one hour. So as a whole, in a day a woman invests around 7 hours of labour in average for painting.

But now-a-days as they need not process the raw materials like mineral stones to prepare colour or lacquering on the painting due to introduction of various water proof chemical colours in the painting technology, they save a lot of time which was invested previously. Moreover, availability of electricity at night increases their working hour at night too. So at present they are able to invest around 9 to 10 hours of labour for the craft in a day.

The availability of modern amenities has not only increased the working period of both women and men but also has enriched the horizon of their traditional, religious and mythological knowledge. During evening hours they no more visit the temple premises to listen to the religious scriptures; rather they assemble near the television set which works as a medium of informative entertainment.

But despite of spread of educational facilities, women from chitrakar caste do not prefer to go to school. Barring a few i.e. three to four households the girls are still getting married at the age of 16-17 years.

Apart from that when Govt. is focusing on skill development; women are not given proper skill development training nor given a chance for field exposure. In crafts exhibition they are given a job of sales person but not as the craftsperson as an independent identity. No women till now has achieved the title as Master crafts person(better to be used in place of Master craftsman) .

Possible solutions:-

- In order to breeze these gender gaps it is high time to conduct more and more research on the practical gender needs of these women artisans.

- They should be given proper education and exposure to establish themselves as independent artisans not as a helping hand to their male counterparts.

- Department of tourism and handicraft and mass communication

should work with proper coordination so that this can be used for their livelihood.

- Men and women artisans should be given equal scope and opportunity so that they can equally participate in this folk art and sustain it in the adverse tide of modernization.

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Gantha ra Katha: The Quilting Tradition from Ganjam, South Odisha
Pankaja Sethi

Abstract

This research examines the story of quilt- *Gantha ra Katha* based on the first hand information from the Ganjam district of South Odisha. Illuminating the narrative expression of quilting tradition this documentation opens up multiple expressions of Gantha in the contemporary context. In the process of documenting a lost craft, the journey explores the vivid expressions of living story of Gantha, the different forms of quilting tradition with which people associate and the stories associated with it. Whilst recycling, recreating and reusing materials; Gantha rediscovers and gives a new meaning to the old textile materials and engagement with material culture as a personal mattress, dowry article and a souvenir. The art of making Gantha may disappear in few years like many other languishing crafts, however, this documentation process ignited a new sprit and hope among proud Gantha artists that this craft is not isolated - narrating 'recycling threads of life'- Gantha ra Katha -the story of quilting tradition from South Odisha.
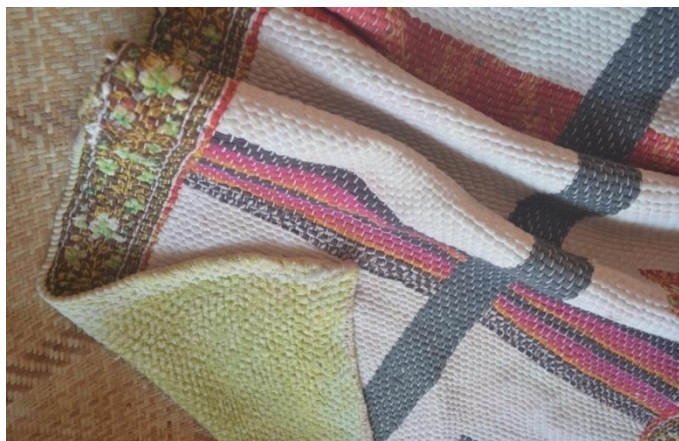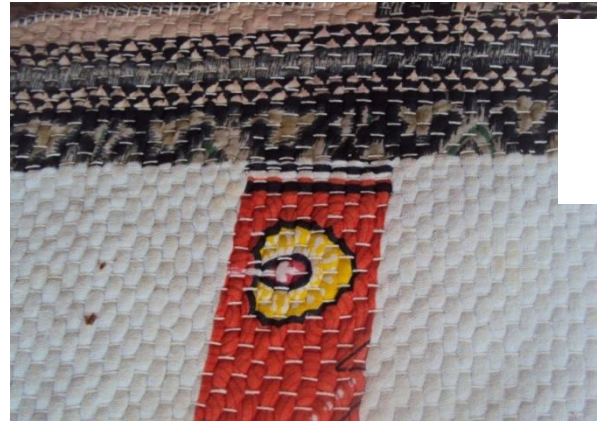
Introduction

This research study examines the story of quilt-Gantha ra katha from the Ganjam district of South Odisha. The story of Gantha is a personal expedition that made me contemplate about the narrative expression of quilting tradition and an interesting subject of material culture. Whilst understanding quilting as a narrative medium and material the process stimulated me to rediscover my own understanding of recycling material cultures in rural- urban spaces- how materials carrying social messages, are recycled, reused within the personal space and place. This research is based on first information from the field, narrative account shared by women artisans and self observation. It will illustrate the process of recycling as a personal engagement, where reusing and recreating is a common practice in rural space and then the material takes a new form and shape with a social message in the process.

My memory of quilt making goes back to my childhood days from my paternal village. Women used to make kantha (quilt in East Odisha is locally called Kantha) for personal purpose. To create Kantha, old clothes and worn out sarees were used. These materials were reused by placing one above the other and later all the layers were stitched together slowly by hand to create quilt. As the layers were piled one above the other, memories connected with each textile would come up

like images in my mind. Memories reconnect with the forgotten moments. These reused fragments of textiles in Kantha reminded me of old memories, love and reflection of past biographies in the present. It seemed like a living story bringing different phases of time stitched together within layers. It was a living story in vivid forms which transformed into a quilt-Kantha. It was used as a soft, light weight mattress used for sleeping and birth quilts for the new born child. These handmade quilts were simple kantha made for comfort and basic need; it was also used as warmer against the cold in winters. It was a multipurpose personal product made by hand with multiple stories lying within the layers.

With the passage of time, people in villages stopped making Gantha. Local darji created Gantha by machine by collecting bundles of cloth on his bicycle from each house and delivered the quilts after completing. In the race of time, process of making handmade quilts evaporated from the local homes. I did not see any women in my paternal village creating quilts in their leisure time. The home based local craft practice was replaced with machine stitched kantha. Locally people had adapted themselves with machine stitched quilts (plate 1) to save time and energy. Then there was no trace of local handmade kantha.

Machine stitched quilts-Kantha. Photo Credit- Tanuja Sethi

In 2008, I came across some exquisite form of colourful quilts known as *Gantha* from Ganjam district of South Odisha through Laxmipriya Mahrana and her distant relatives. Ganjam district is my mother's birth land; however, I had

never seen such a beautiful exemplar of needle craft from that region. These quilts are locally called Gantha in Ganjam district instead of Kantha which is a familiar term for quilts across Odisha. These were made by rural women of Ganjam district living in suburbs of Bhubaneswar city who migrated to Dumduma village of Khurda district. While interacting, some of the women artisans narrated that their families shifted from Ganjam many years ago in search of livelihood. These quilts were unusual in comparison to basic kantha I had seen in other parts of Odisha. It was very special and painstakingly made by skilled hands. The manner of arrangement of old fabrics, torn borders of dhoti and bold printed patchwork on Gantha seemed like one's personal story and one's self expression – and an art form. One of the quilter's had thirty to forty year old Gantha beautifully rendered with tiny hand stitches and colourful patches. The texture and pattern of Gantha was not only unique and personal, it resembled an abstract form of art made by hand, and stories associated with it collectively represented self expression of rural folk craft-how the threads sewn with love, share untold stories connecting different phases of time – past and present, and past in the present together. The journey of Gantha kindled a ray of hope and inspiration inside me. The raw texture of hand crafted local quilt which was neither channelized nor refined through any sustainable livelihood program motivated me to document the craft in its original form. Moreover, the journey raised my interest to know about the living quilts story and the proud practitioners. It was only a thought that started shaping when I began my exploration and expedition to know the individual self expression in a community driven-personal home based craft.

This research study is an endeavour to document the languishing quilting tradition from Ganjam district of South Odisha with the support of small study research Grant 2015-16 from Nehru Trust for the Indian Collections at the Victoria & Albert Museum .The first section of paper narrates the journey of quilts. The

study of material culture opens up conversations with the proud practitioner, narratives related to quilting process and their personal relation with the product as a part of social fabric. The material culture study addresses the research questions in the second part of the paper related to the languishing craft and speculates reasons behind disappearing material culture. What could have been the factors behind the lost craft? Why did it not pass from one generation to another as an heirloom craft practice? The third section illustrates the process of making Gantha and how a workshop with women ignited a new hope among community. Thus, this study examines the age old tradition of Gantha particularly in relation to women and material culture. Giving voices to women through interaction and workshop created a possibility of sustaining this local hand crafted quilting tradition- Gantha ra Katha from Ganjam district of Odisha.

Research Questions

Whilst locating the living craft and the quilt practitioner, this research raised several questions and voices of disappearing quilting tradition –Gantha from South Odisha. The untold stories of quilt and people might or might not answer all the questions but the voices of Gantha wants to unfold many layers of stories sleeping inside it. Sometimes, untold stories of local tradition disappear with time. The voice of disappearing Gantha tradition was calling me. The probability of locating a lost craft was fifty-fifty still I pursued my interest with hope. I realised, most of the people had forgotten about handmade quilts and many of them could not even relate to this craft as traditional practice, however, such hurdles could not stop my research work.

It was evident that this living craft practice is dying and will die in some years. My anxiety and anticipation to see the old pieces of Gantha were increasing even though the chances were very less. I was searching for a lost craft from one

house to another house but machine made quilt had replaced hand stitched quilts. During interrogation I found out rural migrants in the suburb area of Dumduma village in the Khurda district of Odisha had preserved some old pieces of Gantha. In the first two visits I found some old and worn out pieces in good and bad conditions. Different types of Gantha were made by different hands, the feel, comfort, texture varied from one quilt to another. Each Gantha had stories to tell and many questions unanswered.

During this study several questions preoccupied my conscious, "What could have been the social factors which resulted in disappearing of local crafts practices such as Gantha". The shift in the local market which resulted migration of rural community to urban areas in the search of livelihood could be one of the reasons. In the process of migration, during inter district shift, people disconnect with local crafts and tradition. People leave many things behind and bring many memories with them. Gantha craft practice was also forgotten by many and was preserved by few women. In the race of time, the increase of fancy materials available at low cost in the local market or as a result of penetration of synthetic materials might have created shift in the perception and insignificant space for their handcrafted products. Like many crafts quilting tradition remained undocumented and unnoticed.

Perhaps, the raw texture and low end use of quilt could not stimulate interest and hope among younger generation to continue and associate with this as heirloom tradition or as a sustainable craft practice. Even though, the quilting process is a social message and an emotional process of creation made only for personal use, it was undermined as an artistic tradition by the practitioners. Women are the creators of this home based craft and traditionally women never had space for their skill as home based daily duties preoccupied their time to a large extent. Craft practitioner did not honour their quilting tradition or family members

encouraged women to practice this tradition. Women did not know that quilt could be something which can make them feel proud about, probably because women lost the hope and considered it less significant part of tradition. As a result of which, it was never handed over to the next generation with pride and value. Quite a few among the community are holding on to the tradition. Unfortunately, in ten years time those who value this tradition and the living craft practice will slowly disappear.

This research documentation also wants to speculate -the identity of Gantha practice. How do women identify to this age old tradition of material culture- as a self expression art form? What are the different forms of expression people associate with quilt, while engaging with the material. In what way people practicing this tradition relate to Gantha in the present milieu. Is it a caste based community practice or trade confined to certain communities; these were some of the important questions to address. In the process of research documentation on craft, I am also questioning and re-questioning my own position while representing the tradition and the community. Will this research contribute in terms of documenting information and translating it for the reading audience for learning purpose? And will I be able to speculate the several forms of expression and untold stories layered within the layers of Gantha.

The making of Gantha-the quilting tradition of South Odisha

The art of quilting tradition which was once part of vernacular process had disappeared from the living space of people. There was no sign of hand stitched Gantha and most of the people had forgotten about the quilting tradition. Still, I wished to see the making of Gantha and meet the proud practitioners. Tracing the roots of Gantha my journey started from Khurda district towards south Odisha reconnecting with my mother's land-Ganjam, which has its own distinctive style of

visual art forms and a typical style of architecture- long narrow houses, one room leading to another room without any windows from beginning to end of the house. This research encompassed three villages in Ganjam district- Mardkote, Chundikhole and Sikula to meet the proud practitioners who used to make Gantha once upon a time to document the process of Gantha making.
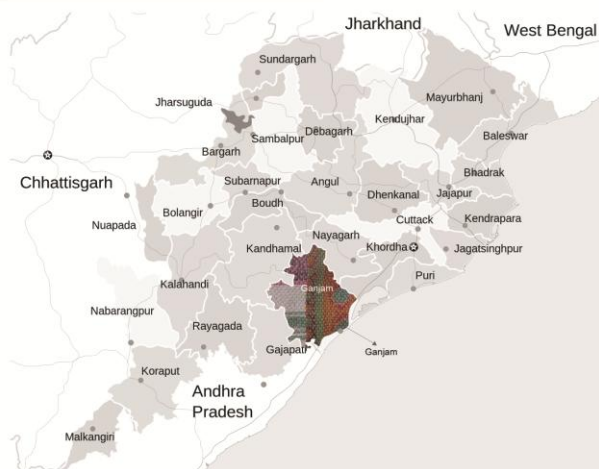
India -> Odisha -> Ganjam District

Whilst interrogating, people could not believe that my purpose of visit was only for locating handmade Gantha, a lost craft which does not exist. As the

conversation opened up I told them Gantha is a handmade craft and it is as important as any other languishing crafts of Odisha which is yet to be documented. Thus, documentation process is essential and imperative. Through the documentation process, I wanted women to participate as proud practitioner, share their stories, and share their memories, how they learned the craft and wanted to participate in the making of Gantha.

This research started with fifty year old quilting artist- Hemalata Maharana, who had moved to Dumduma village from Ganjam district after her marriage. She is the proud owner of three exquisite pieces of Gantha which she had made during different stages of her life. These three pieces of Gantha are her lifetime treasure and memories. She had made her first and the oldest piece of Gantha before marriage while learning the craft from her relatives. Hemalata carried this Gantha along with other items in a large wodden box- called pedi or sandook as part of dowry articles. Traditionally, it is a ritual to carry handmade articles made by bride to her in laws house. In earlier days carrying a beautiful piece of Gantha was prestigious for girl to present her skill and talent. After many years Hemalata prepared another Gantha all by herself for personal usage. Gantha is used as mattress and as a decorated piece on the wodden bed over a hensa- a soft natural grass mat made by hand. She narrates the process of Gantha is slow, collection of fabrics and assortment of borders and prints for Gantha takes time. As her daughter starting growing up, she prepared her last Gantha. She took one year to complete the Gantha and this will be her souvenir for her daughter's marriage. Her daughter's quilt was the newest one. It is very special and very close to her heart because in the end all this is labour of love made by mother for her daughter. This is the tradition of Gantha passed on from one generation to another, as a souvenir; however, Hemalata's daughter is a college going girl and she did not pursue the tradition.

This type of quilting method is locally called *tippo* gantha. As the name suggests, the tip of the finger is used as marking point equivalent to dot or tippo in Odiya to maintain equal distance between stitches without any use of measuring tool. The art of making Gantha requires skill and patience. It takes time to store sarees, dhotis' and other materials over the years. In these quilts Hemalata has used different borders of printed and woven sarees. Torn out *woven* borders of sarees are placed on four sides of Gantha. White colour base that is made of old dhotis which she had collected during the funeral ceremonies is used to enhance the colourful borders and small patch works. In the centre, the entire space covered with white coloured cloth is again decorated with bright borders in check pattern using colourful patches and printed cloth. Layers are tacked together with loose stitches. During quilting, as the needle follows the vertical row of *tippo* the edges of border and patches are tucked by hand in the process. The colourful patches and borders are rendered carefully simultaneously by the artisan. Usually the back side of Gantha is kept simple with plain coloured or printed cloth without any decoration. It is the texture, feel and colourful patches of Gantha with ribbed wave pattern that makes it special and extraordinary.

Sixty eight years old Satyabhama Maharana showed another type of quilting technique called farrua in local Odiya language. In Farrua Gantha stitches form a predominant pattern all over the quilt. Although the quality of stitches used in Gantha were not proportionate, *farrua* Gantha is distinctive in itself. The scale of stitches is much bigger in length in comparison to *tippo* Gantha. Satyabhama stitches in two different directions to achieve concentric step pattern all over the quilt on single piece of saree as the background using local acrylic threads similar to woollen texture. Straight stitches are first taken in one direction and then pattern is created by interconnecting stitches in the second stage. She prefers bright

coloured thread for quilting to lift the patterns against the colour of base cloth. The layers of cloth in between the front and back saree are kept tight and intact along with stitches forming an interesting texture. This type of quilting method is rare and uncommon in comparison to tippo Gantha. Satyabhama has prepared and stored many pieces of Gantha for her granddaughter. Her daughter has learned the craft and helps her to make Gantha on order for sustenance.

Fifty six years old Sukumari Maharana married to a retired primary school teacher from Mardkote village pulled out her worn out hand stitched Gantha which she had made especially for her family members. Her husband had his own personal Gantha which he refused to share with anybody. It was interesting to know that Gantha can be a personal attachment for men also. She had also made a small size *aasan* (floor mat) to sit on the floor. The stitches were very small on the surface of entire Gantha giving an interesting texture compared to the length of stitches on the back side. Sukumari's Gantha had a different feel and it was extremely soft to touch. The quilt in the picture is made of printed saree without any patches or extra borders. In the past she had also made some quilts for neighbours when her husband was not getting enough income from the school.

Sukumari was happy to be photographed for this documentation as one of the quilt makers and would like to make Gantha on order.

This worn out piece of tippo Gantha made by Sukumari Maharana shows the several layers of cloth bound together through stitches beneath the surface. This Gantha has been used for a long period of time. Raw texture, stitches are intact in Gantha because these are tightly stitched giving strength and support together. Through torn parts, layers of fabric sandwiched together are visible creating an interesting piece of textured tales.

In Chundikhole village forty three year old Runu Maharana cited how she used to make Gantha during her leisure hours prior to marriage and after marriage using old recycled materials. The sarees she wore in routine life were discarded after a period of time and were replaced with new sarees during rituals and festivals. All the old worn out sarees and other fabrics with fond memories were piled and bound together with stitches giving strength, weight and texture to the Gantha. Two or three women participate or assist in creating a large piece of Gantha, thus, this becomes a community driven work made for recreation, souvenir and as a dowry article for their daughters. This technique is also called khalli silai (leaf plate stitches) because fabrics are joined together with small stitches like a leaf plate. She showed a narrow width ordinary piece of Gantha made by her using patch work .The edges and borders are usually not uniform. While quilting the stitches reshape the borders and patches, giving interesting texture and weight.

With great difficulty and persuasion Sabitri Maharana from Chundikhole village agreed to be photographed with her basic hand stitched tippo Gantha. It had with two different colours in the front and back of the quilt. Her nose ring seemed very interesting and unique, in earlier days women in South Odisha used to adorn themselves with nose ring on both the sides and another nose ring hanging in-between the nose and resting on the tip of the lips.

Rajamani Maharana with her granddaughter, Photo-Tanuja Sethi

Rajamani Maharana from Sikula village had already collected bundle full of old sarees for a new Gantha. This will be her gift for her granddaughter's dowry. It is a custom to prepare dowry articles such as quilts from a very young age and later the newlywed bride would carry her dowry in a large sized *pedi*-wodden box with her personal belongings such as sarees, jewellery, kitchen article and Gantha inside it. This is the Gantha tradition-the story of quilting tradition- carrying memories, stories of people and craft from the heart of Ganjam.

Rajamani Maharana (left) with her beautiful tippo Gantha, Photo-Tanuja Sethi

Rajamani showed her tippo gantha with colourful printed borders of old sarees with patches placed against the white cloth base. The colourful assortment of borders with vivid patch work with intricate stitches made it a skilled piece of work. Her daughter in law- Lakshmi Maharana showed another immaculate piece of hand stitched farrua gantha which was rendered beautifully using woollen like acrylic thread. The scale of every stitch was balanced and neat in comparison to earlier work made by Satyabhama's work. Probably Lakshmi is younger and have more patience to create intricate Gantha. Both the artists are proud quilt makers and the only skilled practicing quilt artists I met in the entire journey during documentation. The intricacy of their hand stitches and skill level was beyond imagination. Both the quilt maker's are expert in two different techniques. While discussing the work, Rajamani and her daughter-in- law Lakshmi Maharana cited that none of them can pick up each other's method of quilting. Both the women indicated a positive sign that Gantha tradition exists and is not isolated and there is still hope for reviving this craft.

A vibrant and colourful Gantha made by Padma Maharana from Sikula village in colourful patches of red, maroon and pink with golden borders. This beautiful piece of work was lying on her wooden bed in Sikula village. She is the mother of Rajamani Maharana and the tradition of Gantha has passed on from mother to daughter as a legacy.

The process of Gantha making involves slow collection of personal old clothes, dhoti, gamchas and discarded cotton sarees which are carefully sorted and packed in bundles to be recycled. During the leisure time, women layer seven to eight layers of sarees and tack it with loose threads which can be rolled and pulled up again as per convenience. In earlier days, the threads for sewing were procured from local *tanti* (weaver) and local *kumuti* (trading community). It was boiled in rice starch and twisted together by hand and spun on thighs for enough tensile strength. The six ply threads are interlocked with *chunci* (needle) at one end of the Gantha with one bare foot resting on the layers of cloth for tension. Straight stitches are taken step by step following the tippo or dot as the needle penetrates several layers of cloths along the length of Gantha giving equal space with finger tips. The next row of stitches penetrates in the alternate space in the same direction with equal space of finger tip in similar method. After covering some distance the threads are pulled together by hand on the layers of cloth and the tension of threads gives rippled and textured weave to the tippo Gantha. Many people decorate tippo Gantha with colourful patches of printed cloth and saree border. The process of making farrua Gantha is longer in comparison to tippo Gantha. Layers of cloth are quilted in one direction using straight stitch. After completing the entire pattern, another stitch is taken in another direction to create step design pattern. This form of quilting is rarely found. The length and texture of stitches varies from one person to another. Every piece of Gantha is created slowly by hand encompassing several stories of cloth and legacy of handcrafted tradition.

The interactions with proud practitioners created the base of research work and possibility of doing quilt workshop in order to recreate the quilting tradition. The following images demonstrate the technique and process of Gantha.

Dumduma village workshop, small size Gantha for a commissioned order. Photo-Pankaja Sethi

Quilting workshop. Dumduma village, Khurda.Photo-Pankaja Sethi

Plate 1. Quilting workshop. Photo-Pankaja Sethi

Quilting workshop in Mardkote Village, Ganjam- preparing threads for quilting. Photo-Tanuja Sethi

.Folding edges of layered sarees inside, Mardkote Village, Ganjam, Photo-Tanuja Sethi

Tacking all the layers of sarees together, Mardkote Village, Ganjam, Photo-Tanuja Sethi

Dumduma village, Khurda, women practicing technique of farrua gantha.

Gantha ra katha- The story of a quilt

This study of Gantha ra katha- the story of quilting tradition of Odisha brings imperative understanding of existing knowledge of recycled craft used in rural spaces by people. It is a home based practice made by women during their leisure hours. Women are the creators who have preserved, sustained and carried on the tradition till date. Being confined to the boundaries of four walls, quilting

must have evolved for personal usage and recreation in the process. It is an age old tradition of recycling material by the women, and a legacy passed on from generations, weaving and engaging several interpretation of material culture from personal biographies to self expression art form. Living within imitation of time and space; craft practices such as quilting tradition became one of the medium of expression for women. It could also mean emancipation of personal expression through quilting practice.

This project adds a new dimension to the visual and represented art form of quilting tradition which echoes personal biographies of people, memories, impressions, love and reflections rendered with hand crafted stitches. 'Recycling threads of life' Gantha narrates the 'story of quilt-*Gantha ra Katha*' -how the quilt travels, connecting threads, connecting social message, stories of women and materials layered within layers. It is a journey of quilt - a folklore which lived for years, a meaningful journey touching the soul and expression of many people.

Tracing the roots from urban suburb space to rural villages in Ganjam district, women artists proudly presented their work with grace. It is an irony that many artists we met have disconnected themselves from the local craft and some of the skilled artists did not want to pursue it. Artists interviewed in this paper belong to Maharana community; however, this craft is also pursued by other communities as it is a home based recycled craft and this study created hope for further research work. The documentation process kindled a ray of hope among the practicing community and interest to adapt and continue this age old practice. Workshops and interview brought out voices of women and honour to all who had sewn stitched and carried the quilting tradition in the timeless process of creation. The story of quilt recorded the voices of craft practitioner, their personal story in relation to this tradition – how women are engaging with the recycled textile material in their mundane life. Moreover, the visuals essay captures the entire process- celebrating

the journey and narrative expression of Gantha. Considering the milieu, research and documentation on this quilting tradition was essential because several local trades and traditions have disappeared and are slowing disappearing. The living Gantha- quilting tradition is still alive with few people and may live for some years. Thus, the endeavours and journey of quilting tradition of South Odisha-Gantha ra Katha encompassed through the visual documentation created a spark among the practitioner and hope of sustaining the craft.

Tribal Customary Marriage Practices Among the Major Tribes of South Odisha - An Ethnographic Approach

T. Akshya Kumar

Liza Swain

Abstract

The cultural heritage of any primitive society built on its age old customs and traditions. In any civilised and progressive society, marriage played an important role to provide a kind of safeguard to continue the so called age old customs and traditions. Marriage is one of the universal social institutions established to control and regulate the life of mankind. It is the centre of a family which is turns as a significant unit of the social structure. The present paper throws the light on the tribal forms of marriage and ways of acquiring mates practices among the tribes of southern Odisha which is based on ethnographic study.

KEY WORDS: Tribal customary marriage, types of tribal marriage, ways of acquiring ma

Introduction

Odisha is one of the most fascinating ethnographic states of India. The tribal communities are found in varying concentrations in almost all districts of Odisha. As per 2011 census, about 22.8% of Odisha's population consists of people of tribal origin. Odisha occupies a distinct position in the tribal map of India. Since the age of Ramayana and

Mahabharata, the tribal's occupy a putative role and the Jagannath cult is interwoven with tribal religion which has given genesis to a paradigm of integration. The tribal's of Odisha is known as Adivasi (aborigine), Vanabasi (forest dweller) and Girijana (mountain dweller). Linguistically the tribes of

Odisha are broadly classified into three categories, like; Indo-Aryan speakers, Dravidian speakers and Austric speakers. The article 242 of the Constitution of India states that Odisha is home to as many as 62 scheduled tribes. Among the 62 tribes of Odisha most number of tribes are found in the southern region of Odisha among them the tribes like; Savara or Saora, Bonda, , Kond and Koya are imperative. Geographically South Odisha comprises six districts i.e. Ganjam, Gajapati, Rayagada, Koraput, Nabarangapur and Malkangiri. In southern Odisha the largest population dominated by the tribal community. The tribes of this region are comes under the primitive tribal groups of Odisha, they mainly in habit the Eastern Ghats hill range, which runs in the north- south direction. For having a larger population of tribal communities, South Odisha is popularly known as the hub of tribe.

As we all knows that, every society or community is bonding with some socio-cultural religious activities as well as certain rules and regulations. Among those socio-cultural practices marriage played a vital role which is turns as a significant unit of the social structure. It is the complex of social norms that define and control the relations of a conjoined pair to each other, their relative, their offspring and society at large. Marriage is one of the universal social institutions established to control and regulate the life of mankind. It is the approved social pattern where by two or more organize and understand the consequences of a natural persons establish a family. The marriage tradition generally transforms the roles and responsibilities of two individuals and is closely associated with the institution of family.

Let us have a look at how the tribal customary marriage occurs among the tribes of southern Odisha.

Savara/ Saora Tribe

Marriage can be of several types. All over tribal India, and in other parts of the world as well, we come across rules laying down prohibitions, preference and prescriptions in deciding the form of marriage. There are different forms of marriage such as ;

Preference and prohibitions – A taboo on sexual relations between closely related kin like parents and children and between siblings is universal.

Exogamy- practice of marrying outside one's clan

Endogamy- The reverse practice of marrying within one's tribe or very rarely clan

Since pre-historic days the land of Odisha has been inhabited by various clans. The earliest settlers of Odisha were primitive hill tribes. The Savara tribes are considering as one the primitive tribe not only in Odisha but also in India. They also know as the Saora tribe. They are one of the most populous tribes of the country. Presently, they inhabit in Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar and Assam However, the present Odisha state contains nearly three-fourths of the total population of the Savara. In Odisha, their number is about 3, 42 lakhs and are distributed in 13 districts. In this State they are mostly concentrated in Ganjam and Koraput districts of south Odisha. Their population in these two districts account for more than one-third of the total Savara population in the country.

Regarding marriage the Savara follow strict endogamy at community level. One does not marry outside the community. The community endogamy is commonly approved and sanctioned by the Savara society, the breach of which is considered as the breach of law. In marriage, endogamy is allowed at village and community level but not at lineage/ gotra level/ clan level. In the case of Exogamy is allowed at village level, gotra level, clan level and surname level but exogamy is

strictly restricted at community level these above marriage rules may lead to sanctions by society head.

Serial monogamy is practised by Savara and limits themselves to one wife at a place. In case of divorce or death of wife, a Savara can marry again and remains to be monogamous. Polygene exists in two specialized variations as sororal polygamy and non-sororal polygene. In the sororal polygene form of marriage the wife of Savara encourages him ti marry her sister in order to avoid the division of parental property. But this happens only when all the siblings are females without a single male to inherit the property. But in non-sororal polygene this marriage rule is not applicable. In Savara tribe cross cousin marriage are more common and occasionally maternal uncle-niece marriages are also observed.

The preferential method of acquiring a mate among the Savara is marriage by negotiation and mutual agreement (Penkui) which involves long procedure depending upon the talks of either party. The other methods acquiring mate among the Savara are marriage by elopement (Dandaboi), Marriage by service (Kinarsung) and Marriage by exchange (Ulaiboi). Due to economic considerations less number of marriages occurs through negotiation which is very costly involving considerable expenditure on gifts, liquor etc. and large number of marriages occurs by elopemen which involving less expenditure.

Savara understand the relationship between conception and sexual inter-course, they believe that human effort should also be sufficiently strengthened by the blessings of gods for the proper procreation of the race. Therefore, the Savara generally do not indulge in sexual inter- course during night time as they believe that female organs sleep during night times. The forest is preferred to the house for sexual inter- course during day time. When a couple is engaged in sexual activity in the forest two wood poles or three branches are placed "X" shape indicating to others nobody should disturb them by going that way. But now-a-days the practice

is on the wane and many husband wife are preferring night times for sexual inter-course in their own houses.

The census 2011 enumerates that there are 56 nos. Of ST communities residing in Malkangiri district. Out of them the 'Koya' tribe has the highest population and Bonda are autochtonous communities in the area.

Koya Tribe

The Koya tribal community has been of considerable interest from point of view of their society and culture. The Koyas are distributed in Malkangiri district of Odisha, and the neighboring states – Andhra pradesh and Chhatisgarh.

As per the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes Order, 1950), the Koyas [Gumba Koya, Koitor Koya, Kamar Koya and Musara Koya] were listed as scheduled tribes in Odisha. The members of the Koya tribe that inhabit in the entire district of Malkangiri of south Odisha, call themselves Koyas or Koitor meaning 'people'. Koya society strictly follows the traditional social ceremonies. The procedure adopted in the ceremonies may vary from village to village, but the object remains the same. It aims at making the ceremony convenient and hassle free to the individual and the community at large. The marriage can be said to have been proper and complete when boy and girl spend a night together in a house. The ceremonies aim at sublimating the love of the couple.

Marriage or pendul (See Plates 01-07) is one of the most important social functions without which a man becomes groundless in the society. For Koya, marriage is a necessity because they have to perpetuate their generations and satisfy the biological need related to the sexual urge. Moreover, the wife is the indispensable partner in all spheres of their lives. The Koyas attach little or no importance to the physical beauty of a girl for marrying. The criteria for a coveted wife are her sound health and ability to undertake arduous labour. The qualities of

a good husband lie in the fact of his being physically tall and healthy, able to support the family and having a large number of cows and bullocks.

The age for marriage is fixed at the maturity of both the sexes. The Koyas think a boy attains maturity when hairs appear in his armpits and develops moustache. Usually these things happen when a boy is aged twelve to thirteen. And so, the marriageable age for boys starts at thirteen or fourteen. A girl becomes marriageable when she attains puberty (amshrall), irrespective of her age. In many cases the age of wives is more than that of their husbands. This is one of the important reasons why the Koyas practise polygamy. But this is not always the case. The problem arises when a nubile girl marries a bridegroom, who has not actually attained maturity but is thought to have attained it. In this case the wife has to wait until her husband is fully grown up. She stays with her husband and is expected to remain virgin, but this does not actually happen. There are few instances like an adolescent boy marrying an infant bride, in which case the boy has to wait until she is grown-up and comes to stay with him.

Freedom in the selection of a spouse is very limited and it is only the parents who take the initiative in marriage negotiations. The marriage negotiation starts before few years or sometimes before few months. The parents and relatives of bridegroom go to the bride's house with proposal. After the bride price is negotiated by both the parties in the presence of peda (chief of the village) and the villagers, the date of marriage is fixed. They also obtain the consent of the girl. Where freedom is exercised by any girl or boy, the marriage is tolerated but after a very complicated method of the payment of compensation. The commonly practised form of marriage is known as Pendul.

The system of marriage in which a boy picks up a girl with the help of his friends when she is in the forest or field is known as Karsu Pendul. In this case compensation has to be paid to the bride's father. The other form, where a girl

having a previous connection with a boy enters forcibly to the boy's house to stay, is called lon-udi-wata marriage. In this case the bride price (to be paid to the bride's father) is much less than that in other forms of marriage, because she enters the groom's house at her own will and without the consent of the parents. In the case where a boy selects a girl, he has to obtain the consent of the girl directly or indirectly. Then he tells his father of his motive and if his father agrees, he brings the girl to his house with the help of his friends. The bride's father demands compensation from the boy in terms of money and goods. Out of the compensation amount, the villagers use a portion for a feast as they help the bride's father in obtaining compensation from the boy. Instances are also found of marriages by the exchange of sisters known as marsanad pendul.

Koya marriage season begins soon after the first harvest is over and continues till the month of April. In selecting a bride, preference is given to the maternal uncle's daughter (crupiki) or father's sister's daughter (crupiki). This is the generally approved form of marriage. The period of marriage ceremony continues for three days. It begins by the ceremonial fetching of the water from nearby water source by the 'yange' or the elder brother's wife. She is accompanied by a group of women to do this. They sing songs while bringing water. Singing is a regular feature and during the ceremony nothing goes without being accompanied by chorus sung by the group of women relatives of the bride as well as groom. The water that is brought is called 'Putu Eru' or bath water. On the second day also the collection of water by the elder brother's wife continues. The bridegroom or kokand sits on lap of his elder brother's wife and tamarind and turmeric paste with ghee is smeared on the body of the groom. Water is poured over him and he wears the new cloth. Then he is made to visit all other families in that village belonging to his own clan. He visits these houses with the accompaniment of drums. A few men are sent by the groom's father to the village of the bride or *Kokad* to fetch her.

These people go with invitation and stay there for the night. Next day or on the day of the wedding, accompanied by a number of women, friends and relations singing and dancing, the bride is brought to the groom's house. The groom's father sends pots of landa to the brides party when they come closer to groom's village. On getting the liquor, they all drink and rest for a while and then start again. By this time the dancing ground has already become crowded with hundreds of people both male and female participating in the dance. The men wear the bison horn headgears and beat the *Dhols* rhythmically. The women dance to the rhythm of the drum beats. This creates a wonderful festive atmosphere.

It is interesting to note that, the villagers from distant places come to dance in the marriage ceremony even without being invited. They are given rice beer (landa) to drink and some food. On this occasion several types of songs are sung by the women folk of both the parties. Each song has a specific purpose and sung at a particular time. The Koyas also perform the ceremonial dance, wearing bison horns on their heads during the marriage.

Bonda Tribe

In the remote highland country within mighty Kondakamberu ranges of Eastern Ghats rising on the eastern side of Malkangiri district lives the brave and beautiful human race called "Bonda" The Bonda is a numerically small and archaic tribal group inhabited in a compact area of the Khaipur block of Malkangiri district of south Odisha. The Malkangiri district is inhabited by 13 tribal groups, out of which two communities Bonda and Didayi are designed as Particual Vulnerable Tribal Communities. Basically they fall under the category of Hunter gatherers and Shifting Cultivators. They belong to the Proto- Australoid race and have dialect of their own known as "Remo (men)". They were well known for their homicidal tendencies and aggressive behaviour. Due to huge degree of illiteracy,

inaccessibility and confinement to a particular territory, the Bonda have managed to keep themselves away from the influence of the outside world. Even today, the belief and practices of their society are followed religiously.

Marriage is the most remarkable event to a Bonda during his life time as his cherished dream comes true by acquiring a mate. Marriage confers on them the social sanction to indulge in legitimate sex among the marrying couples while living as husband and wife. Besides, it brings them the challenges of certain new roles as father, mother, husband and wife to play.

Like the other tribal communities the Bonda's also have their own rules and regulation. The Bonda rules of marriage are farmed as well as regulated by three sects of relationships i.e. the relationship with his clan (Kuda), the relationship with his community and the relationship with his sorubhai.

As regards the age of marriage the Bonda community follows a peculiar practice with its boys and girls. As per the practice, a boy of 8 to 10 years of age marries a girl of 16 to 18 years of age. This indicates that the boys in their society marry when they are still child and girls, when they attain puberty and became adult. Interestingly Bonda women states that boys becomes old when they develops beard and moustache in his face which Bonda girls are not like therefore they marry the boys when they are not mature physically.

Another interesting thing in the Bonda society is that the youth enjoys absolute freedom for the selection of his/her life partner. No other tribal society of Odisha has granted freedom to such an extent to their youths as enjoyed by the Bonda tribe. Neither the parents nor any relatives try to interfere in such a matter. But at the same time, they do not forget to follow the rules of marriage prescribed by the society. There are two ways of acquiring mates among the Bonda society;

1.   Marriage by mutual consent (Sebung)
2.   Marriage by capture (Guboi).

Among these two types of marriages the Sebung marriage is considered to be ideal and prestigious in the society but the second one or Guboi marriage is not rare among the Bonda society.

The Sebung marriage is regular and socially approved. This type of marriage is very complex and expensive. Negotiation is only a formality in such type of marriage. After the marriage to bring the bride with them the boy's parents carrying with them several pots o cooked food and rice beer (handia). The food and drink served to the bride's family and relatives. After this in the same evening or the following day, the groom's party returns with the bride who brings with her a basketful of cooked rice, meat and rice beer for distribution the boy's relations. The girl on her arrival is cordially received by her mother in law who sprinkles turmeric water on her feet and gives a mark on her forehead with a paste of uncooked rice. Just before she taken in, she is take in, she receives gifts and blessings from the relations of the boy's relations. These rituals are the vital aspects of Bonda marriage, which gives the boy and the girl social recognition as husband and wife.

In the Bonda society, the widow or widower is allowed to remarry if they so like. Like others they also get equal status as that of the others and they do not practice polygamy, unless the occasion demands.

Among the Bonda society, payment of bride price (ginning) is a must in all types of marriage except when they practice levirate. Normally, before marriage, the two parties fix the amount to be paid and soon after marriage payment is made to bride's family by the groom's family. Generally, the bride price consists of some cattle's, few pots of liquor and some cash. This entire are depends on negotiation between both the sides.

Kondh Tribe

The Kondhs or the Kui's are one of the largest tribal communities of Odisha. They are believed to be a form of the proto-Australoid ethnic group. Their native language is kui, a Dravidian language written in Odia script. The Kondhs are expert land dwellers exhibiting greater adaptability to the forest environment. They are mostly concentrated Kondhamal, Gjanjam, Koraput, Kalahandi and Rayagada districts of south Odisha. They are also divided into many sub-groups like Dongria Kondh, Desiya Kondh and Kutia Kondh etc.

Kondhs have no caste system. They maintain a social distance by an observance called 'bisa'. This is strictly observable with regard to cooking, eating and marriage among Kondhs. In this tribe marring a cousin on either the maternal or paternal side is considered impossible. Girls are usually chosen for marriage from a different village. However, there is no territorial exogamy. Marriage is settled after the bride price is fixed. Generally it is paid in the shape of money, ornaments, buffaloes, cows, goats, utensils and other articles. The Kui folk do not look for a beautiful woman as a bride, they rather look for an industrious, hard working housewife. Nuclear type of family is found common among the Kondhs.

While taking into the consideration of the Desiya Kondhs (Sub group of Kondh), according to them they were the successors of the original Kondh tribe, they inherited and practised the traditions, customs and rituals of their forefathers. The marital tradition of Desia Kondh is very interesting. There are two types of marriage systems prevailing in Kondh society.

1. Khincha Biha or Tana Kania
2. Mola Biha or arranged marriage.

Before marriage the young boys of Kondh family (Dhangadas) choose their life partners from Hatta (Weekly Market) or from Dinda Ghar or Dangari Idu. If Dhangada (Unmarried Boy) selects a Dhangidi(Unmarried Girl) in hatta and decides to marry her so that dhangidi is forcibly taken away (kidnapped) or eloped with the help of his tanes (friends). Then message made with understandings of two families. Along with this during the time of celebration of the several festivals the Kondhs were performs their traditional folk dance and songs. Specially Unmarried boys and girls are participated in this dance. The girls dressed with their special attire, like arms, and dance to intricate Khanjani beats. These dance festivals also help them to choose their life partner.

Conclusion

The present study reveals that, there are various types of marriage practices occur among the tribes of Odisha particularly in southern Odisha. But all these rituals are based on the traditional rules of those meticulous communities. If we are going to make a comparative analysis regarding their marriage practices and rules we can observe much amalgamation among them. The tribal marriage system is of particular interest as it throws light on the evolution of the system which comprises practices like winning of the bride by capture, purchase, service to the parent, elopement- negotiation. In course of time the system of negotiation has come to receive preference. Payment in various forms is made for bride price but with modernization the dowry system has come into vogue. The marriage rites are now performed in the bride's house instead of the groom's house. A prescriptive and preferential marriage with maternal or paternal uncle's son or daughter prevails among Dravidian tribal communities except the Kondhas. Adult marriage is the usual practice among the Koya's. Where as, in the case of Bondas and Saoras the groom is younger than the bride. Polygamy is prevalent among certain tribes to

exhibit prestige and importance. Multiple wives, as with the Saoras, help in sharing and reducing the burden of labour. Clan exogamy is observed by most tribes and even village exogamy by some of them. Extra-marital relationship is riot approved by the tribes and is not of common occurrence either. The most interesting thing in the Bonda society is that the youth enjoyes complete freedom for the selection of his/her life partner. No other tribal society of Odisha has granted freedom to such an extent to their youths as enjoyed by the Bonda tribe. However, with the impact of the changes of religion like Christianity as well as modernization this so called ancient sacred rituals and practices are started fading.

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Plate 01: - Girl & Boy watching each other during marriage proposal
(Koya Tribe)

Plate 02: - After finalisation of marriage celebration during negotiation
(Koya Tribe)

Plate 03: The village ladies are bathing the groom with holy water on marriage day.

Plate 04 : Relatives & villagers of groom going for bring the bride

Plate 05: Marriage procession by the bride villagers

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Plate 06: Bride and Groom in marriage

Plate 07: Newly Married couple of Koya tribe

Folk Tradition in Chettikulangara, with Special Reference to the Ritual Art form of Chettikulanagara Kuthiyottam

Priya Soman

Siddharth M

Chettikulangara Sree Bhagavathy temple is one of the most renowned Sakthi worship temples in Kerala. This temple is situated at Mavelikkara Taluk in Alappuzha district. One of the most important aspects of Chettikulangara Sree Bhagavathy temple is the deity here appears as Mahasaraswathy in morning, as Mahalekshmi in noon and as Mahakali or Sree Durga in evening.

The folklore tradition and arts includes elements from the traditional lifestyle of the people of a region. The traditional beliefs, customs, rituals etc. are reflected in the folk art and songs of that region. Chettikulangara has a rich tradition of Folklore. Folklore in this region is a spontaneous expression of human behavior and thoughts. Generally speaking, Folklore could be defined as the lore of the common people who had been marginalized during the reign of feudal Kings and Bhraminical predomination. The people of Chettikulangara have their culture and lore which were mostly part of agricultural. Sowing, planting, clearing out the weeds, harvests etc. are the different stages of agriculture which have their typical rituals. Numerous songs and performing arts are accompanied with them .Religious coloring is seen in almost all of these folk dances, even in those performed in connection with harvests, sowing of seeds, festivals etc., so much so that their secular nature is always at doubt. There is difficulty in classifying these dances as social, religious and martial.

The folk arts of Kerala can be broadly classified into two as ritualistic and non-ritualistic. Ritualistic folk arts can be further divided into two as devotional and magical. Devotional folk arts are performed to propitiate a particular God or

Goddess. Chettikulangara Kuthiyottam is an example for this. Folk art forms like thottampattu, which is performed in Chettikulangara is composed in the form of songs. Magical folk arts seek to win general prosperity for a community or exorcise evil spirits or to beget children. Gandharvas and nagas are worshipped in order to win these favours. The magical folk arts include pambinthullal, pooppadathullal, kolamthullal, malayankettu etc. Most of the folk dances are performed to the accompaniment of songs which are sung by the dancers themselves or occasionally by a group of musicians. Some dances are performed to the accompaniment of musical instruments only. In several dances the performers form a circle and clap as they dance. Sometimes, instead of clapping they strike small sticks which they hold in their hands.

The Chettikulangara Sree Bhagavathy Temple is famous for the art forms like Kuthiyottam and Kettukazcha.This temple has played a major role in the social unification of the society here. The festivals here are an event of all section of people in Chettikulangara nadu of neighbouring places. Public feasts, construction of kettukazcha etc ensure the participation of people belonging to different classes. . Another important feature of the feast is that the ingridients of the feast are made in the village itself. During barani day all houses will prepare a special dish using fish which is an example of a brahmanical tradition followed, even though Brahmins are enjoying the rituals and rites of the temple.

Chettikulangara Kuthiyottam is a unique temple art which is a symbolic representation of human bali or homicide and this is considered as the most unique offerings to the deity here .The main objective of this seminar paper is to reveal the and understand about the folk tradition of the rituals of Chettikulangara with special reference to Kuthiyottam, the world famous traditional temple art form of kerala.

The main highlight to these festivals of Chettikulangara is of course Kuthiyottam, which is very unique in its features. The Kuthiyottam started on the fine day of Shivarathri. Kuthiyottam is probably the single largest unique devotee offering or *Vazhupadu* in Kerala or in any part of the country in terms of expenditure involved. According to present circumstances and Market condition, the expenditure for even a minimum state kuthiyottam runs to at least rupees three to five lakhs. Kuthiyottam is performed as an important offering to the deity. It is a symbolic human sacrifice to appease goddess Kali. It is believed that the origin of kuttiyottam is from blood sacrifice to please the ferocious Goddess Kali and the ritual has moderated over time, possibly under the influence of Buddhism .Kuttiyottam sponsors who vow to offer Kuttiyottam adopt two or four pre-pubescent who are to symbolically sacrificed on behalf of the sponsor. They are adopted on the day of shivaratri and brought to the sponsor's house where a canopy is erected and a shrine of Kali is constructed... On the fine day of Shivarathri these children will start their training under well trained masters known as *Kuthiyotta Asans*. All these days up to Bharani, these people will host public get together and arrange food for them .The children will be taught a special dance steps Called *Kuthiyotta Chuvadukal*. On the day of bharani the boys are bathed and dressed up as kings with paper crown, bangles and fac. Their abdominal skin is pierced with silver or golden thread the ritual is known as Chooral Muriyal the name comes from Chooral (cane), as cane threads were used earlier and muri (cut). They are then taken to the temple, accompanied by pompous procession. In the front of the sanctum sanctorum they dance to four songs praising the goddess and thread is then removed and offered to the goddess. These boys are now ritually dead and may not take part in kuttiyottam again.

Kuthiyottam is mainly a ritual dance practiced and perfected through several centuries .It used to be done only in the places decided to conduct it by the people, who pledged to conduct it. Kuthiyottam starts one week before Bharani Day. It is a type of folk dance performed by youth with the accompaniment of folk music and other musical instruments. Children adopted for symbolic homicide were taught the ritual dance here amidst of big social gathering before the portrait of the deity .Fasts also provided for all the people gathered there.

Kuthiyottam is in fact a ritualistic symbolic representation of Human Bali or Homicide. Homicide Practices of these sacrifices are mostly associated with _Shaktism,_ and in currents of _folk Hinduism_ strongly rooted in local tribal traditions. This aimed to pleasing the deity by shed blood and this is really a trace from folk tradition. In Ancient days, the Primitive war goddess _Kottavai_ is said to have been pleased by see the blood and the symbolic representation of human homicide associate with Chettikulangara Kuthiyottam indicate this also.

During Sangam age, the whole Tamilakam, which kerala was a part in it was divided into different geographical sectors known as 'Tinais'. This was a division on the basis of Vegetation, flora and fauna. Tinais were of five in numbers which is known as'Aintinais' .Palai was the third Tinai. This was the arid region ,which was lack of Vegetation .So the people didn't have any means to live .So, they used to earned by plundering and worked as protector of merchants by accompanying them to pass through the Palai Tinai. Blood, blood sheds and war was a part of their daily routine .Their chief deity was a Goddess called 'Kottavai' .This Kottavai was the only female deity of the period. She was considered as war goddess of the period .The people of this Tinai used to conduct human homicides and by this they shed blood in order to satisfy their mother goddess. Thus Bhadrakali is considered as the Goddess being satisfied by blood. Kottavai is thus considered as primitive Bhadrakali .Thus bloodshed was a usual practice in Bhadra kali temple .Thus,

historians argued that kuthoyottam of Chettikulangara temple is really a ritualistic representation of ancient human homicides.

Folklore exponents see this art form, with enchanting well-structured choreography and song's, as one among the rare Aadi Dravida[4] folk lore tradition and environment. Typical to Aadi Dravida folk dance and songs the movements of dancers ,clad in white *Thorthu mundu* and *baniyan,the simple dress* , Choreographed in Kuthiyottam are quick, peak at a particular point and ends abruptly.

A few exponents also site similarities for Kuthiyottam in *Padayan* another popular folk lore of Central Travancore. Similarly, the traditional songs also started in a stylish slow pace, then gain momentum and ends abruptly. Kuthiyotta Kalaries are run by Kuthiyotta asans.They trained the group to perform the dance and songs. Normally the training starts about one or two months before the season.

The songs mainly in four rhythms, popularly known as *"Paadam"*, literally means footstep and it is compulsory to sing all the four paadam every day of performing[5]. The music has resemblance with folk music and in early days it was orally transferred from generation to generation. The songs elaborated on the deeds of Bhagavathy, how she killed asuras like *Sumbha, Nisumbha and Darika* etc and aims to please her by singing her virtues .Some old songs, rich with lyrical quality, show the creative talents of the forefathers of Chettikulangara.

The boys who adopted by the man who pledged for Kuthiyottam were get training and the taught the ritual dance. Early in the morning of Bharani, after food and other rituals this boys, whose body is pierced with a golden or silver wire at one end of which tied in their belly and an aracnut fixed on the tip of a knife held high over their head are taken in procession to the temple with the accompaniment of beating of drum, music, ornamental umbrellas and other classical folk art forms,

elephant etc. All the way to the temple tender coconut water will be continuously poured on their body.

After the procession reached the temple the boy stand at a position facing Sree kovil or the sanctum sanctorum and begin to dance. Then the wire pierced to their skin where by a few drops of bloods comes out .The ceremony comes to an end with the presentation of prizes to the Kuthiyotta Asans and ths is known as *Dakshina*[6].

Besides Kuthiyottam, there are some other rituals and tradition in Chettikulangara, which has routs in tradition and folk life style. During the time of *Ethirelppu Mahotsavam* the rituals *Thottampattu* is sung by a section of the community residing in the far off Trivandrum .Some historians argued that, the *Thottampattu* here indicate the existence of *Abrahmana* Worship in Chettikulangara.

Thottampattu is an old ritual performed at the *Pattambalam* in the temple premises during the thirteen day Ethirelppu festival. *Bhadrakali's mudi*, the imaginary hair of goddess, that is a size wooden piece with deity's sculpture portrait will be installed in the *Pattambalam*. *Thottampattu* is performed before this *Bhadrakali's Mudi* with necessary preparations. Kuruppasans of a family from Kaniyapuram near Thiruvananthapuram sings *Thottampattu*, the songs aimed to invoke Bhadrakali, thrice during every day of the festival. The songs and rituals related to Thottampattu always throw light to the traditional and folk lore aspects of the folk lore system of Central kerala.

Mainly, the traditional songs in thottampattu include "Darika Vadham", the killing of a demon named as Darika by Bhagavathy, Balaka's birth etc .People believed that children would cure and develop immunity from fits *Pakshibadha*, possibly an ancient name for polio by hearing Thottampattu. All these had some traits to the folk lore culture and tradition of ancient kerala.

The existence of mother goddess was a reality among the primitive tribal and agrarian society in kerala .Because they considered nature as their prime mother. When their agriculture was in profit, they were ready to offer anything to this Mother goddess. And when agriculture was in lost, they thought that it was due to the curse of mother goddess. In such situations, they conducted human homicide, in order to please the mother Goddess. The each and every above mentioned ritual in Chettikulangara Sree Bhagavathy temple open the way towards the folk lore traditions of the society.

Thus, by analyzing all these, we can conclude the rituals, art and tradition of Chettikulangara, especially related to Kuthiyottam have its trait to the folk lore culture of the society here and that's why all these became very unique in its nature.

End Notes

1. Chettikulangara Bhadran,*Chettikulangara AmmaMahatmyam(Keerthanangal),* Chettikulangara,2010,p.6
2. Ritualistic dance form associated with Kuthiyottam.
3. Unnithan.K.S,*Chettikulangara Kshetram- Mahatmyavum Aithihyavum*,Mavelikara,1993,p.137.
4. Chettikulangara Bhadran,Op.cit.,pp6-7
5. Unnithan.K.s.op.cit.,p.132.
6. Chettikulangara Bhadran,Op.cit.,p8
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Irony in Context : A Study of Popular Russian Expressions in Soviet Era
Rashmi Kumari Jha

Abstract

A language is not complete without its stylistic tools which enhance its beauty and add extra colour to the languages. As sometimes we see that the speaker does not mean what he says, one uses empirical tools of languages in languages to shade the whole picture. Present article deals with one of the linguistic tropes and its uses in language and speech.

Keywords – Irony, Tropes, context, Soviet period, Language

This article talks about one of the very common stylistic tools in a language and how this tool influences and changes the understanding of the natives as well as of the foreign learners. Like any other language in Russian as well, Irony is a complex linguistic phenomenon which occurs quite spontaneously amid communication. Comprehending irony at times is a tough task because of its cultural, situational, verbal and sometimes historical background. It is quite difficult for individual to decode the irony in a sentence if one has no idea about the back story of the expression, so it demands a precise and logical listener in its application. As per Jeff Keller "it has a real value and a face value" (Keller J., Irony) the face value is not surprising in nature as it describes the direct meaning of a word or a sentence, But what makes it ironic in nature is the real value and that is why discussing irony in linguistic discourse needs an honest audience, because an honest audience can find out the meaning hidden in it. According to Norman D. Knox "it always has an audience, even if it is only the author amusing himself; and a victim, who is deceived by appearance and enlightened by reality, although an author may turn himself into a pseudo victim."(Knox, Norman D. "Irony", in Dictionary of the History of Ideas, 1973) this describes the innate nature of the

irony which always has a person to play upon, leaving others to discuss. Irony uses antonymous expressions instead of antonyms which indicate that it mocks upon the individuals using those qualities which they do not possess in reality. The linguistic aspect of irony covers a wider section of cognitive linguistic sciences which is based on the principle of different analogy of human mind and that is why it is easier for irony to have new expressions each and every day because the study of human mind is a complex phenomenon, it changes from person to person and no one has understood it completely which leaves a wider scope for research.

What is an irony?

Irony is a device of both mind and language for acknowledging the gap between what is expected and what is observed. (Gibbs, Raymond W. Jr., Colston, Herbert L. Irony in language and thought: A Cognitive Science Reader: NY, 2007.)

As per different interpretation An Irony is;

A figure of speech in which what is stated is not what is meant. The user of irony assumes that his reader or listener understands the concealed meaning of his statement.

In stylistics, a statement with a double meaning that expresses mockery or cunning. In irony a word or utterance acquires in the context of speech a significance that is opposite to its literal meaning, negates it, or casts doubt upon it (Rozin N. P., The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 1979).

Irony in soviet period

The uses of irony in Russian literature cannot be stated, it has already started way back in 19th century when writers started criticizing governing bodies using ironical expressions. Since then it has engraved its presence everywhere in Soviet

literature. Many of popular soviet writer, poet and linguist gave this a new impulse. V. G. Belinsky, N. A. Nekrasov, and M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, N. V. Gogol is some prominent names who beautifully used their literary techniques and rhetoric expressions to use irony. The need for something which could directly praise and metaphorically criticize the regime gave birth to ironic expressions in Russian literature, as we know about the stringent and highly authoritarian rule of soviet era.

Irony in context

Contextual irony or irony in context has evolved due to its usage in socio-historical events. This includes the expressions used by some famous literary characters, in some particular context or the expressions used by prominent faces in order to address and aware the masses and even now as well these expressions are timeless but with a different interpretation.

Here are few examples from the soviet era and which later on transformed in to a contextual irony.

- Every cook must learn to govern the state.

This quote was taken from an article of V. I. Lenin "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" Lenin talking about the proletariats says "so we are not utopians we know that any unskilled worker and cook is not able to run the government but we demand an immediate break with the prejudiced view that only the rich, or officials chosen from rich families, are capable of administering the state, of performing the ordinary, everyday work of administration. We demand that training in the work of state administration be conducted by class-conscious workers and soldiers and that this training be begun at once…"

This expression was then used to show that everyone was equally important and any one can govern the state but now it is used ironically and indicates towards

those people who are unprofessional and unskilled and but engaged to important work of state.

- Pipe of peace

There was a tradition in the natives of North America that on the name of reconciliation they smoked with the enemy a pipe which was called "pipe of piece" it was first mentioned by the Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807 — 1882) in "The Song of Hiawatha" which was translated in Russian by Ivan Bunin in 1896 . In Russia this expression became popular from the novels of the American writer James Fenimore Cooper (1789 — 1851) "Pathfinder", "Prairie", "The Last from Mohicans".

To smoke the pipe of peace" meant to make peace or to reconcile. But now pipe of peace is used ironically to show the false and figurative reconciliation.

- Rich Buratino

This expression is from a movie "The Adventures of Buratino" (1975), made by the Director Leonid Nechayev and written by Ivana vetkina which was based on the fairy tale "Gold Key" (1936) of Soviet writer Aleksey Tolstoy (1883 — 1945).

This expression indicates to those people who became rich not from their own labor or qualities but from other means.

- Solo performance (theatre of one actor)

This expression became trendy in Russia in 1920.The story was about a theatre named Sovrimennik in Russia which was established in 1927 and the only actor in theatre — Vladimir Nikolayevich Yakhontov (1899 — 1945) played the entire role.

This term is now used ironically for that organization whose heads play all the important roles and give no space to others.

- Privy councilor of the leader

This expression became popular from the work of Vladimir Uspensky. It was used for Stalin and his advisers and councilors who always stayed besides him and defended his policies no matter how bad or illogical it was.

Later on the term became ironical for those advisors and official heads who always supported the decisions of their heads.

- We've been ploughing

This set expression is used as irony for those people who take credit of other's achievements and exaggerate there importance and role in any business.

The term originated from the fable 'The Fly' (1803) by Ivan Ivanovich Dimitriev (1760-1837):

He wrote

Bull with a plow worked hard on the feilds

A fly was seated on his horns, and

They met with each other.

'How are you, sister?' - Was his question.

And she raised the nose, and said in response:

How? - We've been ploughing!

- Drunken Hare

This phrase was used in a fable by Sergei Mikhalkov 'Drunken Hare'

Yes I will skin him alive

And send him to Africa naked!

Says a drunken rabbit about the lion. But as soon as a lion appears in front of him, he trembles in fear and started shivering.

The phrase 'drunken hare' is used as an ironically for coward people, who fakes their strength in front of others.

- Oh! Familiar faces!

This expression originated from the comedy 'Woe from Wit' (1824) of Alexander Griboyedov

(1795-1829). in which Famusov says (Act 4)

Daughter, Sophia Pavlovna!

Shameless! Where! With whom!

Just like her mother, my deceased wife

Sometimes my better half

Little apart - Already somewhere with a man

Now used to wonder at the unexpected meeting with any person.

These examples show the transitional phase of irony from sentences to expressions. Even if we consider Hindi language and Russian in the same frame we will find that intertextuality (story behind expressions) has been an important linguistic substance which helps irony in endorsing different meanings.

For example the famous expression of Hindi "Tum to Ram ho" used ironically when someone is cunning and clever enough to deceive people where "Ram'' originally indicates a mythological Hindu god who is said to be the most loyal and honest person on earth. Same with the expression "Tum to Harishchandra ho" or "Tum to Yudhisthir ho" whereas these names indicates mythological Hindu gods who were very honest, loyal and truthful, it is used ironically for those who display antonymous qualities to above mentioned things.

These changes in meaning do not just demonstrate the shift of language from one dimension to another; it also shows the shift of human cognition and perception of masses. And if individuals do not possess the ability to comprehend the intertextuality, irony rooted in it stands away from their cognition. With time expressions can fade or loose its temper but so far as these stylistics tools exist, it will keep reinventing its beauty and amusing us in different ways.

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Kirat Myths in Some Indian Nepali Poems

Suman Bantawa

Introduction of Myth

In today's reality, myth is a kind of story. It relates with the gods, the soil and stones, water and fire, earth and sky, environment, living and non-living, mankind and the elements beyond human being. Its field has been the world of faith and fantasy, physical and para-physical, truth and untruth, the imagination and beyond. That is the reason why some believe the myths as the true story and others take it for fiction. In fact, the word *myth* has been derived from Greek word *mythos* meaning– oral story (Jagdish Prasad Shreewastav, 1985:6) in English and *Mythak* in Hindi and Nepali. Some scholars believe that this has derived from the religious belief (Lewis Spence,1921:11) in which the stories relating to the origin of the cosmos, God, Life and Death, re-birth, super-natural and super-human elements, ancestral or the stories of the gallantries are involved. (Krishnahari Baral, 2012:175). In this regard, the principle of the scholars such as Morford and Lenardon etc. on myths as the elaborate stories handed down from the pre-historic period (Mark P.O. Morford/Robert J. Lenardon 2003:3), has been worth mentioning because in such myths, the history of mankind and its evolution, can be traced. From this point of view the myth cannot be taken simply as a fictitious exercise because there can be found the truthfulness, as well. As a result, Malinowski has regarded myths as the living reality, (Bronislaw Malinowski, 1948:78).

The myth, in any race, is handed down from generation to generation by way of oral tradition and its motif is mainly the well being of the mankind. In any community, these kinds of stories emerge mainly from two types of traditions.

First, it's the oral tradition and the written tradition is the second one. Written tradition signifies the tradition of the religious scriptures such as the Vedas, the Brahamans, the Upanishadas and the Puranas that develop from the well educated community. And the oral tradition means the stories told from the early times orally and the same remain between the story- teller and the listener. In such folk stories coming from one generation to another, the beliefs and the superstitions of the folks remain there in the central place. These kinds of folk- lore (folk- stories) found in vogue in any tribe can be classified in this category. But of such a many folk- lore, the myths prevalent in the Kirat tribe of the people of Nepali origin, found in the poetical writings, has been presented here.

The Relation between Myth and the Poetry

Myth is not an indispensable element of the poetry because we come across the excellent works of poems even without the use of the myths. But there is a school of the scholars who recognise the myths as a necessary component in the literary works. Among them chief scholars are Slegal, Mark Schorer, and Richard Chase. Mark Schorer states that the myths are the essential base of this poetry and Chase supports this statement saying that this poetry is the essential base of the myths. (Krishna Gautam, 1994:148). It is clear from this standpoint that the relation between the myth and the poetry has been interdependent. But, now the relation between the two is bridged together and which elements are instrumental in this exercise, is a matter of further discussion.

In fact, the elements such as imaginativeness, emotions or the symbolism in the myths assimilate it with the literature. In a way, myths are entertained in the literature for the sake of the images and symbols. In other words, myths are used in the literature as a complements of the depth of the content (Luxman Prashad Gautam, 1999:81). But the myths used largely in literature are not only for this

reason of imaginativeness, emotions or the symbols. Besides, the excellence of the use of the myths in the literature is for the reason that any writer does review his own life by explaining or re-explaining the myths (Baral/Atom, 2002:163). From this standpoint, it can be seen that the myths in any literature has been glorified not only as a special use in writing but also as a basic element of the literary work. In other words, there are the poetical works that have become eternal just because they have stood on the foundation of the myths and for this reason the myths have been accepted as the basic essential of the literature.

Kirat Myth and Nepali Poems

Kirat myth is dealt here as the one prevalent amongst the Rai and Limbu tribe within the Kirat group of the Nepali Community. Oral tradition has been a glorious history of this nature-worshipping community. The oral description regarding the origin of the universe in vogue in this community is known as the *Mundhum*. It is also known as the Kirat Veda because it contains the detailed history of the creation till date including the laws and restrictions and rituals meant for the welfare of the individuals, family and the society (Vairagi Kaila, 1999:251). This Veda is oral originally but recently the efforts have been there underway to go in for writing the same for the purpose of preservation. According to this oral Mundhum, *Tagera Ningwanfumang* the God, first created the universe out of the big black zero and then created the mankind and all the moving and non-moving things on earth. Along with the creation of the mankind, there developed among the human family and society the things like vices, greed and envy etc. The death or the untimely death and other evil things came side by side with the mankind and the evil spirits also haunt the human beings all through his lifetime. The mankind started worshipping the wondrous power of the nature such as the sun, the moon, the mountains, the rivers, the slopes and the birds and animals for their own

protection believing that the gods dwell on these natural elements (Kaila, 1999:257). In fact, there has been a remarkable similarity between the myths of *Sumnima-Paruhang* found in the *Mundhum* of the Rai clan and the myth prevalent in the Limbu community. It is for the reason that these two communities were one and the same originally. Therefore, in some of the poems, the myths of these two are found in the mixed form. But of these myths, some poets have brought a few myths as a source of their poetical works.

It is seen that the use of the Kirat myths in Nepali poetry was started since 1963 by Vairagi Kaila along with the tradition of third dimension writing. In his poem *Astitwako Dabima Sabatko Baila Utsav* (Vairagi Kaila, 1994:53) he has used myth of Tigenjongma (according to Imansingh Chemjong, the daughter of Nasigen and Tilisopatti, the eighth generation of the human being) (Purna Subba 'Sabahang', 2010:106). According to the Kirat Mundhum, Tigenjongma had two sons– *Kesami* (the tiger) and *Namsami* (the human being). The tiger son always says he would eat up the human son. Their mother gets frightened on hearing that. One day, she asks her human son to use the arrow if that tiger son attempted to devour him. Tigenjongma sits back, watching the two flowers named after her two sons. As per the word, if the flower *Ondong* faded away, then Kesami would be killed and if, on the other hand, the flower *Sekmari* got faded, their Namsami would be killed. Ultimately, the human being wins (Basudev Tripathi and others, 1990:193). An example of the use of myth in a poem –

> *Tigenjongna*
>
> *Kansko Thalma Umareka Jokhanaka Bot harule*
>
> *Ke bhanchan ?*
>
> (Vairagi Kaila, 1994:55)

The tradition of oracle itself is an ancient tribal character and the same is still prevalent in our folk life. And through this myth the binary opposition

between human being and animal has been shown in two characters, Namsami and Kesami. In a way, this dialectical trend in human life is there since the very beginning.

In the same manner, another poet Man Prasad Subba has Limbu Kirat myths in his poems used with a great success. His poetical work *Bhuiphutta Shabdaharoo*, published in the year 2013, contained the following poems which are remarkable in this view. The poems are *Meri Kirati Ama, Akashvani Nasunera, Ek Dhupauro Rato Angar* etc. an example –

Ek Khatti Kirati aimai

Meri Ama

Manuwa dahako sapha taral ainama

Sristiko suonderya dekhna sakne samvednako autar

Sumnimako santan ani

Pashutwa ra manchhetwako ananta dwandwalai

Sekmari phul ra Ondong phulko kalashharuma

Jokhana herdai

Chupchap

Surtale sukiraheki tigenjongnaki natini

Meri Ama.

(Man Prashad Subba, 2013:18)

Commenting on the dialectical nature between this human beings and animals as an all time law of the things, Shree Subba has given here the poetic touch to the origin and development of his own mother as descendent of *Sumnima* and her offspring *Tigenjongna*. *Sumnima* (Pravin Puma, 2011:24-25) is regarded as the primal mother by the Rai's Kirat. According to the Kirat Mundhum, *Kiratmong* (the creator) first created *Newagangninamma* and *Hitahangninamma* and for their

Sumnima was born who created all sorts of creatures on earth. To this same Sumnima, the Limboos called Yuma Sammang (Vairagi Kaila, 1994:247).

Likewise, we can discuss Subba's another poem *Ek Dhupauro Rato Angar*. In this poem *Mangenna* (Swami Prapannacharya, 2001:440) a rite of limboos performed mainly to earn name or prestige, has been dealt prominently. In this religious rite which is solemnized by the *Fedangba*, the limbu priest, prayer is cited to re-instate the lost health or the fame. (Purna Subba, 'Sabahang', 2010:143-44), following the desire and the command of the God *Ningwfumang*, God *Porokmi Yamfami* thought of creating a special creature like human being. In order to make this human being undying and imperishable, he built the human replica of the valuable metals like gold or silver and put the life into them. Unfortunately, that could not become the human being. Again, he made human replica out of the soil. But, that too, became a very dwarf human being. Considering that this kind of human being could not reign the world, Porokmi Yamfami threw away that on the earth. Later, the human being thrown away in this manner became *Khambongba Lungbongba*.These *khambongba Lungbongba* are regarded as *Yuma Samyoma*– the Master of the soil and stones.

Ultimately, *Porokmi* prepared a human replica out of the mixture of the ashes, bird-dung, soil, air and water. He then put the breath and soul by way of his divine power and the human being began to speak. On the one hand *Porokmi Yamfami* was happy on the creation of a human being but on the other hand he was rather angry as he failed to create human being out of the valuable metals such as gold or silver. He became implusive and so he spit at the face of that human and as a result his head fell down. He became rather lifeless and sick. In this way, the human being became mortal and had to bear with the humiliation. He could not bring back that human being to normal out of his trance like state and so he went to Ningwafumang. From *Ningwafumang*, the God, he understood that the state of the

human being was due to the act of spitting by himself. As per the advice of Ningwafumang, the God, the ritual of *Semirima Mangema* had to perform in the name of that newly created low-profile human being. Therefore, after the ritual of *Semirima Mangema,* that human being became fresh and fine again.

From then onwards, there is the ritual of *Mangema*, prevalent in the Limbu community for the sake of the re- instatement of the lost strength and vigour. Here is an example of its use in the poem of Shree Subba –

Ma

Kardale ghungring khipera phurka-phurka sapanako

Kalash bharera himalko panile jharilo titepatisita

Than sajauchhu

Than aghi baschhu sangkalpalai palentima kasera

Charaitirabata kanma thurrincha janda jhankriko bidrohi dhyangro

Dangkata Dangkata Dangkata Dang-

Ma tyahi layama kanse thal bajauchhu

He Lepmuhang ! Paruhang ! Mahakalbaba !

Yo pahadko shir dhaleko chha

Aja uthna bal gardaichha hai

He Parmessor !

Shir uthaunae shakti dew yaslai

Dangkata Dangkata- Thyang Thyang Thyang-

(Man Prasad Subba, 2013: 81)

In this poem the head of the mountain is shown in the low profile as an imagery to bring forth the critical racial identity in the present day. Now, the *Mangena* ritual is necessary to re-instate the lost pride, the poem has stated.

In the same manner, another poet, Sanjay Bantawa also has used the myths associated with the Rai's tribe in his poems. His poem *Eklo Chhu Antatira*, compiled in his book *Bisangatima Bhiktims Kavitaharoo* published in the year 1990 is the best example of this kind. From the very beginning Shree Bantawa seems aware about the use of myths and here is an example–

Euta Trastatale vaishakh, mangshir-haru

Setammyai, lataramma-

Matoko bedi uthayera ragat haru

Pitri !

Purvajharu dekhinchha Chula-Dhungama.

(Sanjay Bantawa, 1990:56)

In this poem, the *Suptulung* or *Samkha* (Pitra or worship of Ancestors) has been referred as a sacred ritual. This ritual has an important place among the Rai's community. After the completion of any new house, the Three Stones are placed in the sanctum by the *Mangpa*, Singing the Ridum Mundhum *Henkhama Matlunglo Hangchha muluhha Chhang Matdung* i.e. without the earth human life is not possible. (Rajan Mukarung, 2005:7). These three stones are regarded as the symbol of *Diwalung* (Ancestors), *Chhenbilung* (Property/Daughters) and *Sawalung* or *Chasumlung (*offspring/gentle people) respectively. In this community, all the rituals right from the birth till death are performed by keeping these stones as the witness, and normally the ancestors are worshipped twice in a year i.e. in the month of Vaisakh and Mangsheer.

Thus, the belief is there in this community that the happiness and riches can be obtained by worshipping the *Suptulung* or *Samkha* (the Ancestors). And the ancestors in this poem are seen in these Fire Stones. That means, they are the physical form of that symbol.

Conclusion

Thus, the myths are not only the history of the ancient time expressing the various aspects of life but also are the accumulated knowledge of the real life. However, they are the religious faith (David A. Leeming, 2005:xi), religious stories (Satyendra, 2006:103), stories of gods (Hardwarilall Sharma, 1990:405), disease of the language (Max-muller, 2010:22) and history (Euhemerus, 1921:42) in non–literary point of view, the symbolism, the emotions and the imaginativeness inherent in the myths are the important components of the literature. Due to these reasons, the myths are being necessary elements in the literature. They have their appropriateness in the literary works. There are some works of literature which have become immortal because of the myths in them and others are heading towards this direction. The poems as quoted and discussed above are the best instances of this fact.

(Translated from Nepali by Arjun Pradhan)

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Linguistics and Langauge Pedagogy

Culturally Sensitive Pedagogical Model for the Multilingual Context of English Language Teaching in India
Nivedita Vijay Bedadur

This chapter discusses the concept of multilinguality in the context of the multilingual mosaic of India. It argues for an understanding of ELT as a part of the multilingual mosaic. Finally it proposes a culturally and socially sensitive model of pedagogy for English which is rooted in a mutually enriching multilingual mosaic.

The first section explores the concept of Multilinguality from many perspectives. The second section goes on to examine the models of ELT followed in the country. It goes on to prove that these models follow a subtractive pedagogy that has no place for the children's home languages. The third section proposes a culturally sensitive pedagogy for the teaching of English in India. It finally describes an experiment in multilingual pedagogy for the teaching of English.

Defining Multilingualism

Multilingualism has been defined by different scholars in different ways. A Multilingual is a person who has "the ability to use three or more languages, either separately or in various degrees of code-mixing. Different languages are used for different purposes, competence in each varying according to such factors as register, occupation and education" (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009).A person who is simply switching or mixing codes to communicate effectively or speaks many dialects or diaglossia of the same language, is considered Multilingual according to this definition.

It is also necessary for our purposes to distinguish between additive and subtractive bi/multilingualism. Additive multilingualism enriches both the

languages by their usage, while subtractive multilingualism refers to the loss of the first language as the second language dominates the learner's functional space.

In this chapter we use the term Multilinguality with reference to the human ability to communicate in several languages. The term multilingualism is used in the social sense of communicating in one or more languages. A multilingual person need not be proficient in all the languages which she uses for communication. Multilingual education and pedagogy are used in this paper with reference to the languages that are taught and used in the functional and communicative spaces in the school in India. It also refers to the use of these languages as the media of instruction[iv].

TheNature of Multilinguality

In todays' global world most human beings are multilingual. Agnihotri posits that Multilinguality is the nature of human beings (Agnihotri, Identity and Multilinguality : The Case of India, 2006). Franceschini defines Multilingualism as the fundamental human ability to be able to communicate in several languages (Franceschini, 2011). We can look at multilinguality as a concept from three different perspectives.

Language - Multilinguality is the nature of language. All languages in a sense are a mixture of other languages. Commerce, conquest and exploration has led to the movement of people throughout history leading to a borrowing and assimilation of terms from other languages, in all languages of the world. In another sense almost all languages have a certain amount of diaglossia[4], a condition where spoken or informal language differs significantly from formal

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[4] Diaglossia – A Language having two or more forms – formal and informal, quite distinct from each other

written language.Languages also have class and caste varieties whichat one level may be thought of as different languages.

People - In today's world all of us are multilingual: most people speak two or more languages; we use different dialects, languages, styles or registers to do different things. The language we use with the auto-rickshaw driver and the language we use in mobile messages may share some common features while the language we use in academic communication is very different.We also constantly use words from other languages in our daily use.Moreover we indulge in code mixing for our functional needs.

Culture and Society – We cannot think of language apart from culture and society. Language is the cognitive tool for thinking and expression. Culture transmits itself through language and that is where language becomes dynamic; by absorbing and assimilating cultural symbols of other languages.However, social structures introduce stratification of language. Language policies create hierarchies and politicization of languages. Power creates notions of 'standard' versus 'nonstandard' in language. This increases the distance between languages leading to the death of minority languages.

A. Multilingualism in India

In India multilingualism has always been part of our cultural and social ethos. The richness and complexity of the Indian multilingual situation, characterized by both individual and societal bilingualism may be ascertained from the from the facts that over 1652 languages belonging to four different language families are spoken in India; printing media uses 87 languages, radio 71, schools 47 as media of instruction (Agnihotri, Towards a Pedagogical Paradigm Rooted in Multilinguality, 2007). Any average Indian speaks two to three languages for different purposes in her daily life. I speak Marathi at home, Hindi or Kannada in the street and English, Hindi for official purposes. I also understand Bengali and

Gujrati spoken by my neighbor. My domestic help speaks a dialect of Marathi which I follow and even use to communicate with her. Yet the startling fact is that, "nearly 80% of Indian languages are endangered (Mohanty, Panda, Phillipson, & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). India is a multilingual country in which many languages co-exist, many languages are maintained, but at the same time many languages are also treated with neglect, discrimination and deprivation. Power, privilege and, hegemony in political, economic and social life leads to hierarchies in Indian Multilingualism.

One of the most important factors responsible for confirming and maintaining the hierarchical status of certain languages is the language policy in education. This is evident by the fact that only 33 mother tongues out of the 1652 are used as media of instruction with 18 of them being standard, dominant languages. Only 26 languages are used as first languages in schools and out of them majority of the schools have one of the 19 recognized languages of the Eighth Schedule or English as the first language. The home languages of children who speak other than these languages find no space as first languages of the school!

Thus on the social level Indian multilingualism is a mosaic where maintenance is the norm but on the political/ economic and educational level there are inequalities and hierarchies. For example there are more than 83 million tribal people in India who speak 159 languages and none of them are school languages neither as medium of instruction, nor as subjects of study!

This is despite the fact that Article 350A of the Indian constitution directs State Governments and local authorities to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.[v]

B.Multilingualism in the Classroom and the place of English

Although multilingualism is constitutive of the nature of human language the medium of instruction in India has always been a 'standard' language as opposed to 'local' or minority languages which have been labelled as 'vulgar'. The three language formula further marginalized minority languages by introducing three standard languages into the curriculum. English was given the status of one of the standard languages to be studied as the first or second language in school.

Reversing the trends from the past, the National Curriculum Framework 2005, through its position papers on English and Indian Languages, places English as one of the Indian Languages. The emphasis is on English as an Indian Language which will enrich all the Indian languages. This position is rooted in the concept of Multilinguality as it 'correlates positively with cognitive growth, divergent thinking and social tolerance.' (Agnihotri, Multilinguality and the teaching of English in India) However schools still practice a subtractive multilingualism, which increasingly leads to the loss of the child's home language. And minority languages do not find any place at all in education.

A child's first social contact is her family.She constructs her identity in this culture. Her first cognition is in her home language. For her, the journey from the language of the home to the language of the class room traverses through the languages of the street. In this journey ifthe new languageencounter devalues the home language there is a loss of identity. This is observed more starkly in the case of rural or urban underprivileged children speaking minority languages. In Uttarakhand, a child who is speaking Tharu at homemeets versions of Tharu, Punjabi and Hindi on the streets meets standard Hindi in the text books in school. The language of her culture is devalued in the school where she is required to transition from the 'vulgar' tongue to the more 'scientific' language of the class

room. The devaluation is further fostered by the aspiration of her parents who encourage her to learn the languages of the class room, as these are icons of social mobility, economic opportunity and access to education. Although, Right to Education has provisioned equal access to education to every child, learning cannot not happen without valuing the culture and language of the childin the class room.When the child encounters English, which is neither the language of the home, nor the street, it leads to creating 'a burden of incomprehension' which the child carries with her throughout her school life. To change this trend, in 2007 Ramakant Agnihotri argued for a pedagogy that is rooted in Multilinguality with English as one of the Indian languages that would ensure 'the emergence of a society that is marked not only for happiness and peace, but also for justice, equality and care for others' (Agnihotri, Towards a Pedagogical Paradigm Rooted in Multilinguality, 2007).

C. Why English as one of the Indian languages in a Multilingual Class room

- Since most states had to introduce English from Class I in response to the aspirations of the people, laying aside theoretical claims and practical directives (UNESCO'S 1955: 11) that children learn best in their home languages; it follows that the treatment of English in the class room needs to be as one of the languages of the classroom and not at the cost of their home languages.

- The NCF 2005, basing its statements on research in the area says that the 'burden of incomprehension' that minority language speaking students face when they encounter 'dominant' regional languages and English in school needs to be changed to createmeaningful learning environments. We believe that these meaningful learning environments can be created by treating all the languages in the class room as a resource for learning.

Recommending a model of multilingual pedagogy for a socially sensitive approach

The present models of multilingual educationin India are

- **Submersion Model** – the child learns the dominant regional language as a subject and medium of instruction, use of the home language is strictly forbidden in school.

- **Subtractive Immersion Model** – Use the child's home languagein class room transaction as a bridge to transition to the target languagewhich is then used as a medium of instruction.

Three Language Formula – Use three languages taught as first, second and third language. These languages are regional languages, Hindi and English, which may not be the home languages of the children. These languages are taught as subjects and only one of the languages which is the first language of the school (not the child) is used as the medium of instruction.

Two languages as medium of instruction -The Kendriya Vidyalayas and some other schools use two languages (Hindi and English) as medium of instruction while children learn three languages: Hindi, English, Sanskrit or the regional language as subjects. However children whose home languages are different are faced with a completely alien language in the class room.

Why a culturally sensitive multilingual model of pedagogy for ELT?

Historically these models have failed for obvious reasons –

o They are not socially sensitive context related models of multilingual pedagogy.

o Theyassume a homogeneous class room in terms of language and culture. They also attempt to homogenize the class room to transition to a standard language which leads to marginalization of home languages and cultures of the children.

o   They assume a cohesive body of knowledge and language which is transmitted through the text book. Linguistic knowledge is universal at the meta-level but each culture, social situation and even caste and class have their own ways of expression and cognition. This is the child's first learning experience, which finds no place in the class room.

o   Linguistic and cognitive heterogeneity is proved by research to be beneficial to learning. These principles are ignored by the homogenization approach.

o   Using two standard languages as medium of instruction creates stratification of those languages on the basis of the subject for which they are used. The basis for decisions on medium of instruction violates the principle of equity. Eg. Why is Mathematics taught in English and Social Science in Hindi?

o   The three language formula does not include the mother tongue of children from other than regional tongue communities and this number is very large, it creates hierarchies in the form of 1st, 2nd and 3rd language and gives different curricular goals, materials and pedagogy for each, the medium of instruction remains the dominant regional language or Hindi or English.

o   In cases where the languages of the school do not coincide with the child's home language – i.e. in the case of marginalised tribal languages the child's identity is not affirmed in the school, the child's home language which is the language of his cognition is systematically devalued in the school.

Experimental Models of MLE in India

In India, experimental programmes of MLE have started in government schools for tribal children in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and are about to start in Chattisgarh. These programmes are again additive immersion programmes in home and dominant language but they do not include English in the multilingual mosaic.

Moreover they operate separately for tribal pockets as affirmative action intervention. The model that we propose is an inclusive model for any class room.

The Fourth Model

We propose a fourth model of using Multilingualism as a resource - Treat all the languages of the class room as a resource to enrich each other, not only as a subject and medium of instruction but also through a special activity class to create language awareness.

The Theoretical Basis of the Fourth Model

Language has traditionally been seen (by both lay persons and professionals) either as a mere 'means of communication' or as an external object, or as a human capacity for careful systematic enquiry by linguists. Its diversity, iconicity, symbolic power and its association with ethnicity, cultural practices and socio-political dynamics have often been ignored. (Agnihotri, Multilinguality and the teaching of English in India)

SURFACE FEATURES OF L1

Figure 1Dual Iceberg Model (Cummins: 2005)

SURFACE FEATURES OF L2

COMMON UNDERLYING PROFICIENCY
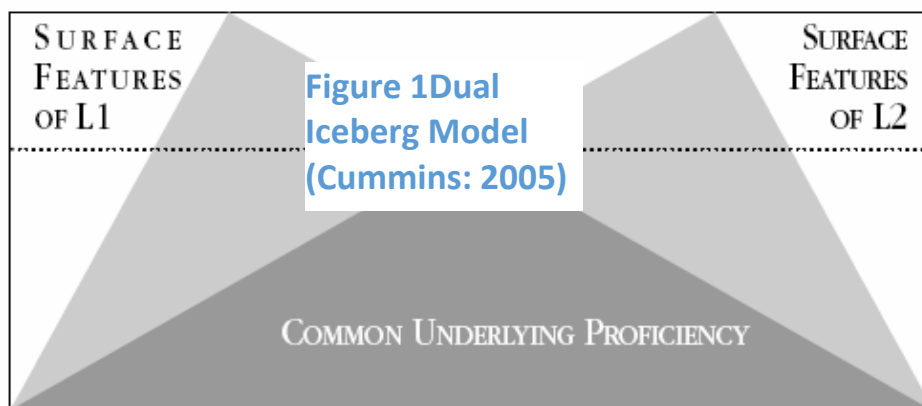
Jim Cummins in his

Interdependence Hypothesis has posited that the metalinguistic abilities acquired through L1s i.e. languages of the home and the street forms a common underlying proficiency which transfers to L2s (here languages of the class room). This means that the more space we create for L1s the more the CUP will increase. It also means that after a period, for example in higher primary classes the proficiency acquired in L2s will extend to the developing and maintaining of L1s. This leads us to the conclusion that home language of the child needs to be brought into the class room for the development of school languages and vice versa. Moreover, as the level of academic complexity of subjects begin to rise in the higher primary classes; the child should have the choice to continue her learning in whichever language she prefers.

Jim Cummins Model of Multilingual Pedagogy

In his article, Principles underlying educational success, Jim Cummins proposes the following pedagogical framework for a multilingual pedagogy.
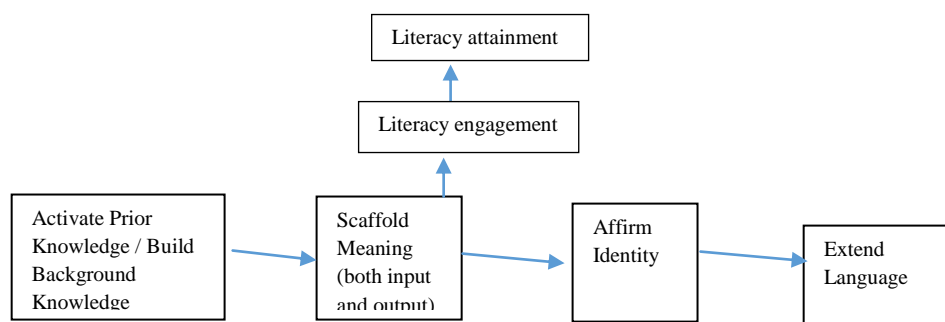
As we have said before the prior knowledge of a child entering school is in the language of her first cognition, the home language and the street languages. These languages need to have a space in the class room alongside dominant languages to create a literacy engagement. Also, they need to develop in each other's company.

What should a multilingual class room look like?

The pedagogy of the multilingual class room is a language across curriculum pedagogy. Languages no more remain mere subjects; they are the cognitive tools of the functioning and subject matter in every discourse. They negotiate learning in and through the various expressions of use. In this sense every teacher is a multilingual teacher. All class room discourses are multilingual.

-       The languages of the children are valued, respected and used as a resource for learning – they are used for learning (concepts) alongside class room languages.

-       The languages of the class room (Regional Language, Hindi and English) form part of the discourse alongside the children's languages.

-       The culture of the children's language enriches school languages like English and vice versa by the use of creative translations and learner created texts.

-       Creative experiments in code mixing or code switching become pedagogical tools in the classroom

-       Authentic texts or authentic multilingual texts emerge from the class room discourse

-       Data from different languages and varieties in the class room will constitute the basis for critical reflection and sharpen the cognitive skills of observation, classification, categorization, rule formation and hypothesis testing (Agnihotri, Identity and Multilinguality : The Case of India, 2006).

Taking these principles into consideration we will extend Jim Cummins model into a culturally sensitive pedagogical model.
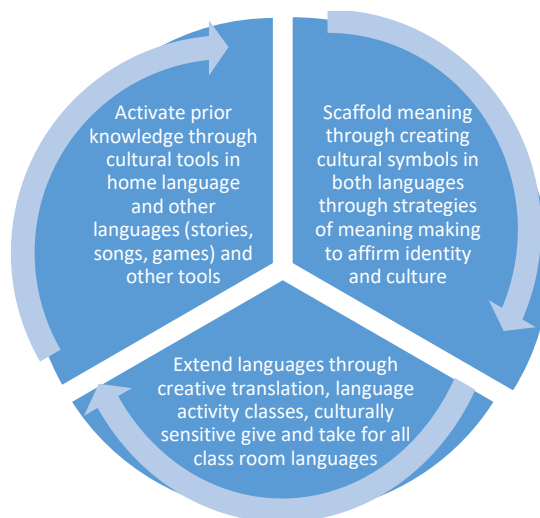
At this stage we are confronted by a basic issue: What does it mean to know a language? Jim Cummins' distinguishes two sets of competencies of language education for schools; BICS: Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills and CALP: Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency. He further orchestrates these into a framework of learning trajectory. We will now extend the framework of Jim Cummins to create a model of a culturally sensitive multilingual pedagogy for the teaching of English as one of the Indian Languages.
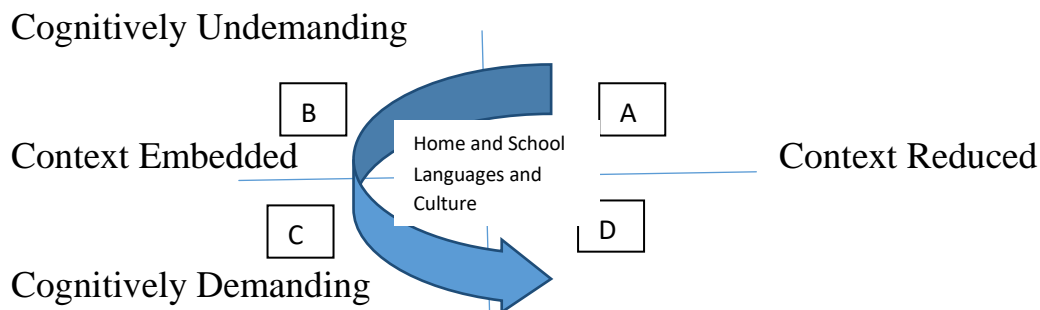
The pedagogical trajectory is as follows: From the culture and context reduced atmosphere of education in the dominant languages from the day the child enters the school as described by quadrant A, we move to a culturally sensitive multilingual pedagogy where the child's prior knowledge is scaffolded through her language and culture, to a context embedded and cognitively undemanding pedagogy of given and take of home and school languages. Next the child moves

towards a cognitively demanding and context embedded phase where the home language and school language enrich each other through methods like creative translation. The final phase is of cognitively demanding and context reduced academic language proficiency where the student chooses one or two languages for academic proficiency in education. These may be global languages or home languages.

There are many policy related issues which need close attention for the operationalization of the proposed model of pedagogy in education:

➢ Culturally sensitive pedagogical and academic material creation in home languages

➢ Teacher proficiency in home languages

➢ Public will and awareness of maintenance of home languages in case of minority languages

1. Experiments in Multilingual Pedagogy

The following section describes an experiment conducted by the author to create an interest amongst teachers teaching classes I to VIII in Surpur and Mandya districts of Karnataka in using a culturally sensitive multilingual pedagogy in the classroom. This experiment was part of a long term English language capacity building program conducted between 2012 and 13.

Multilingual Pedagogy

The multilingual pedagogy that was practiced seeks to explore the cultural and contextual materials of interest to teachers/ students to arrive at an awareness of how English language works. The materials used are: Songs in home and class room languages which form part of the cultural repertoire of the teachers / students e.g. newspapers, mobiles, stories, amar chitra katha comics, pamphlets in two to three languages. The objective was to create language awareness. The cognitive tools to create language awareness are: comparison, visualisation, analysis,

expansion, summarizing. These tools are available to L1 and are extended to L2 as the task moves from one language to another. The principles underlying the choice of materials in both languages were in conformation of the trajectory of the model of pedagogy outlined above.

Pedagogy- Activity 1

Objectives: Enhancing interest and motivation in reading through extending reading strategy /skills from L1 to L2

The participants were given stories in their home language, they visualized the situation of the stories and brought them closer to the students' life by localizing the names of characters, descriptions of characters and places. They connected the text to their lives and to other texts they have read. The reading happened in L1 and the whole group sharing happened in L2. In group discussions were in L1.

➢ Culturally enriching and contextually relevant texts

➢ Cognitively demanding task

➢ Opportunity to explore ones culture, language, identity in the classroom with learner chosen stories and songs

➢ Choice of learning materials – creating a path for ones learning

1. *Visualising* – Visualising in L1 and expressing in L2

2. *Making Text to Text connections* – Reading a text in L1 and talking about it in L2 while connecting it with other texts in L1 or L2

3. *Making Text to Life Connections* – Reading a text in L1 and talking about a similar incident in one's life in L2

Activity 2

Objective - Creating Language Awareness and Discourse Awareness through newspapers in two languages

The participants read newspapers in two languages and discussed the differences in idiom. They read headlines in L1 and expanded the news in L2 and vice versa. The participants read the same stories in two / three languages – one of which was their home language. They discussed the similarities in linguistic conventions realized that genre conventions are similar in both languages.

1.   Rhetoric - Observing headlines in newspapers in two languages and discussing the changes in expression and idiom

2.   Linguistic and discourse conventions-Using Amar Chitra Katha comics -reading the same story in three languages and discussing linguistic and discourse conventions

Activity 3

Objective: Creating an awareness of underlying universal features in grammatical conventions in L1 and L2

The participants read newspapers in two languages, pamphlets or advertisements of the same product in two languages, selected sentences from both languages and observed the similarities and differences between grammatical features e.g. how a verb works in both languages. How verbs work in both languages – *inflections, transitivity, expressions of futurity, prepositions or post positions*

The experiments

The first experiment was conducted with 30 teachers from elementary schools in Mandya. After conducting a DNA of the developmental needs of the teachers it was discovered that the teachers did not have the confidence to speak and learn English. The rural environs of Mandya did not provide any opportunity to the teachers to speak, read or write English. None of them had ever taught English and did not feel happy about doing so just now. In a long term development program comprising four workshops and continuing small group

meetings, we floundered with monolingual materials and activities. In intense reflection meetings the idea of trying out a culturally sensitive multilingual pedagogy for developing reading skills was born. What bilingual material is easily available and would appeal to the teachers? What are their interests? Cricket, cultural and religious gatherings, devotional music dominated their everyday life. So we encouraged our friends to begin with the songs they knew in their language. They would translate these songs for my benefit. But how could this be extended to learning? Then a colleague came to my rescue and suggested newspapers. I explored the websites for bilingual stories which were very close to the local culture. We also tried out stories and articles by famous writers in Kannada. What did we do with the bilingual texts? How would learning happen? Based on the principle of Language Awareness and Cummins Dual Iceberg model we explored the language awareness that the teachers possessed underlying their L1. Our hypothesis was that they could transition the language awareness to L2. At the same time they would be reading culturally relevant texts and doing cognitively challenging tasks. The problem with the monolingual communicative methodology is that the tasks that are designed for teachers with poor vocabulary and language ability are that they are such cognitively poor level that the teachers are often bored and dissatisfied. If you design a culturally relevant multilingual cognitively challenging task the teacher may find it difficult to do but she will not be broken because she cannot even do a stupid task in the target language! Moreover in a culturally relevant multilingual task she will be happy that she can do the task in her language, affirm her prior knowledge and finds it difficult but not impossible to do in the target language because of the cultural proximity. You are not giving her the message that she is stupid, but you are giving her the message that she needs some more language. The teachers read culturally and contextually relevant human interest articles in Kannada. Then they discussed these articles and drew text to

text and text to life connections. They spoke about the text and the connections with other texts or life in English. They were given a text in English and they discussed it in Kannada adding details of clothes, people, nature, thus doing an exercise in visualisation of the text in English. In these experiments teachers read a text in Kannada and did exercises in English or vice versa. They worked with bilingual stories and explored dictionaries for ramification and contextualisation of meaning.

The teachers did analytical exercises wherein they compared news in two newspapers and matched subtitles with news. They matched photographs with news. They looked at how one piece of news was expressed in two different languages, the words used, the meanings and contextual relevance of words used. How headlines work in two languages, their expansion and the conventions related to their expansion.

The second experiment was conducted with 30 resource persons from elementary and secondary schools in Surpur. This is a long term capacity development program in which we are developing autonomous learners and educators who impact change. The work with these change agents has been on perspectives, pedagogy and content of language. Casual visits to the schools revealed that the ideas explored in workshops did not have any impact in the class rooms. The change agents were overwhelmed with the contextual challenges in the class room and the cultural inertia set in once again. This was when moved from the workshop scene to the teacher learning centres. These teacher learning centres are run by Azim Premji Foundation. They are vibrant with cultural, academic and personal exchange of thoughts, ideas, arguments and play. It was in these TLC visits that the thought of using multilingual material for capacity development workshops took life. The hypothesis was that multilingual pedagogy will create interest and lead to echoes in the class room. Through a series of workshops the

participants explored a range of multilingual materials ranging from the cognitively undemanding to the cognitively demanding. The materials were always contextually relevant and culturally enriching. The multilingual materials used with this group were pamphlets, Amar Chitra Katha, bilingual stories and newspapers. The sub skills of reading were explored through this material, leaving the choice of language and story in the hands of the learner. We also tried our hands with Reading Cards prepared by Raipur DIET in Hindi and English. The exercise was specified. The language for reading was chosen by the participant, the group discussed in Hindi, Kannada or English but the presentation was in English. The presentation was sometimes in the form of pictures, acting and then as confidence grew through English.

A simple contextually relevant and culturally cognizant activity was to read a headline in one language and expand it in another. So we read headlines of the day's newspaper in Kannada or Hindi and expanded them in English and vice a versa. Later we moved around to read the headlines and expansions and discussed what was meaningfully expressed and what was not.

The challenge was to begin analyzing the two languages from the point of view of grammar and syntax. What does India share culturally from the remotest corners to the metropolis – a love for cricket? Where would one find this love expressed in the remotest corner. In the newspapers, even if it is a day old this news did find resonance with teachers – male, female, young and old. So sports pages of newspapers in two languages were examined, compared and analysed. We examined the syntax of a Kannada sentence and an English sentence, how verbs work in languages, the tense markers and use of auxiliaries in English and the use of inflections in Kannada. The group concluded that English was an easier language than Kannada!

These experiments are still going on. We cannot conclusively say that the use of multilingual pedagogy has brought about a change in the class rooms of the region. However some enthusiastic teachers have begun to use multilingual pedagogy in the class rooms. Some teachers have begun to teach English with more confidence in the classrooms. Some have stopped chastising themselves for slipping into the regional language in an English class room. Others have become inclusive, thinking of the many languages that children bring into the class room. The hypothesis that multilingual pedagogy will change the teachers' way of looking at the language has proved true. The experiment is in its infancy and there is no way of mapping its impact scientifically. But the experiment has brought out some amazing results in terms of teachers confidence, capability and attitude. (Bedadur, 2013)

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Challenges to the linguistic diversity of North Pakistan
Zubair Torwali

Abstract

Indigenous communities living in the mountainous terrain and valleys in northern Pakistan speak about 30 indigenous languages. Some of these languages are Khowar, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Torwali, Gawri, Palula, Kalasha, Dameli, Gawar-bati, Bateri, Chilloso, Dumaki, Brushaski, Ushojo, Balti, Wakhi, Yidgha et el. They are the known indigenous languages spoken in northern Pakistan.

All of these languages are '*endangered*' according to the UNESCO's Atlas of the World's languages in danger. These languages are endangered because of a number of challenges the languages and their speakers face. Crucial among these challenges are lack of political organization, marred identities, no written tradition, and marginalization, globalization, especially the rule of dominant languages over these languages, rough terrain, poverty and so forth.

The aforementioned cultural, political, linguistic and ecological milieu adds to the '*language and cultural loss*' among these communities. Notwithstanding the toughest challenges, there are some good initiatives carried out in these communities that are focused on reversing the language and cultural loss by documenting the languages and cultures in question, transmitting the languages and cultures to the coming generation; and by trying to make the languages relevant in pedagogical setting.

This study explores the challenges and threats faced by these communities along with the few good initiatives carried out by individuals and organizations for the documentation, preservation and promotion of these languages.

Introduction

The areas where these languages are spoken comprise of the mountainous northern parts of the northwestern frontier province named Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Gilgit-Baltistan. In Chitral only twelve languages (Decker, 2004) are spoken. These are Khowar, Kalasha, Dameli, Palula (Phalura), Gawar-bati, Yidgha, Shekhani, Eastern Kativiri, Madaglashti Persian, Gujari, Wakhi and Pashto. Khowar is the dominant language in Chitral whereas the Kalash community is the single indigenous community who are a religious minority as well. In the Swat valley the indigenous languages are Torwali, Gawri, Ushojo and Gujari. Pashto is the dominant language in Swat. Torwali and Gawri are said to be the ancient indigenous languages (Torwali, The ignored Dardic culture of Swat, 2015) of Swat which are traced back to the pre-Muslim era in the valley. In Indus Kohistan there are five indigenous languages spoken in addition to Gujari and Pashto. These languages are Kohistani, Shina, Chilliso, Gowro and Bateri ((Hallberg, 2002). In Indus Kohistan Shina and Kohistani are the major languages. In upper Dir district, adjacent to Chitral and Swat, Gawri is spoken along with the moribund language Kalkoti. The dominant language of upper Dir district in Pashto.In Northern Areas, present day Gilgit-Baltistan, Shina, Brushaski, Balti, Wakhi, Khowar and Domaki are spoken. The major languages here are Shina, Balti and Brushaski ((Backstrom & Radloff, 2002). All these languages excluding Wakhi, Yidgha, Balti and Brushaski are Indo-Aryan languages. They have further been classified as Dardic by a number of writers notably by G.W Leitner ((Leitner, 1880, 1866, 1886 and 1893). Yidgha, Madaglashti and Wakhi are Indo-Iranian whereas Balti is a Tibetan language. Linguists classify Brushaski as a 'language isolate' which means that this language does not go with any major language family. Gujari and Hindko are Indo-Aryan but not in the sub-family, Dardic. Hindko is spoken in Peshawar, Kohat and in the Hazara division especially in the districts of Abottabad and Mansehra. It is the second major language in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In these

districts it is the dominant language. Gujari or Gojri is the language of Gujar communities living in Northern and Southern Pakistan (Ethnologue, 2002). In Swat and other upper parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Gujari is also spoken by communities now stellated in some villages over the hills. In Mansehra district, a minor language, Mankiyali, also locally knows as Trawara, (Anjum & Rehman, 2015) is spoken by a small community of few hundreds. The language is Indo-Aryan Dardic and is also critically endangered.

The number of people speaking each of these languages is never estimated correct in Pakistan because in Pakistan these communities do not have a separate counting column in the census survey. Their populations vary from a few hundreds to thousands to a million.

According to Ethnologue[5] there are around 7,106 languages currently spoken in the world. Linguists estimate that by the end of this century, more than half of these 7000 plus spoken languages will go extinct resulting in loss of valuable scientific and cultural information.

UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*[6], categorizes 2,473 languages into five levels of endangerment:

1. Vulnerable – not spoken by children outside the home;

2. Definitely Endangered – children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home.

3. Severely Endangered – language is spoken by grandparents and older generations, while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves;

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[5]*Ethnologue: Languages of the World* is a web-based publication that contains statistics for 7,106 languages and dialects in the 17th edition, released in 2013. Up until the 16th edition in 2009, the publication was a printed volume.

[6]"Moseley, Christopher (ed.). 2010. Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd end. Paris, UNESCO Publishing. Online version:". UNESCO.org. 2010. Retrieved 17 May 2013

4. Critically Endangered – the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently; and

5. Extinct.

Almost all the indigenous languages spoken in northern Pakistan are endangered. Some of them, for instance, Bateri, Chilliso, Ushojo, Kalkoti, Mankiyali (Trawara) or Domaki are under the category of critically endangered languages whereas languages like Shina, Torwali, Khowar, Gawri, Kohistani et al are in the catalogue of definitely endangered languages. Gujari, Hindko and even Punjabi are also endangered even though the number speakers of these languages are in millions. One language, Badeshi, which was spoken in the Chail valley in upper Swat, is extinct now.

These languages are endangered because of a number of challenges the languages and their speakers face. Crucial among these challenges are:

Lack of a script:

These languages don't have *'widely'*[7] used scripts. The working scripts they have are based on Arabic. Orthographies in these languages have recently been developed with the technical support of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. However, none of these languages had a writing tradition before the beginning of the third millennium except Khowar, Hindko, Gujari and Shina wherein a number of writers and poets tried to write their works following the Arabic script. In some languages, for instance, Balti, used Tibetan Balti script ((International, Omics); and for Kalasha, some people use a Romanized script in addition to the Arabic one

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[7] Although scripts have been designed for Khowar, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Torwali, Gawri, Brushaski and Palula but these aren't widely used within the respective communities. Among these languages, especially Torwali, Gawri and Palula, Indus Kohistani, and Khowar the situation has bettered off over the years since 2008 because of the early childhood education initiatives undertaken in these communities with the support of Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and Forum for Language Initiative (FLI).

(Trail & Cooper, 1999)and (Cooper, 2005).Having been without working orthographies no written literature of worth exists in these languages. The old poets in Shina and Khowar wrote their works using Urdu alphabets. Urdu literacy among the people compelled the writers and poets to use Urdu alphabets even for the special phonemes these languages have.

No recognition by the state

These languages aren't recognized by the government of Pakistan to be used in schools as medium of instruction or subjects. Neither are they recognized as national languages of Pakistan. The Pakistan's constitution even doesn't recognize any indigenous group in the country. In 2012 the then provincial government in the northwestern province, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, however, made a law wherein four languages: Saraiki,Khowar, Hindko and Indus Kohistani were allowed to be gradually used in pre-primary schooling in places where these languages are mother languages of majority of the children whereas Pashto, the dominant language in the province, was made a compulsory subject in primary grades in areas where it is the language of the majority (Group, International Crisis, 2014). This law is known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Promotion of Regional Languages Authority Act 2012. It was passed thenin the northwest frontier province, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, but the succeeding government in the province has not taken the initiative further and the establishment of the authority is still in a state of limbo.

Poverty and marginalization

These communities are predominantly poor, illiterate and underdeveloped. Literacy among the Ismailia sect of the Brushashki, Wakhi, Shina and Khowar

speakers in Gilgit-Baltistan and upper Chitral, however,is higher compared to the other Dardic communities. These mountainous communities are virtually marginalized in terms of human development and infrastructure. Despite being the custodians of the country's rich natural resources in the forms of forests, biodiversity and water these communities lag far behind in human development index. This has triggered large migration from these areas. Many of the members of these communities have permanently settled in cities like Karachi, Hyderabad, Peshawar, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Islamabad. For instance over thirty percent (Torwali, Muffled voices, 2015) of the total population of the Torwali community of upper Swat has permanently settled in Karachi, Quetta, Hyderabad, Peshawar, Nowshera, Rawalpindi, Lahore and other cities. This has further threatened the languages and cultures of these communities. In addition to this a large number of people from these communities flee the rough and long winter in the mountains and spend it in the plains of Pakistan. About 80% (International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD))of the Gawri and Gujar communities of upper Swat migrate to the plains of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab with the beginning of winter. They spend three to five months there at the cost of education to their children. Besides winter the major causes of this permanent and seasonal migration are lack of essentials of sustenance such as fuel, health facilities and roads in these areas. Being overwhelmingly dependent on the scarce agriculture and livestock these communities do not live a privileged life.

Suffering a marred identity

Since the state education in Pakistan usually discourages lessons on the cultural diversity of the society in the course books; and since these communities have no effective political say in the country, therefore, majority of ordinary educated Pakistanis don't know about the indigenous identity of these

communities. And as the successive invaders dismantled their centers of powers in the past these communities have lost the sense of their unique identity. As a result majority of them suffer a marred one which is very often an ascribed-discursive identity as James Paul Gee puts it ((Gee, 2001). This is the reason that majority of these communities relate themselves with Arabs or the dominating communities they live with. Moreover globalization has also posed critical questions of identity and identity construction. It is a complex issue especially in the context of a rapidly imposed external change. While culture and identity share many things but they are not the same. Though culture is an important part of identity it is not the whole of it. Identity is very much political as well. Given the complexity of identity construction and the modern tools that shape and accelerate it these ethnic minorities seem the worst victims of marred identities.

Onslaught of globalization—cultural and religious

Globalization has affected every community in Pakistan whether larger or smaller in number but the impacts of it are fatal on these already suppressed communities as they are triply influenced by it: internationally, nationally and provincially or locally. The globalization has affected them in two areas the worst: their languages and cultures. Majority of them has now begun to regard their languages and cultures as hurdles in the way to development. This is the reason why many of them shift not only their culture but also the language as well when they adopt new languages and cultures. The best example of this is the threatened Kalash community, the single Dardic community in Pakistan which has so far retained their unique indigenous worldview. Conversion in this community is higher; and when any body of the Kalash community converts to Islam he or she leaves his language and culture along with the 'pagan' faith.

As is the case with many such communities the affluent educatedfamilies among thesecommunities of north Pakistan sometimes prefer to speak Urdu with their families or friends and thus feel pride in doing so. Bilingualism and multilingualism increase in these communities at the cost of the indigenous languages. The younger generations of these communities no longer understand words of their languages their fathers or forefathers used to speak. The languages are gradually becoming laden with words from other, usually dominant languages such as Urdu, Pashto and English. Their cultures and languages are also threatened by the popular Urdu dominated media—both electronic and print. Similarly the global revival in religious fundamentalism and the resultant fanaticism, especially in the form of a politically charged puritanical version of Islam, has badly affected the indigenous cultures of these communities. They cannot observe their folk traditions in music or rituals. Of course, these new phenomena have affected the larger society as well but these indigenous communities cannot survive the onslaught being less in number, weak both politically and economically; lacking media representation and historically brutalized.

Living in hard terrains

All of these communities live in mountains. Many of them living in the northern Pakistan share the same history, ancestry and culture but cannot relate to each other being scattered and locked in hard valleys in the mountains of the Hindu Kush, Karakorum, Himalaya and Pamir ranges. This has cut them off since centuries. The Shina or the Khowar community of Gilgit and Chitral don't know that sister communities live in Swat or in Dir. Even the Khowar community in Chitral, where it is dominant, feels shy about being identified with the Kalash, Palula or Dameli communities living in Chitral, too.

The aforementioned cultural, political, linguistic and ecological milieu adds to the *'language and cultural losses* among these communities. Notwithstanding the toughest challenges, there are some good initiatives carried out in these communities that are focused on reversing the loss of language and culture by documenting the languages and cultures in question, transmitting the languages and cultures to the coming generations by incorporating them in education and literacy; and by trying to make the languages recognized by the government(s) of Pakistan..

These initiatives in northern Pakistan are:

1.   **Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI):** It is a civil society organization established in 2002 with the aim of training people from the indigenous communities in northern Pakistan so as to enable them for the documentationand promotion of their languages. FLI has so far trained scores of language activists in more than a dozen languages in basic linguistics, orthography development, cultural research, teacher training and in community mobilization and advocacy.

2.   **Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi (IBT):** This is a civil society organization based in Swat. Established in 2007 IBT has the revitalization, documentation and promotion of the endangered languages especially the Torwali language as one of its main objectives. This forum has so far written a number of books in and on the Torwali language. It has also been successfully implementing a mother tongue based early childhood multilingual education initiative among the Torwali community in upper Swat. The program has currently nine community schools with 175 students aged 4—9.

3.   **Gawri Multilingual Education Program in Gawri** community Swat by Gawri Community Development Program (GCDP). Gawri is a sister language

of Torwali and is spoken in Kalam Swat and in upper Dir district. GCDP has to date published a number of books in and on Gawri. It has also been implementing a mother tongue based early childhood multilingual education project in the area.

4. **Palula Multilingual Education Program** in southern Chitral by Palula Community Welfare Program (PCWP). The PCWP has also been running similar program as that of GCDP and IBT.

5. **Kohistani Multilingual Education Program in Indus Kohistan** by the community based organization Initiative for People in Need (IPN).

6. **Khowar Multilingual Education Program in Chitral** by Mother – tongue Institute for Education and Research (MIER).

7. **The Bakarwal Mobile School System for** the nomadic Gujars in Azad Jamu & Kashmir; (Bakarwal Mobile School , 2012) and

8. **Hindko based multilingual education project** by a community-based organization in Abottabad, Pakistan.

In these mother tongue based early childhood multilingual education programs the children start their education in their mother tongue for a year where all the subjects namely math, social studies, ethics and literacy of the mother tongue are taught in the respective mother tongues as medium of instruction. Later in the second year Urdu; and one semester later English are introduced as subjects first orally and then the literacy.

Conclusion

Although some good initiatives by the communities themselves are underway with the meager support of some international organizations yet these communities cannot sustain this work unless and until the Pakistani government recognizes these languages as national languages ad set up plans for the preservation and promotion of these sources of indigenous wisdom and history. Globalization with all its modern technologies is a threat to these communities but it can be turned into an opportunity if proper measures are undertaken for including these languages in education and media, the very first drivers of globalization.

The international donors also need to focus on this shrinking cultural diversity of Pakistan. Preservation and promotion of this marvelous cultural diversity in Pakistan can be utilized for the development of cultural tourism in the country. This rich repertoire of the cultural diversity can effectively add to the creative economy of Pakistan.

Holistic and integrated strategies need to be adopted for an integrated sustainable development of these communities in northern Pakistan.

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Developing English Language Skills in Multilingual Classroom
Koteswara Rao Mala

Abstract

In today's global world, the importance of English cannot be denied and ignored since English is the most common language, spoken everywhere. English is only one language which has the power of communication with the people of all over the world. Although   India is a very big country; we have castes, religions, ethnic groups, and many languages. This multiplicity also causes different problems and in different areas of studies. In our country English is important for a number of reasons. India is a land of diversity. Different people speak different languages. So English is a link language. Different people can communicate with one another with the help of English. The rural areas also priority given for multilingual and number of peoples can speak at least three languages. The parents, students and teachers also important given for their mother tongue, they can speak in their mother tongue. The researcher has conducted multilingual classroom activity in the classroom of EFL University. The students are coming from different areas and with different languages. So the purpose this paper 'Developing English language in Multilingual Classroom.

Key words: English language, Multilingual, EFL Classroom, Different students, activity

In India MLE (Multi Lingual Education) Programme is being run in two states Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. Besides these two states, Chhattisgarh has also started MLE programme in 2010 in seven languages. The policy document for MLE has also been drafted and finalised. While MLE is not implemented as a state programme in Jharkhand, several attempts have been made to prepare materials

which would serve as bridge material for the tribal children coming to classrooms equipped with a linguistic different from the one required in school. The MLE materials in Andhra Pradesh have been developed in eight tribal languages – Adivasi Oriya, Banjara, Gondi, Kolami, Koya, Kuvi and Savara.

The purpose of a multilingual education (MLE) programme is to develop appropriate cognitive and reasoning skills through a programme of structured language learning and cognitive development, enabling children to operate successfully in their native, state and national languages. MLE provides a strong foundation in the first language (mother tongue), adding second (e.g. national) and third languages (e.g. English) enabling the appropriate use of both/all languages for life-long learning (Malone 2005).

Multilingual education is also multicultural, with learning beginning in the child's known environment and bridging to the wider world. The bridging process allows children to maintain local language and culture while providing state or national language acquisition and instruction. This process provides learners with the opportunity to contribute to nationa and society without forcing them to sacrifice their linguistic and cultural heritage. However, language is our primary source of communication. It's the mode or tool through which we share our ideas and thoughts with others. Some people even say that language is what distinguishes us from animals and makes us human.

With regard to the language diversity, Skutnab Kangas (2000) states that India enjoys fourth rank in terms of number of languages spoken by people of the country. This kind of multilingual nature of the country is very significantly important to contemplate because there are more than 10,000 mother tongues according to 1999 census, out of which only 3372 were identified as mother tongues based on certain rationalization among which only 1576 were recognized

as deserved mother tongues and remaining 1796 as the 'other' mother tongues (Mohanthy, 2008).

Important has given for English language in India because the term English as a second language has been employed to describe English taught or learnt for practical and necessary uses of communication whether to serve as the language off instruction in education or as a lingua franca among those to whom English is an acquired tongue. English as a second language is used alongside one or more local languages, for public purpose and often for communication between and or among different language groups in the community. English is one of the official languages of India alongside Hindi and fourteen other recognized regional languages, and is widely used as a language of administration and commerce.

English belongs to all those who speak it as their first or second language across the world. English is spoken by nearly 550 millions of people either as mother tongue or as second language. English is international common tongue. First of all, it is the most common foreign language. This means that two people who come from different countries (for example, a India and England) usually use English as a common language to communicate otherwise they didn't communicate their mother tongue. That's why everyone needs to learn the language in order to get in touch on an international level. And English is also referred to as the Language of Opportunity as it provides people with an opportunity for better life in the society. It also enhances the social status of people in the community.

This paper primarily focuses on 'Developing English language in multilingual classroom'. We can take an example of the students of The English and foreign language university in India. If you look the classroom, different type of students will be there and students will come from different languages like Odia, Marathi, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu etc. As their

languages are different, so also there are differences among the cultures they represent. Culture has a great impact on our approach to education and learning. Thus, it's possible that the dynamics of a multilingual classroom might be different from the dynamics of a monolingual classroom.

The researcher has got an idea, 'Developing the English language in multilingual classroom'. The researcher conducted an activity in the classroom. This activity is for 6th standard level. In this activity whole class divided into different languages group. Each group consists of students who speak their own mother tongue to English.
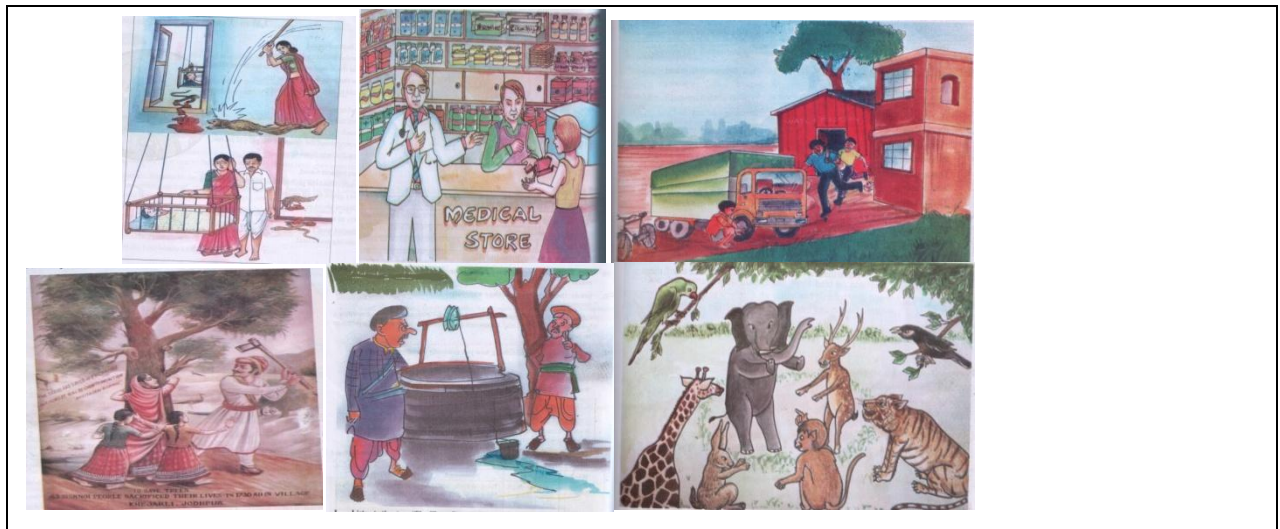
Picture handouts are distribute each group in the class room. Every group has to observe the picture and make four sentences in English language. After making sentences in each group, utter those sentences loudly in their own mother tongue and translate them into English language. So each group has two pairs and come at the stage one pair is speaking/reading in mother tongue and second pair translate to English and other groups has observed and should be prepare to translate them in to their own mother tongue to English language. In this activity whole groups covered and utter their mother language and translate to English language. This activity develops skill of comprehension, analytical, memorization,

translation and speaking skills. Speaking more than one language increases your cognitive abilities such as a problem solving, creativity and memory.

Conclusion

In rural areas number of students and teachers are neglecting English language because they are giving importance to their local language. Even schools, colleges and universities students are giving importance to their local languages. Nowadays English has been playing a major role in many sectors including medicine, engineering, technologies and education. The English language has become easier to learn than other languages.

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Enhancing LSRW Skills: An Experimental Study of High School Students in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh

Kandukuri Mariyadas

Abstract

This paper reports the results of an action research on role play to enhance language skills of ESL learners. In India, particularly in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the participation of students in English language classrooms is insignificant. There are various reasons for this, like low confidence level, improper exposure and practice of language skills and so on. To add to this situation, a majority of English language classrooms in Telugu medium schools is teacher centred and its affects the students' participation and thus their role and sprit are undetermined. Under these circumstances, collaborative language learning (CLL) methodology is employed by the researcher with the objective to overcome the existing problems using role play as a tool. Role play is used effectively as a tool, as it supports students' participation and enriches their social skills.CLL promotes collaborative discussions , self reflective thinking and systematic phases of problem- solving .This paper makes an attempt to enhance students' participation and their ability to use English language is a variety of academic and professional situations besides integrating LSRW skills.

Introduction

One of the significant observations made by several research studies on English language teaching and learning in india is lack of students participation in classroom discussions due to low confidence levels and ineffective exposure to language skills and ineffective exposure to language skills and practice.several attempts have been made to address such long standing problems in the context of

second language teaching and learning students inhibitions,shynesss,fear,low confidence levels and language problems have never been adreesed appropriatevely and adequately in schools, colleges and universities. Inaddition to these, the scene of English language classrooms is largely teacher- centered and consequently the role and spirit of students is undetermined.

Many training programmes and conferences have been conducted to address and over come such critical issues of ELT in india.such programmes have helped improve teaching and learning only in certain groups but the benifits have not reached the school system in general. Moreover, English language, as reported by chatanya and bhavani (2012), has been taught like a subject rather than as ameans of expression of one's inner self and thoughts. Hence, there is aneed to empower practising teachers with the help continuous professional development programmes such as collaborative language learning (CLL), which promotes collaborative discussions, need analysis, series of systemtic problem- solving phases and self reflective thinking. Such things always become a platform for brain-storming sessions through research of various problems and their solutions in the process of effective teaching and learning.

One such attempt which was made by the research collaboratively is the issue of role play through the methodology of collaborative action research (CAR). The aim of the research is to increase student participation in and outside classrooms. It is a small scale research study conducted for three weeks in English language lab sessions. Since the attempt has attained the intedee objectivesof research to a great extent,it is decided to share the researcher's experiences with a wider teaching community.

Obejectives of the research

- To encourage student's participation and to reduce their inhibitions

- To integrate listening, speaking, readingand writing skills.

- To improve negotiating skills and to give form to their thoughts.

- To enhance students ability to communicate in real time/ authentic situations.

Sample of the study

The subjects of the research were 10th standard students of govt high school in Guntur in Andhra Pradesh. 48 students were selected as a sample for the research. This was a heterogeneous group of students coming from various social, economic and cultural back grounds.

Research tools

Research tools such apersonal observation and informal students interviews were used to elicit the response from the students. These tools were used for data collection and the data gathered was analysed using qualitative methods.

Methodology and procedure of the research

CLL methodology is employed by the researchers with an aim to overcome and find solutions to the existing problems.the study was conducted in 17 sessions of English language classrooms and each sessions was of 45 minutes duration totalling 11 hpurs and 30 minutes spread over a period of two weeks.

Role play and its siginificance in enriching students' participation

As stated above, role play is one of the essential tools that help encourage participation and reduce inhibitions. Role play has been successfully used in ESLclasssrooms across the world. According to Courtney(1974), mechanisms such

as play acting and thought are interconnected; they help students to test out reality, to minimise personal anxieties and inhibitions, and to hone their fields of action.role gives a valuebale opportunity to the students to hone their English language skills (i.e.lstening, speaking,reading and writing) in an integrated way. For instances,the instructions of teachers on the role play and its relevance in language classromms.it is followed by briefing on the roleplay used for the session and discussion with the students on assigning roles to them.this discussion provide scope for students to interact with their teacher and peer griup, which in turn contributes to their listeningand speaking skills. This is followed by the teacher's advice to go through the relevant material on the intended role play, besides writing dialogues for the specific roles assigned to them. Such activities as a part of the role play promote their reading and writing skills. Thus, various phases involved in role play promote negotiating skills and communicate competence of the students.

This apart, it helps faculty to demonstrate the delivery of dialogues with requisite modulation of voice in harmony with appropriate body language according to Brown (2001) as cited in haung (2008), role play modestly engagesofferning a role to one or moore members of a group and giving gple or purpose that participantsmust attain.role play is alearner- centered activity as its develops students enthusiasm to learn the subject matter and to discussion the contents there in. Acoording to poorman92002), integrating experiential learning activities in the classrooms increases interest in the subject matter and understanding of course content.

Practice of role play

The process of writing dialogues was completed with the final approval of the faculty.it led to the next step of practising their role play .the praticisg their role

play.the practising sessions were begun in the English sessions were begun in the English sessions for about a week.during these sessions for about a week. During thses sessions, students had an opportunity to watch performance of other group which helped them to know the merits and demirits of the play.

This apart, a majority of the students gained confidence and shed their inhibitions to a great extent. After a resonbly good performance, suggestions were given tothem to exchange their roles and practice, as it held them to grasp the total scene of the role play.then, students were given the suggestions to take up their own roles and practice again several times. When students gained confidence to perform role play without any ssistance, they encouraged to take up the role play before the whole class.

This practice helped students to cope with the dialogues, situation, and characters in the play and to empathize with character which in turn helped them to undertake role play in the best manner possible.thus, the practice sessions were conducted fruitfully and this led to the final phase of performing the role play before the whole class.

Performance of role play

After two weeks of rigorous rehearsal sessions, a majority of the students expressed their willingness to act in the final performance. All the students started off with a sincere approach to give their best by giving life to their roles.they were quite enthusiastic to undertake the role play. They gathered all articles and costumes that aptly suited the respective scenes. The costumes, the preparation and arrangement of articles gave the set a sense of the right ambience as described in the narrative.

All the six teams each comprising eight students showed interest and intaition to take part.they had gone through preparation and rehearsals, which was

reflected in their great performance. All the scenes were enacted the way they were planned. The delivery of dialogues reflected a feel for the characters. The performance and the enthusiasm of the students stimulated everyone in class; it was a joyful and memorobale language learning experience for them.

Findings

Research tools such as personal observation and informal student interviews were great source of help for the research to elicit responses and to arrive at the findings research were positive and encourageing. Some of the key findings are mentioned below;

- Role play had given the students the required impetus to communicate in a variety of authentic situations.

- The whole process had encouraged the students to great extent.

- A majority of the students expressed that their inhibitions had been reduced.

- It was also evident from the interactions of the shy students that hey had improved their negotiating skills.

- As mentioned earlier, role playfaciliated the integration of LSRW skills.

- The procedure of the research and activity had helped give sufficient exposure for listening skills as students had to interact with faculty and peer group regularity.

- This research study also provided a number of opportunities for students to voice their views on various aspects during discussion, practice and execution of the role play.

- It is required students to read the original text of the role play besides other available resource on role play to enrich their abilities and contribution.

- Students got a wonderful opportunity of writing dialogues for various roles besides editing and redrafting their dialogues. This process gradually enriched their writing skills.

- Students expressed their willingness to participate in such events to get good exposure for participating in public speaking activities.

- The activity also exposed students to the necessary social skills and etiquate to be followed.

- A majority of the students had overcome the barriers of gender and socioeconomic background.

- Thus the whole process had greatly enriched the interaction between the teacher and students. In addition to the above findings, such activities always cheer up the classroom atmosphere; in such settings, the teaching of the textual unit has also become quite easy for teachers and for learners to understand.

Conclusion

This is an action research study which aimed at reducing various inhibitions which a hamper student participation in classrooms.the study had taken role play as tool and it employed collaborative language learning (CLL) as the methodology to conduct the research.the findings of the research show that the objectives of the research have been attained to great extent.the whole experience of the research substantiates that activities of this kind do always maximise the role of the

learners, boost their morale and develop interaction levels between the teacher and the taught fotr the process of effective and joyful teaching and learning.

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A Discourse on the Need to Embed Emotional Intelligence (EI) as an Essential Component in Teacher Education Programmes
Rukulu Kezo

Abstract

The initiative and drive towards improving the quality of education and enhancing the classroom experience has been and is the one major concern among policy makers, educators and researchers throughout the world. The key to achieving this goal lies with the teacher and therefore there is growing attention on teacher education and training programs, the focus of which is to equip the teachers with the competencies and skills needed to become effective. The need for ongoing development for teachers is a continuing theme in any educational debate and discussions today. This is simply because of the growing challenges and demands from the changing times. Teachers today have to take up a lot of roles besides the role of transmitting knowledge. They are expected to serve as mentors, facilitators, coach, counselors, and role-models etc. in order to provide conditions for students to achieve higher levels of learning and development. Within such a premise, this paper presents Emotional Intelligence as an essential component of teacher preparation programmes for preparing teachers towards becoming 'facilitators of learning' and also as an effective means for continuous professional development. To support the argument, the paper presents a synthesis and review of available literature on the significance of an 'Emotional Intelligence based teaching' followed by evidences collected through the use of classroom observations and questionnaire.

Key Words: Emotional Intelligence (EI), Emotional Quotient (EQ),
Continuous Professional Development, Conservative-Autocratic Teachers, Liberal-
Democratic Teachers,

Introduction

Over the years, there has been a vast development across the field of
education. From theory to practise, the domain of education has undoubtedly
witnessed a lot of innovations and developments in keeping with the changing
needs of the students. As an inevitable consequence of globalisation, there is now a
growing demand and challenge for educators to make learning both relevant and
meaningful. From literacy and content mastery, the purpose and objective of
education now includes making students well equipped with professional skills
such as soft skills like communication, interpersonal skills and problem-solving
skills. The domain of education is now faced with the huge task of preparing
learners towards becoming responsible and independent citizens who can survive
in a fast changing world. With the growing impact of the new economy, the
domain of teaching has also become rather complex and demanding. It may be
stated here that, there is an urgent need to reconceptualise the domain of teacher
training to prepare teachers to effectively facilitate responsible and meaningful
learning among students. There is a growing need for teacher training programmes
to develop and train a new generation of teachers who can encourage and motivate
learners towards responsible learning through setting realistic goals for students
and structuring empowering learning environments. Within such a premise, this
paper presents Emotional Intelligence as an essential component of teacher
preparation programmes for preparing teachers towards becoming '*facilitators of
learning'* and also as an effective means for continuous professional development.
The paper seeks to raise the contention that Emotional Intelligence is a much

needed component that needs to recognised and embedded in the domain of teacher training to enhance the quality of teaching and also to impact meaningful learning. To support the argument, the paper opens with a brief introduction on the concept of Emotional Intelligence followed by a synthesis and review of available literature on the significance of an '*Emotional Intelligence based teaching'*. To further substantiate the contention, this paper also provides two case examples from actual classroom settings derived through the use of classroom observation and administering of questionnaires.

Conceptual Understanding of *Emotional Intelligence*

The concept of *Emotional Intelligence* (EI) is relatively a new development as an important area of research in the educational and psychological domains. As a concept, it emerged out of the *'social intelligence theory'* in the works of researchers like Thorndike and Gardner who studied the importance of emotions in intellectual functioning. *Emotional intelligence* (EI) is the term generally related to feelings and emotions, referring to the ability to perceive, control and evaluate emotions. It is the ability of an individual to know, feel, use and communicate or even monitor one's own or other's emotions.

Salovey and Mayer (1990) are acknowledged to be the first to conceptualise and coin the term *Emotional Intelligence*. They proposed that emotions play an important role in organizing, motivating and directing human behavior. According to them, EI involves the "*abilities to perceive, appraise, and express emotion; to access and/or generate feelings when they facilitate thought; to understand emotion and emotional knowledge; and to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth*" (p.10). They viewed EI as consisting of three components:

appraising and expressing emotions, regulating emotions, and utilizing emotional information in thinking and acting.

Goleman (1995) is however given the credit for popularising the concept of Emotional Intelligence. He posited that intelligence can come to nothing if emotions are not in place. According to him, the human mind has two components- one that thinks and one that feels and a model of mind that does not include both the components is impoverished. Goleman (1998) argued that it is not cognitive intelligence but emotional intelligence that guaranteed success in the work place and opined that *Emotional Intelligence* consists of five elements: self-awareness, self-regulation, motivation, empathy, and social skills. While emphasizing that leaders high in emotional intelligence are key to organizational success, Goleman (2001) stated that leaders should have the ability to sense the feelings of the employees about their work environments, to intervene when problems arise, to manage their own emotions in order to gain the trust of the employees, and to understand the political and social conventions within an organization.

Having briefly outlined the concept of *Emotional Intelligence*, the sections below traverses on the role and importance of Emotional Intelligence in the domain of teacher training both as a tool for teachers' professional development and also as a dire need to promote effective and meaningful learning.

The significance of *Emotional Intelligence* in Teacher Education

Emotional Intelligence is of importance to the teachers not only for effectively reaching out to the learners but also for their own well being and success as teachers. The first premise that the paper is built upon is the need for preparing teachers to be emotionally intelligent which would bring about a desirable change in their teaching behavior that would consequently lead to

effective learning among the students. With the growing emphasis on education to be learner-centered, there is a dire need for teachers to be emotionally intelligent so as to promote a holistic development among the students. In most educational debates and discourses today, the recurrent theme is the importance of recognizing the interplay of cognitive and affective dimension in the process of learning. Recognizing this interplay and implementing it in the teaching and learning scenario requires the teacher to be emotionally competent.

In a study, Ng (2002), compared and contrasted two kinds of teachers; conservative-autocratic teachers and liberal-democratic teachers. According to him, *conservative-autocratic teachers* believe in the traditional authority of the teacher, and expect students to respect and obey them. They place little or no emphasis on developing the individual autonomy of students. Instead, misbehaving students are scolded or punished to inculcate a sense of discipline in them. As a result, *conservative-autocratic teachers* encourage disciplined but inhibited behaviours in students which cripple their creativity and thereby healthy growth and learning. In contrast, *liberal-democratic teachers* believe that every student has an inner potential to be realized. They strive hard to assist their students to realize this creative potential, by encouraging them to set their own goals. They also use reason and moral persuasion to deal with misbehaving students, instead of scolding or punishing them. In a later study, Ng and Smith (2004) showed that *liberal-democratic teachers* are more tolerant of disruptive student behaviours and are more skilled in managing such disruptive classrooms while conservative-autocratic teachers are more intolerant. These findings suggest that the *liberal-democratic teachers* possess higher emotional intelligence level and are therefore able to perceive and manage a variety of emotions in self and others. They are thereby more likely to promote self-direction and develop the creative potential of

learners unlike the conservative-autocratic teachers with a 'no-nonsense approach' who emphasises on inculcating moral discipline.

The second premise upon which the paper has been built is the need for *Emotional Intelligence* as a tool for teachers' professional development. The challenges on the teachers are manifold with the changing times. Teaching is a profession where there are lots of occupational stress due to the nature and extent of workload. Teachers experience a wide range of positive and negative emotions while teaching and interacting with students which can most often become stressful. Travers (2001) in a study revealed that there is a growing alarm in the rate of teacher burnout and the adverse implications it has on the learning environments and thereby achievement of educational goals. Thus, it becomes important for teachers to be emotionally intelligent to be able to manage their own stress and to face the frustrations that come along in the course of their profession.

Hayes in his study, "*Emotional Preparation for teachers: A case study of trainee teachers in England*" (2003) studied the varying emotions that trainee teachers have and the impact it has on their teaching. The study indicated a typology of emotions present in the trainee teachers before their final school placement. The typology of emotions consists of anticipatory, anxious, fatalistic and affirming emotions. These emotions play a significant role in their teaching as revealed by the study. It highlighted the need to inculcate coping strategies in the trainee teachers as the teaching experience whether good or bad will go a long way in hampering or enhancing teaching and further proposed the development and improvement of trainee teachers' emotional literacy as an important element in teacher training programs. The study establishes the role of emotions in teaching

and argues that "*if emotions are central to teachers' work and lives they merit a significant place in teacher training*" (p.169).

In another study, Ghanizadeh and Moafin (2010) studied the relation between language teachers' emotional intelligence and their success as teachers. They established that there is a relation between EFL teachers' Emotional Quotient (EQ) and their success in language teaching. It also further indicated that there is a relation between EFL teachers' EQ and their years of experience and also their age which suggest that EI is not static but can be trained and improved over time. The study states that EI is critical in the process of teaching and emphasized on the need and importance of incorporating emotional literacy program in teacher development.

Further, Darling-Hammond (2001) stated that stress and poor emotion management continually rank as the primary reasons why teachers become dissatisfied with the profession and end up leaving their positions. Moreover, according to Sutton and Wheatley (2003) teachers who have difficulty regulating and managing their own emotions (and their classrooms) tend to have students who experience more negative emotions in class (e.g., sadness, shame, and guilt) which are potential agents in inhibiting learning. Within such premises, the paper proposes that emotional skills training for teachers can create a stable, supportive and productive learning environment while also initiating teachers towards continuous professional development.

Case Examples from actual classroom settings

To further substantiate the contention of the paper, we present here two case examples of two teachers in an actual classroom setting (in a school in Kohima). The author conducted two classroom observations, one observation per teacher to

investigate into whether the different teaching behaviours and their *Emotional Quotient* (EQ) had any significant relationships and whether it had any impact on the learning environment. To find out their EQ level, an adapted version of the Bar-On EQ-I model (2004), which is one of the three major conceptual models of Emotional Intelligence and also the most widely used measure was used. For the sake of anonymity, the two teachers will be referred to as Teacher A and Teacher B. The observations were conducted in a class 9 classroom in a private school in Kohima, the capital of Nagaland.

In line with the original model, the questionnaire used consisted of five major categories- Intrapersonal (ability to recognize, understand and express emotions and feelings), Interpersonal (the ability to understand how others feel and to be able to relate to them), Stress Management (the ability to manage and control emotions), Adaptability (ability to manage change, adapt and solve problems of a personal and interpersonal nature), General Mood (the ability to generate positive effect and be self motivated). The questions for each of the categories were adapted from various sources so as to ensure the coverage of all related themes and were presented in the form of a table with a total of 60 statements on a five point response scale ranging from 'not true' to 'completely true' The first two categories 'Intrapersonal' and 'Interpersonal' comprised of 15 questions whereas the other three had10 questions each. The Emotional Intelligence questionnaire was administered before the classroom observation.

The table below presents a report on two teachers EQ as elicited through the use of the questionnaire based on Bar-On model.

Items	Teacher A	Teacher B
Intrapersonal	45 (Average)	55 (Average)
Interpersonal	69 (Excellent)	64 (High)
Stress management	23 (Low)	44 (High)
Adaptability	39 (High)	41 (High)
General Mood	42 (High)	42 (High)
Total EQ score	218 (Average)	246 (High)

Case Example 1: Teacher A

The table above shows that teacher A has average EI quotient with an average intrapersonal skills, high interpersonal, adaptability skills and general mood and a comparatively low score in stress management. We shall now attempt at correlating Teacher A's Emotional Quotient with her teaching behaviour in the classroom. A few samples from the classroom observation transcript are presented below;

Sample 1: *Okay, today I will make you read loud okay?* This appeared to be a little authoritative yet the way she sounded seemed as if she was hesitating. The teacher seemed to be asserting her own power by announcing what she will make the students do but she lacked confidence. Some students were excited about it but most students were grumbling about it. Instead of saying it plainly she could have said it in a more interesting way that would get the attention of the students. Her whole class was about making the students read aloud from the text.

Sample 2. *Don't look at me, look at the text and continue* This was when a student was reading. She seemed a little nervous and so her voice was not so loud. The teacher stopped her halfway and asked her to read loudly. The student already

nervous halted her reading when the teachers' voice cut in and was looking at the teacher perhaps for her signal whether to continue or not. We may observe here that this verbal behaviour of the teacher was harsh, lacking warmth and understanding. The girl students' fear was intensified as was made evident in the way she struggled with some words as she continued reading.

Sample 3: *I can't hear you Reuben, I said loudly!*

Sample 4: *Some of you are not bothering to look at me also.*

Sample 5: *The rest of you just look into your text.*

The third was again in the middle of the students' reading, asking him to read louder and in this case she was louder than the previous one. Here, the first thing that can be noted would be that she was contradicting herself. At one point she said the students are not looking at her and in the next she said look into your text. She seemed to be agitated and it was showing on her body language as she paced the room. It appeared that her mind was not fixed on the students' reading which was observed when she called the next students' name and asked the previous one where he/she stopped making it obvious that she did not concentrate on what they were reading. She seemed easily distracted by the students' movement and she passed unnecessary comments on the students each time she spotted a student turning back or picking up a pen etc. The excerpt below shows how she reacts even to small actions of the students.

Sample 6: *You there! What are you eating? Go out and throw it in the dustbin*.......I SAID GO OUT!!!! *Don't you understand English?*

A girl student was likely chewing some gum during the session and was spotted by the teacher. She was highly enraged as we can see the way she reacted in the sample above. When she emphasized the 'go out' to the girl her tone was differently loud which is signified by the use of capital letters. This reaction of the teacher seemed unnecessary and totally uncalled for. The researcher's observation

was that this teacher was totally unprepared for the class and therefore her mind and focus were scattered, mostly fixed on the students' movements and behaviours. Had she been prepared her mind would be focused on how to get her lessons through to the learners and perhaps she would not have bothered so much on the students' petty faults such as chewing and turning back. Moreover, the students' attention would also have been captured to some extent by the lesson and they wouldn't have been as restless as they were by the reading session. Further going back to her EQ score we have observed that her stress management level is low and this is evidenced by the observation on her classroom management.

Case Example 2: Teacher B

As already shown in the table above, Teacher B has high EI quotient with an average intrapersonal skill, high interpersonal, stress management skills, adaptability and general mood.

In this teacher's case we see samples of a good balance of emotions which stands as a huge contrast to what we have seen in Teacher A.

Sample1: *"Last night I dreamt that you like this poem very much and my dreams always come true so I know you are going to like it."* This is how she began the class, with a sense of humour which evoked choral laughter in the class. This also sparked an interaction with the students.

S- Miss, is it a love story?

T- Yes it is an interesting love story but we will start only after listening to your love stories. Anybody interested in telling us your love story?

S- Miss, you tell us yours first!

T- Sure, its' in the text and we will now read it together, shall we?

The introduction of the lesson was done in a very pleasant manner and it was clear that the students were interested instantly in what the teacher had to say. This

is an example of how an emotionally intelligent teacher would begin the class. The humour that she used was not so far removed from the text and also not irrelevant to the students. It set the whole atmosphere of the class. This is an example of how humour can be used to create the right atmosphere of the class.

Sample 2. *That was fast and smart! Yes 'wight' and 'bright', that rhymes perfectly!*

This was when she was teaching rhymes to the students. She asked them to pick up some rhymes from the text. This is a nice way to give feedback to students, repeating what they said while praising them gives them a sense of pride which is motivating and healthy.

Sample 3. *Sato, do you want to stay back after class and listen to my love story again?*

This is a fine example of how to get the attention of the students. The student mentioned was looking out of the window as the teacher was explaining. Instead of acting up like the previous teacher she simply called out his name in a playful manner and said the above. It did not offend the student but it did bring back his attention to the class.

This teacher stand as an evidence that the quality and effect of teacher talk depends hugely on the emotional intelligence level. There are some teachers who believe and expect that students should revere and fear them without a question but this is unhealthy for learning and never brings the desired result. Instead like this teacher, a good sense of humour and a warm temperament is more effective. In other words, an emotionally intelligent way of teaching is more effective.

Implications of Emotional Intelligence in Teacher Education

The two case examples reveal a clear understanding of how an emotionally intelligent teacher can better impact curiosity and learning among students by

providing a conducive learning environment. Teacher A exhibited a low stress management skill which did not only hamper her teaching but also hampered the learning atmosphere. Teacher A in this regard can be characterised as a conservative-autocratic teacher who according to Ng (2002) does not encourage the creative potential of the students. Teacher B on the contrary provided a good example of how an emotionally intelligent teacher can effectively manage the classroom while also encouraging effective communication which forms the basis of learning. We observed that in Teacher B's classroom, students were more active and more open for participation. She may be characterised as a liberal-democratic teacher with high EQ and such teachers as already mentioned above encourage the creative potential of students. The implication here is that if Emotionally Intelligent teaching can enhance learning, then it merits a place in teacher education.

In the light of the discussions contained above, Mortiboys (2005) stated that there are three components that make teaching effective, they are: subject expertise, teaching methodology and Emotional Intelligence while pointing out that the third component is still unrecognized in teaching. Conventionally, the teacher training world centers more on the two former skills. But it may be stated that the value of both subject knowledge and teaching methods will be seriously diminished in the absence of Emotional Intelligence. This paper therefore sought to make a call for teacher education to acknowledge and include Emotional Intelligence as the third crucial component in its fold. It should be recognized as an essential component and introduced in the teacher education curriculums with emphasis on both theory and practise. For a theoretical and conceptual understanding of Emotional Intelligence, there are various books and literature available.

This theoretical learning can be followed by activities through which the teachers can learn about their own feelings and also about how to deal with students' feelings and emotions in the class. Teachers will have to face and solve demanding situations in the classroom for which training on such situational problem solving and handling of feelings should constitute an aspect of the teacher training world. Workshops and seminars on Emotionally Intelligent Teaching can also be conducted to integrate EI in the Teacher Education programs.

Conclusion

On the whole, this paper has traversed on the need to prepare teachers to be better equipped for meeting the growing and shifting needs of the students. The basic aim has been to awaken the teachers and educators to the limitations of the present system and their current manner of teaching and to make a call for teachers to be facilitators of learning. Teachers can affect the students in more ways than they can imagine, they have the ability to define their personalities and who they become. Therefore it is important for the teachers to be able to manage themselves and then transform the students. Teaching has been known to be an intensely psychological process and a teacher's ability to maintain productive classroom environments, motivate students, and make situational decisions depends on her personal qualities and the ability to create personal relationships with his/her students. These effective attitudes and actions employed by teachers ultimately make a positive difference on the lives of their students. This is where the importance of Emotional Intelligence comes in.

We conclude with the words of the Irish poet William butler Yeats, "*Education is not the filling up of a bucket but the lightning of a fire*" and Henry Brooks Adams, "*A teacher affects eternity, he can never tell where his influence stops*".

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Morpheme Acquisition Order of Indian ESL Learners: A Comparative Study
Narke Pankaj Ashok

Abstract

Understanding second and foreign language learning has been a crucial mark in the field of second language studies. Numerous researchers have tried to identify the patterns of second language learning and provided their own definitions. Some of the language aspects that they observed are lexis, syntax, semantic, phonetics, discourse and few others. This present study focuses on morpheme acquisition order in Indian context as against the western context established by Dulay and Burt. The purpose of the present study is to explore morpheme acquisition order of Indian ESL learners by using tasks which target selected grammatical morphemes. This study finds its theoretical inputs from Dulay and Burt's morpheme study in 1973.

Introduction

Do second language learners acquire language in the same way as first language learners do? Is it important to define relationship between L1 and SL to find the answer to this question?

These questions have attracted a large number of researchers in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Morphemeacquisition study is one of the outcomes in the process of finding answers to these questions. Morpheme acquisition study in SLA was inspired by Brown's morpheme acquisition study in first language. In his longitudinal study, Brown had found a consistent order of emergence of 14 grammatical morphemes (Mitchell and Myles, 2004). Similar study was carried out by deVilliers and deVilliers in 1973, which lead them to the results similar to Brown's study. Dulay and Burt (1973) conducted a morpheme acquisition study in the context of second language. They observed morpheme acquisition order of 8 morphemes from Brown's morpheme list. The subjects in the

study had different proficiency levels in English. The results showed uniqueness in SL morpheme acquisition order among all the three groups even though their proficiency in English was not similar. Sequence acquisition studies dominated the research in the field of SLA. Researchers were not only interested in finding out the sequence of morpheme acquisition but also in investigating which sounds are acquired first (Major, 1994), which syntactic structures are acquired first and which later (Zobl&Liceras, 1994, cited by Vivian Cook, 2010). Similar to developmental psychology, that explored the sequence of developmental stages of children, morpheme acquisition studies have established the developmental stages in SL learning; what do children learn first and what later.

This paper includes a similar morpheme acquisition study in the context of Indian ESL learners. The focus of the study has been narrowed down to three grammatical morphemes; *articles*, *present progressive –ing* and *third person –s*. Only written data of the learners, who are selected as samples for the study, has been observed in this study.The data is elicited through the tasks which aimed at written production of desired morphemes. The focus was to evaluate grammatical correctness of the data and not comprehension. The purpose of the study is to find out the morpheme acquisition order of Indian ESL learners.

Research Question

Numbers of researches have shown that both L1 and L2 learners follow a natural order of language acquisition. The studies were undertaken to enquire the morpheme acquisition sequence in L1 and L2 but most of them are pitched in non-Indian context. This study, therefore tries to answer the following question;

Do the Indian ESL learners exhibit the same morpheme acquisition order as found by Dulay and Burt in a non-Indian context?

Review of Literature

Brown's fundamental research in morpheme acquisition study has triggered many other contemporary researches in the area of language acquisition across the globe. It was his attempt to find out the natural order of morpheme acquisition in L1. It was even before when Krashen proposed his natural order hypothesis by saying that the acquisition of grammatical structures occurs in a predictable sequence (Krashen, 1987). Brown came up with the list of 14 grammatical morphemes that are acquired in a particular sequence in L1 by the young learners. According to Brown's analysis, some factor or some set of factors caused these grammatical morphemes to evolve in an approximately consistent order in the children (Brown, 1973). One of the great contributions of his study to the field of language acquisition is the method of data analysis for scoring and comparing data on functor acquisition order. Another famous study in first language acquisition is of deVilliers and deVilliers. In their study they sought to measure the L1 English morpheme acquisition order among 21 English speaking children of the age between 16 to 40 months. They found that the results were consistent with those of Brown. Despite the fact that both the studies, of Brown's and deVilliers & deVilliers, have achieved the similar results, the fundamental difference between them is the methods used for data calculations. In the first method deVilliers & deVilliers ordered a given morpheme according to the lowest MLU[8] sample at which it was present in 90% of obligatory contexts. In the second method the percentage of each morpheme were added across all the subjects and averaged. The resulting mean percentages were then ranked (Eun-Young Kwon, 2005).

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[8]Mean length of utterance (MLU) is the average number of morphemes per utterance. It is an index of expressive language development used beyond the stage of single words, when a child uses two or more words together in an utterance. It is calculated in 100 spontaneous utterances by counting the number of morphemes in each utterance divided by the total number of utterances (www.springerreference.com).

Taking up from there, Dulay and Burt applied the same framework of study in the second language context. They carried out their study in three different phases. The first study tried to investigate whether the children tend to use the structures of their native language when trying to speak a second language and therefore make 'interference errors' as predicted by habit formation when the structures of two languages differ? (Dulay & Burt, 1974).

The second study is similar to Brown's study in many aspects. The assumption behind this study was 'if it is true that certain universal cognitive mechanisms control the way children organize linguistic input, certain regularities should appear in children's L2 speech (Dulay &Burt, 1974). Therefore they decided to investigate acquisition order of certain grammatical structures. The research questions of this study was; given interaction with English speaking peers, is there a natural sequence in Spanish speaking children's acquisition of certain English grammatical structures? They tried to investigate acquisition order of eight English grammatical morphemes (from themorpheme order found by Brown) among the different SL groups. In this study they observed the natural speech of five to eight years old Spanish speaking children who are learning English as L2. The data was collected by using BSM[9] (bilingual syntax measure). The eight functors were selected from the beginning, middle and the end of the L1 morpheme sequence found by Brown. The eight functors included, present progressive, plural –s, past irregular, possessive, articles, third person regular, contractible copula and contractible auxiliary. As sample for this study, three different groups of children were taken from three different places; California, Mexico and New York. These children differed in terms of proficiency in English

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[9]Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM) is an instrument designed to measure young children's acquisition of English and Spanish grammatical structure in an L2 situation. (Dulay&Burt, 1973)

and the amount of exposure they had got in English. The philosophy behind the testing of the learners' data was drawn from Brown, who says,

One can set an acquisition criterion not simply in terms of output but in terms of output where required. Each obligatory context can be regarded as a kind of test item which the child passes by supplying the required morpheme or fails by supplying none or one that is not correct. This performance measure, the percentage of morphemes supplied in obligatory contexts, should not be dependent on the topic of conversation or the character of the interaction. (Brown, 1973 cited in Dulay &Burt 1973)

The data was analyzed by means of a ratio for each functor, where the total numbers of correct functors were calculated against the total number of obligatory occasions. The results showed that though the three different groups of participants had different proficiency level, the acquisition order of eight functors is the same. It was also found that the morpheme acquisition order exhibited by the L1 learners in Brown's study differ from the acquisition order exhibited by L2 learners in Dulay & Burt's study. (Refer to Table 1)

Table 1

	L1 Rank Order (Brown)	L2 Rank order (Dulay &Burt)
ing	1	3
Past irregular	2	6
Possesive	3	7
Arcticles	4	1
Past regular	5	5
3rd person singular	6	8

Copula	7	2
Auxilary	8	4

Note: L2 morpheme acquisition order found by Dulay & Burt (1973)

Dulay and Burt (1973) concluded that the sequence of acquisition exhibited by the three different groups in this study suggests that the strategies used by the children to second language acquisition are universal. This sequence also indicates the learning order of these structures is controlled by the child's processing strategies, in the sense that he must be cognitively "ready" in order to acquire any one of them.

Perkins and Larsen-Freeman (1975) also conducted a similar study. In their study they tried to investigate progressive -ing, indefinite articles, definite articles, third person -s, and four other morphemes. They used two types of instruments in the study: a translation of 15 first language (L1) sentences into English and a short video without dialogue on which the test subjects had to comment in English. In the discussion about the instruments the authors pointed out a problem. While collecting the data the learners were able to avoid the use of target morphemes if they were unable to use them correctly. They could find the alternative structures instead of the targeted morphemes which were grammatically correct. Coming over this problem, they suggested that the instructions have to be planned carefully. Their study with the Korean learners took this into account while providing the instructions.

Larsen-Freeman (1976) observed adult ESL learners' data unlike Brown and Dulay &Burt. She conducted a study in which she administered five tasks on 24 adult ESL learners who belonged to different L1 backgrounds. The tasks included: Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM), a picture cued sentence petition test, a listening comprehension task, a multiple choice reading cloze test and a writing test

involving filling in the blanks. The morpheme acquisition orders exhibited by the participants were found to be consistent across the different L1 backgrounds. In case of oral tasks the results matched with Dulay and Burt's results, but the results of written tasks there were differences such as a rise in the rank order of plural –s and third person –s (Eun-Young Kwon, 2005). Ellis commented on this study saying that speaking and writing are influenced by different socio-linguistic and psycho-linguistic conditions. He predicted that the differences observed by Larsen-Freeman may be a function of production condition rather than a natural order (Eun-Young Kwon, 2005). In another study Larsen-Freeman (1975) presented two different morphemes acquisition orders in two different context; monitored and unmonitored. In the monitored context, as an instrument, a 'discrete-point pencil and paper grammar test' was used. On the other hand in the unmonitored context, Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM) was as the instrument (Krashen, 1982). In both the context the acquisition order was exhibited differently. The results were interpreted by stating that when performance focuses on form they can increase accuracy in unacquired but learned parts of grammar (Krashen, 1982).

Method

Participants

This study attempted to explore the morpheme acquisition order of three grammatical morphemes by ten native Indian speakers. The participants were class VIII English medium students from Govt. High School, Hyderabad (India). All the subjects were selected randomly from the class. The age of the subjects ranged between 11 to 14 years old. The sample consisted of two female and eight male participants. All the participants were learning English as a second language and they were from the similar L1 background. English was the medium of instruction in the school but out of the school they did not have any exposure for English.

Since the subjects were not proficient in English and they were in SL developmental stagestill. They were found perfect as the sample for the study. It was a complete voluntary participation by the participants.

Materials

To track learners' use of the targeted morpheme three picture description tasks were designed. Since the similar picture description tasks were used in the same kind of morpheme study (Timothy Schuwerk, 2004) and tested successfully before, the validity of the tasks was not tested separately. However the tasks used in this study differ from the tasks used in the above mentioned study. The first task aimed at eliciting the use of articles, both definite and indefinite. Seven obligatory occasions were created by giving seven pictures. The participants had to write a simple sentence about what they see in the picture. (Appendix) In the second task there were four pictures which were in progression action. The participants were expected to describe the action in the picture in not more than one sentence. This task was to track the use of present progressive –ing morpheme. The third task consisted of a series of pictures. There were six pictures and all of them were interrelated. It was a series of day to day actions or habitual actions. The participants had to describe those day to day actions of a character named John. While describing his routine they were supposed to use the third person singular –s. While giving the instructions care was taken that there won't be any use of the desired morphemes in the written instructions, which the participants were supposed to use. For the first section which focused on the use of articles the instruction was, "*Describe what you see in the given picture".* This instruction does not consist of any use of definite or indefinite article. The second task, which focused on present progressive –ing, included the instruction, "*Describe the activities in the given pictures".* The third task focused on the use of third person –s, for which the instruction was, "*Following are the pictures which show John's*

daily activities. With the help of these pictures describe his daily activities". To ensure that the participants produce the desires morphemes, they were provided with a prompt in the few initial items of the tasks. This was done in order to avoid complexity in understanding the objects in the pictures and to bring uniqueness in their descriptions. For example, in the first task, which focused on 'articles', right below the picture the name of the object was written in the bracket and the prompt was "*This is…..".* The participants were supposed to write "This is **a** car". In the second task, which elicited present progressive –ing forms, the action pictures were given and the action verbs were provided in the brackets to avoid the complexity in understanding. The prompt was, "*They are….".*The participants were supposed to write "They are cook**ing**". In the third task, to elicit third person –*s*, a series of pictures was given and at the bottom of every picture the action verbs were provided. No prompts were given in this task but descriptive instructions were provided. (Refer to Appendix)

Procedure

Ten participants were selected for the study from class VIII English medium. Since there were many potential subjects in the class, they were selected randomly based on voluntary participation. The tasks were administered at a time with all the participants during their class time. To avoid any effect on participants' performance, they were not informed about the purpose of the study. Also, in order to avoid anxiety and other affective factors there was no time limit to perform these tasks.No specific seating arrangement was done in the classroom therfore the participants had choice to sit wherever they wanted. The participants were given time to look at the tasks and ask the doubts if they had. For example, a participant came up with a doubt regarding the task three (on third person –*s*), whether the picture sequence presented there is jumbled. The data evaluation process included identifying both the correct and incorrect use of targeted

morphemes. Since the focus of the study was on grammatical accuracy of the targeted morphemes, the comprehension aspect of the data was not taken into consideration.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed by using GSM (group scoring method) which was previously used by Dulay and Burt (1974) in their study on finding the natural sequence in child second language acquisition. In their paper they define GSM as; it bears this name because it analyzes the data of a group. In this method the group score for a particular morpheme is obtained by computing a ratio whose dominator is the sum of all obligatory occasions of that morpheme across all the subjects and multiplying the resulting quotient by 100 (Dulay and Burt, 1974). In this study the same method was used to find the group scores of every individual targeted morpheme. All correct uses of the target morphemes were calculated against all the obligatory occasions and the percentage score of correct use was drawn. The formula used for the analysis is,

Number of correct use of the target morphemes

~~X100 = Percentage of morpheme acquisition~~

Total obligatory occasions

The results obtained through this calculation were transformed to bar graph in order to find out the acquisition order. The calculations for each morpheme are;

Table 2

	Score	occasions
Participant 1	3	7
Participant 2	0	7
Participant 3	0	7
Participant 4	5	7
Participant 5	2	7
Participant 6	3	7
Participant 7	5	7
Participant 8	1	7
Participant 9	5	7
Participant 10	7	7
Total	31	70

31/70X100= 44.28571429%

Note: participants' score on the task1. Articles

Table 3

Participant 1	4	4
Participant 2	4	4
Participant 3	4	4
Participant 4	4	4
Participant 5	4	4
Participant 6	4	4

Participant 7	4	4
Participant 8	4	4
Participant 9	4	4
Participant 10	4	4
Total	40	40

40/40X100= 100 %

Note: Participants' score on task 2. Present Progressive –ing.

Table 4

Participant 1	1	6
Participant 2	0	6
Participant 3	0	6
Participant 4	1	6
Participant 5	1	6
Participant 6	1	6
Participant 7	0	6
Participant 8	0	6
Participant 9	0	6
Participant 10	0	6
Total	4	60

4/60X100=6.666666667 %*Note: Participants' score on task3, Third Person –s*

Results

The study tested each participant's performance on the tasks very closely and analyzed it through the statistical measures. The data analysis showed that the highest number of correctly used morpheme is the present progressive –ing. As a

group score, out of 40 obligatory occasions the participants performed all of them correctly. The results in percentage showed that the participants have acquired present progressive –ing completely. Present progressive –ing is followed by 'articles', where the data analysis shows that it is the second highest morpheme acquired correctly by the participants in the study. As a group score, out of 70 obligatory occasions the participants have acquired 31correctly which is just below the half of the total percentage. The statistical representation of the data shows that it is 44% on hundred. The least scored morpheme out of the three is 'third person –s'. The data analysis shows the instance of correct use of this morpheme is just 4 out of 60. In percentage the score is 6.6% which is too less than the other two morphemes. The graphical presentation of the data can be as following,
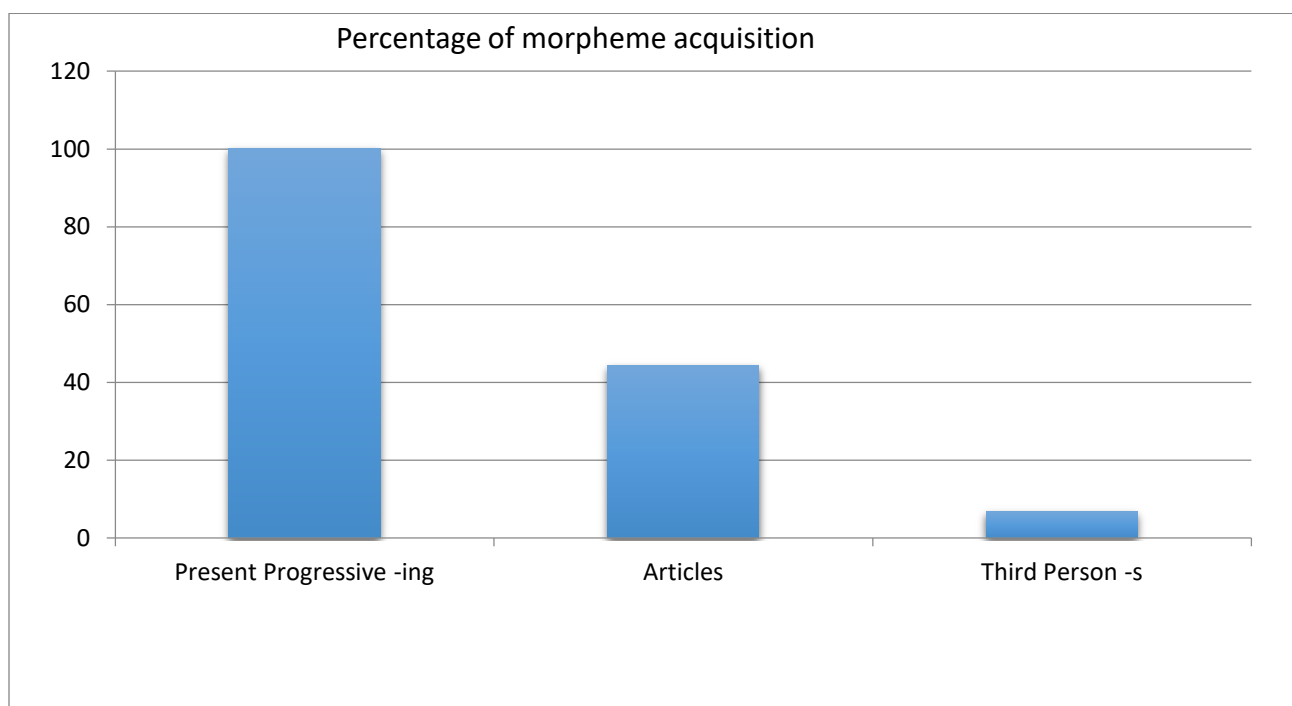

Fig.1 Percentage of morpheme acquisition

From the above bar-graph the results can be interpreted as followings. The morpheme acquisition order exhibited by the Indian ESL learners differs from the acquisition order found by Dulay and Burt in their second study with the ESL

learners from different groups. Table 5 presents the difference between the acquisition orders found in two different studies.

Table 5

	L2 Rank order (Dulay &Burt)	L2 Rank order in Indian ESL Learners
Articles	1	2
-ing	2	1
3rd person singular	3	3

Note: Difference between L2 rank order by Dulay& Burt's and L2 Rank order in Indian ESL Learners

Although there is difference in the acquisition order of some grammatical morphemes, ESL learners across the globe do exhibit a natural order of morpheme acquisition.Some of the effective factors for different morpheme acquisition order might be different L1 backgrounds, lengths of exposure and cultural diversity.Similar results were found by Perkins and Larsen-Freeman (1975). They reported that the Spanish speaking children in their study on morpheme exhibited the similar morpheme acquisition order, present progressive -ing, indefinite article and at last third person –s. Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974)also presented the same morpheme acquisition scores.

Limitations

Though the study has come up with concrete results, some limitations of the study should be taken into consideration. First of all, the participants in the study

are ESL learners and therefore English grammar is a part of their school curriculum. There might be an influence of the classroom instructions on the responses produced by the participants. Another possible limitation of the study can be, since the scope of this paper is very limited, it was decided to focus on only three morphemes. On a broader scale, including maximum numbers of morphemes, the results may vary. There might be a slight change in the position of morphemes according to their acquisition order. Considering the scope of the study it was not possible analyze the reasons behind the performance of the participants. Why do they score high in a particular morpheme and why low in another can be answered in a study with a broader scope. Reaching to the reasons behind this morpheme acquisition order exhibited by the participants will have rich classroom implications therefore it can be the scope for further study.

Implications

Morpheme acquisition studies have been taken up right from 1970 till the present day in the various contexts. This area of research has gained immense popularity in the field of second language research. Real life implicationof these studies is one of the solid bases for its popularity. Starting from the pioneering study of Brown (1970), his methodological insights into grammatical morpheme analysis facilitated the development of analytical methods for L2 research (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982, cited in Eun-Young Kwon,2005). Dulay & Burt (1973), through their study on second language morpheme acquisition, expressed the need to expose the children to a natural communication situation. They extended their argument further by saying that exposure to natural communication would be sufficient to activate language learning process. This view can be connected to the classroom condition, because it is language teacher who will initiate such natural communication by creating communication opportunities. Apart from the research perspective, morpheme studies can be very effective in the context of second

language teaching and learning for several reasons. First of all, it informs the teachers about the order in which their students acquire the language. It will help them concentrate more on un-acquired or difficult to acquire morphemes. This research will also help the teachers modify their instructions and teaching method according to the needs of the learners.Designing teaching materials is another field that can be influenced by morpheme studies. Instructional materials can be selected according to the language learning progress of the learners. The teachers can adapt supporting materials in order to emphasis more on children's weak areas in language learning. Language transfer process of children can be understood better through the morpheme studies.

Conclusion

The study aimed at finding out if the Indian ESL learners follow the same morpheme acquisition order as found by Dulay and Burt in their morpheme study in a non-Indian context.After the data analysis and interpretation it was foundthat, there is a slight change in the acquisition order of some grammatical morphemes. ThereforeIndian ESL learners do not follow the same morpheme acquisition order of selected grammatical morphemes as found by Dualy and Burt in their morpheme study. Despite the difference in the acquisition order it can be said that the ESL learners across the world follow a natural order in morpheme acquisition. This difference can be attributed towards the different levels of proficiency, varied lengths of L2 exposure, different L1 background and the socio-cultural differences. These results corroborate the natural order hypothesis proposed by Stephen Krashen (1987). Second language learners do follow a natural order while acquiring the structures of the language. In case of the Indian ESL learners this hypothesis can be confirmed again by conducting a large scale research which will include maximum numbers of morphemes.

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Appendix

Name:_____**Age:**

Name of the School:_____

Class:_____

_____

Write answers to the following questions in the provided space.

Task No. 1

Describe what you see in the given pictures

(Car)

This is _____
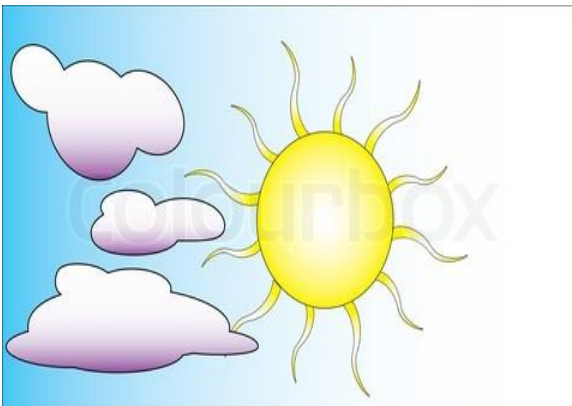
(Sun)

This is _____

(gift box)

This is _____
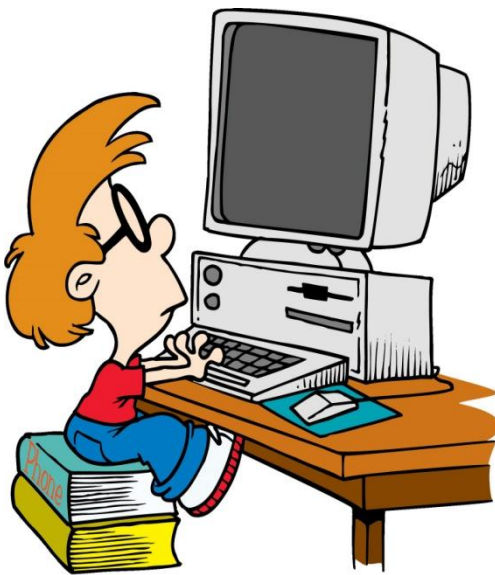
(computer)

(Elephant)

(TajMahal)

(Umbrella)

Task No. 2

Describe the activities in the given pictures

(Cook)

The man and woman are ---

(Dance)

The man and woman are ---

(Run)

_____

(Play)

_____

Task No. 3

Following are the pictures which show John's daily activities. With the help of these pictures describe (write) his daily activities.

get up   **take shower**   **brush teeth**

floss teeth   **Shave**   **get dressed**

Lokaratna Treasure Trove (Lokaratna Khazana)

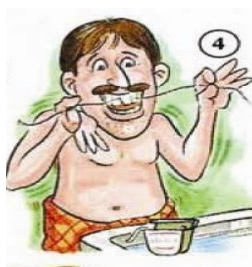# Collaborative Reflective Practices: A Self-Reflective Journey From Planning to Implementation

Amit Kumar

Abstract

This paper attempts to explore how a group of trainee teachers can collaborate, reflect and implement solutions to classroom issues during the one-month contact programme of the course 'Post Graduate Certificate of Teaching English' at EFL University, Hyderabad. The programme includes a well-structured Practice Teaching component of three weeks' duration, which demands the trainees to collaborate and teach in a short-term Proficiency Course. During this period, an attempt is made to analyze the self-reflective journals of the teachers and researcher's notes, to find out how far collaborative reflective practices foster teachers' professional development. Positive effects of collaborative and reflective teaching are known to a few as very few institutes like EFLU promote this. Teaching in collaboration involves planning, material selection, classroom teaching, assessment and finally reflection. The study involved 8 teachers including the researcher. As a participant, the researcher actively participated in the collaborative teaching where the impact of reflection on teaching was keenly observed. Here, 'reflection' is hypothesized as one of the effective approaches and an outstanding learning experience. With this view, my fellow teachers were requested to write self-reflective journals based on self-evaluation checklist, and peer-assessment checklist. Further, teachers' self-reflective journal and semi-structured interviews were used to understand teachers' perception on collaborative reflections. Analysis of data indicated that collaborative reflection fosters professional development in trainees. Data analysis involved the identification of the problems such as inappropriate planning, unsuitability of materials and others

faced by the teachers between planning and reflection. To sum up, the study finds that collaborative reflective practices lead to professional growth, and improvement in teaching style and efficacy of the teachers.

Key words: Collaborative Teaching, Reflective Practices, Professional Development

Introduction

With the emergence of innovative approaches, methods, and techniques of teaching English in the present scenario where classroom has been used as the foreground for teachers' development, incorporation of teaching practices such as reflectionand collaboration are not hyperbole. Of late, it has been widely acknowledged that collaborative learning and reflective practices are conducive in helping teachers develop a positive attitude towards exploring their teaching for innovative approaches that empower them to lead their professional development. With this view, a study has been conducted toexplorethe effectiveness of collaborative reflective practiceswhere trainee teachers are given anopportunity to teach students in an English proficiency course through collaboration with other trainee teachers of the same course.

However, in the traditional pedagogical setup, majority of the potential English language teachers are accustomed to take teacher centered classes due to lack of appropriate training in how to teach English effectively. The current training practices in most of the teacher training colleges in India adopt craft or applied science model. In both the models teacher educators assume these potential teachers to be in a state of blank slate or empty vessel waiting to be filled before they embark on teacher training programme. The role of the trainee teachers is to listen to teacher educators and follow their instructions closely. Trainee teachers

have little to contribute and may not be provided any opportunity to voice their views and ideas. Similarly, very few teacher training institutes provide opportunity to the trainee teachers to get systematic and constructive feedback on their teaching with the incorporation of innovative and effective approaches in order to make teaching of English more interactive and learner-centered. Most of these teachers work individually and in isolation. They do not collaborate with their ideas, views, understanding of their teaching with their colleagues and other teachers. Moreover, they do not feel comfortable to take feedback from their fellow teachers that may help them reflect upon their practices and generate new ideas, plan and organize their teaching. Specifically, many trainee teachers are not aware of the positive effects of self-reflective practices and continue to teach the way they are trained that lead to ineffective teaching strategies. Most of the English teachers either trained or untrained confine their knowledge and skills to themselves due to sense of competition rather than cooperation. There is wide gap between theory and practice as they may not be aware of the positive effect of collaboration and reflective practices that can efficiently be used as one of the most innovative approaches for their professional development.

Therefore, keeping these drawbacks in mind, the proposed study targets to foster reflective practices and develop teachers professionally while being trained in pre-service and in-service teacher training programme like'Post Graduate Certificate in the Teaching of English' (PGCTE), a programme offered by EFL University, Hyderabad, India for professional development of Pre and In-service teachers of English. The present study also attempts to discover how far collaborative reflective practices are feasible and can be implemented to address some of the classroom issues in a teacher training programme.

Significance of the Study

Of late, teacher'squality hasbeenagrowing concernofall stakeholders ineducation that demands adequate investigation into other forms of teacher professional development. The outcome of this present study will provide relevant information in relation to the benefits of collaborative and reflective practices. This study signifies mainly the effectiveness of collaborative teaching, self-reflection and collaborative reflective practices with the incorporation of these innovative approaches in the module or curriculum of pre-service and in-service teacher training programme to develop professionally.

Research Questions

The following are the issues explored in the study:

▪ How teachers can collaborate in a group from planning to implementation phase in order to teach various language skills?

▪ To what extent self-reflection help the teachers to identify their limitations and improve their own teaching?

▪ How far collaborative reflective practices help teachers in their professional development?

▪ How do the teachers perceive the effect of collaborative reflective practices on their teaching?

Answers to these questions were to be found through an exploration of how teachers can individually develop professionally, if collaborative environment is provided where teachers have the opportunity to reflect on their own teaching based on the feedback given by others and through self-evaluation as well.

Theoretical perspectives

Fundamentally, collaborative teaching, reflective practices and professional development are the three important strands thatprovide the theoretical framework to this present study.Before conceptualizing 'collaborative teaching', it would be useful to define the term 'collaboration' which can be referred to as a process. As Matttessich, Murray-Close and Monsey (2001) explain that "collaboration is a mutually beneficial and well-defined relationship entered into by two or more people to achieve common goal. The relationship includes a commitment to mutual relationship and goals; a jointly developed structure and shared responsibility; mutual authority and accountability for success; and sharing of resources and rewards. Further, the role of collaboration in association with language teaching has been defined this situation inearlier studies"when two or more professionals jointly deliver substantive instruction to a diverse, or blended group of students in a single physical space" (Cook and Friend, 1995). In another study, the context of collaborative teaching is referred as co-teaching and has been defined as"When two (or more) educators take a contract to share instructional responsibility of a single group of students primarily in a single classroom or workspace for specific content (objectives) and work with mutual ownership, pooled resources, and joint accountability(Cook & Friend, 2004). The above mentioned definitions suggest the role of collaborative practices into education and itspossible benefits. In order to interpret the vitality of collaboration in teaching, Friend (2008) in his study moves a step furtherwith his recommendation that "Given the increasing popularity of collaborative teaching and implied legislative stimulus for it, educators should not only be aware of collaborative teaching, but also enhance their knowledge regarding this practice".

Furthermore, the process of 'collaboration' leads to another strand i.e., 'reflection' which are conceptually interlinked. In 1987, the concept of 'reflective practice' was introduced by Donald Schon, who recommended it as "a way for beginners in a discipline to recognize consonance between their own individual practices and those of successful practitioners. Later, a framework of 'reflective practices' on various dimensions by Zwozdiak-Myers (2010) defines it as "a disposition to enquiry incorporating the process through which the student, early career and experiences teachers structure or restructure actions, beliefs, knowledge and theories that inform teaching for the purpose of professional development". Furthermore, the concept of 'reflective practices' connects to collaboration as process, and createsan alternative model 'collaborative reflective practice', that becomes more effective, as Mattessich et.al.(2001) points out "the contexts for professional practice change based on collaboration, facilitate individuals' action plans and develop a systematic review process. Consequently, developing understanding is embedded in the social process of knowledge construction rather than a solitary endeavour". This kind of collaborative model of reflective practice enriches students' personal reflections on their work and provides students with suggestions from peers on how to refine their teaching practices (Syrjala, 1996). Now, in associating these models with the levels of reflective practices, Ojanen (1993) explores that reflective practice is used at both the pre-service and in-service levels of teaching, whereas at the level of in-service teaching, studies have shown that critical reflection upon experience to be an effective technique for professional development which is considered the third vital strand for this present study. Moreover, through his study, it is also evident that how trainee teachers develop the necessary skills for reflective teaching during field experience through effective use of teachers' personal histories, dialogue journals, and small-large group discussions about their experiences to help them reflect upon and improve

their practices. Likewise, the present study too, incorporates personal diaries, self-evaluation checklist, peer-evaluation checklist, and interview followed by an hour long collaborative reflective session after the actual classroom teaching. Kettle and Sellars (1996) in a study with third-year teaching students after analyzing the students' reflective writings and conducting an intensive interview on reflective practices, found that the use of peer reflective groups encouraged student teachers to challenge existing theories and their own preconceived notions of teaching while modeling for them a collaborative style of professional development that would be useful throughout their teaching careers.

Thus, the abovementioned literature provides useful insights as to how collaborative reflective practices can be implemented to pre and in-service teacher training which help the trainee teachers develop as better professionals.

Methodology

The methodology adopted in this study is of a mixed-method in nature i.e. both quantitative and qualitative methods are used for data collection and analysis, though large part of the data is qualitative in nature. The methodology largely deals with the context of the study, sample, tools used for data collection, and research design of the study in details.

Context of the study

Through this study, learning experience of collaborative teaching where reflection is considered as one of the most important tools for teachers' professional development has been shared by the researcher being one of the active participants for the study. As one of the aims of the study is to explore how a group of trainee teachers can collaborate, reflect and implement solutions to some of the classroom issues, the study has been contextualized at a renowned Pre and In-

service teacher training programme in distance mode 'Post Graduate Certificate in the Teaching of English' (PGCTE) at The English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad, India with a course duration of a year that can be extended up to two years. The programme promotes English teachers who look forward to update their knowledge of English grammar, pronunciation, and recent methods of language teaching by putting emphasis on both theoretical and practical aspects. Both the necessary aspects help the participants improve their efficiency and confidence in teaching English. The curriculum consists of seven courses where six of them belong to the theoretical aspects such as Phonetics, Grammar, Linguistics, Literature, Methods of Teaching English and Materials of Teaching English whereas the seventh course 'Practice Teaching' emphasizes on the practical aspects. The contact-cum-examination programme includes a well-structured 'Practice Teaching' component of three weeks' duration which demands the trainees to collaborate and teach in a short-term 'Proficiency Course' to teach a class of approximately 30-35 students of heterogeneous background who intend to develop their proficiency in English. The practice teaching session of the course PGCTE is divided into three phases.The first phase includes collaboration of trainee teachers from planning to implementation where those 8 teachers after being sub-divided into two groups share the responsibility to plan for 120 minutes' class on a specific theme, prepare appropriate materials, and prepare a lesson plan where each teacher is accountable for his/her segment focusing on one of the four basic skills such as listening, speaking, reading or writing. The second phase deals with self-reflection phase of the teachers after every class, whereas the third phase includes collaborative reflection with proper feedback session in presence of minimum two experienced ELT practitioners who after a detailed analysis of teachers' classroom performance and feedback session evaluate their performances. During this phase, the trainee teachers share their personal

experiences, collaboratively reflect on their planning, analyze the feasibility of self-designed or developed tried out materials, discuss classroom management issues, and ascertain the effectiveness of the criteria to evaluate the performance of the students during classes. In fact, this session provides an opportunity for the trainee teachers to reflect on each segment from planning to implementation in collaboration with other teachers and improve their own teaching by incorporating their valuable comments given during feedback session.

Sample of the study

The sample included eight trainee teachers from various academic backgrounds where majority of them were well qualified for teaching at secondary and tertiary level. Out of eight trainee teachers, three of them were pursuing Ph. D either in English Literature or English Language Teaching; two of them were engaged in school teaching while other two were college teachers. The remaining one trainee was currently pursuing this course where the study had been done. In fact, some of them had joined PGCTE as pre-service teachers as they were novice and did not have any teaching experience in the real classroom situation whereas some of the trainee teachers hadadequate teaching experience and had joined this as a refresher course for teachers. The detailed information of each participant is shown in the table given below:

Table-1

	Name of the Trainee Teacher	Qualifications	Teaching Experience (In Years)	Current Academic/Professional Status (2014)
	Teacher-1	M.A, B.Ed M. Phil (ELE)	02	Pursuing Ph. D
	Teacher-2	M.A, B.Ed, M. Phil (Lit.)	02	Pursuing Ph. D
	Teacher-3	M.A, B. Ed	01	Teaching in College
	Teacher-4	M.A, B. Ed	03	Teaching in College
	Teacher-5	M.A, B. Ed	03	Teaching in School
	Teacher-6	M.A, M. Phil (ELE)	00	Pursuing PGDTE
	Teacher-7	M. A, M. Ed	03	Teaching in School
	Teacher-8	M. A, B. Ed	00	Pursuing Ph. D

Tools used for study

In order to explore how trainee teachers in this particular context reflect both individually and collaboratively on their own teaching, these are the following tools used for the purpose of the study:

- Self-reflective Journal
- Self-evaluation Checklist
- Peer-assessment checklist
- Semi-structural Interview

In addition, some of these tools were also intended to know the perceptions of the trainee teachers on the advantages and disadvantages of collaborative teaching, collaborative reflective practices that help them develop professionally.

Research design

The research design comprises three significant stages through which the present study was conducted. Firstly, all the teachers working in collaboration to teach in an English proficiency course were requested by the researcher to write self-reflective journals with the aims to reflect on their own strengths and weaknessesof teaching English. The process of self-reflective journal writing was based on the aspects pointed out through self evaluation checklist designed by the ELT experts and providedby PGCTE programme to assess teachers' own teaching. During the second stage of data collection, like self-evaluation checklist, the PGCTE programme also provided peer-evaluation checklist to assess the peers' performance form planning to implementation stage which basically includedgeneral aspects such as planning, selection of materials, classroom management, and assessment or evaluation pattern followed by the teacher, and so on. Finally, the third stage intended to explore and gather teachers' perception on collaborative teaching, self-reflective practices and finally on collaborative reflective practices. Data was collected also through semi-structured interview which comprises almost 15 comprehensive questions where most of the questions were open ended to elicit their perception on these aspects. Whereas, some of the questions were structured in a way that they can collect teachers' direct responses in yes or no supported by some justification or rationale as well.

Data analysis and Interpretation

This section of the study covers the analysis and interpretation of the data collected during each phase of the study through various tools. The collected datawas analyzed using both Quantitative and Qualitative methods. In this regard, some part of data collected through theitems incorporated in each toolwhich elicited responses from trainee teachers either in Yes/No or factual information such as name of the teacher, theme of the lesson, aims and objectives of each lesson, their perception on the effectiveness of various stages of practice teaching and so on, have been analyzed quantitatively through graphical mode. The graph comprising quantitative data has been shown below.

Graph-1
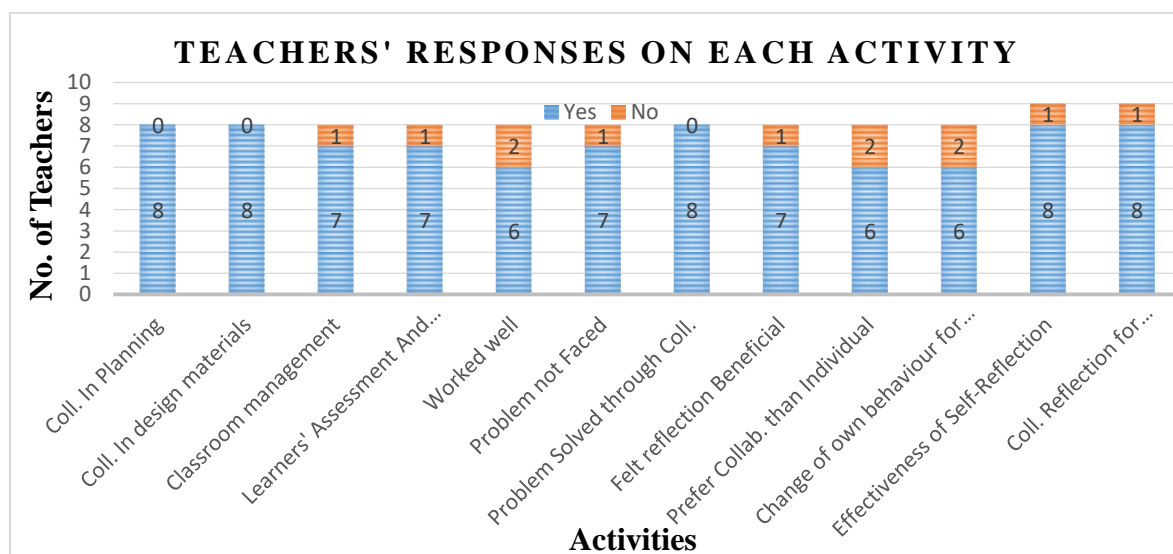
It is quite evident from the graphical presentation of the data that all the eight teachers agreeto the fact that collaboration with other teachers helped them in planning their teaching, designing or developing materials, addressing the problems occurred during the whole process, and the most importantly, teaching through collaborative approach helped them develop professionally. Moreover,

seven out of eight teachers felt that collaboration helped them in addressing classroom management issues during actual classroom situation, assisted them in assessing or evaluating students' performances, and found reflection on their teaching beneficial to grow as a professional. Whereas, six teachers of the collaborative group opined that most of the planning executed well, and interestingly preferredto adapt collaborative approach rather than teaching individually. Not only these, viewing its effectiveness, some of the teacher's feltinspired to the extent to change their attitude and behaviour in order to work efficiently in a collaborative situation in future.

From the qualitative analysis of the data where most of the items of each tool used in this study were open ended, responses of all the trainee teachers on each stage from planning to implementation in collaboration were compiled through the following points:

- *Collaboration in planning the lessons:* Majority of the teachers participated in the study viewed that 'two brains are better than one' which assist in bringing democratic views while planning the lesson. It was also found that ideas develop more while working in mixed ability group where responsibilities are shared and distributed looking at the expertise of an individual.

- *Collaboration in designing and developing materials:* Most of the teachers found convenient to locate resources and selecting materials aiming the group performance chiefly. Additionally, they viewed that 'more people gather more ideas' which could help them to choose materials in an appropriate way.

- *Collaboration in classroom management:* From the study, it was observed that some teachers could keep track of timing, assist the fellow teacher in circulating materials, extend technical help and demonstrate a difficult activity, and so on while other teacher was engaged in teaching actively.

▪ *Collaboration in Students' Assessment and* Evaluation: From the findings of the data, it was witnessed that collaboration in teaching assist the teachers to learn various assessment and evaluation technique using different criteria while teaching various language skills fromfellow teachers. Certain techniques used by the fellow teachers to provide proper feedback to the students were also learnt.

The results of the analysis were presented and interpreted with respect to the research questions which seem to be addressed to a large extent.

Teachers' perceptions of collaborative teaching

From the analysis and interpretation of the data, teachers' perceptions towards the effectiveness of collaborative teaching were discovered. The analysis also explored the problems faced by the learners and how those were sorted out collaboratively. In spite of these, this section also includes teachers' views on the distinction between the effectiveness of individual and collaborative teaching and ultimately concludes the discussion with their overall perceptions of collaborative reflective practices. In this way, firstly, most of teachers feltthat sometimes it was difficult to adjust the emotional needs of other teachers due to lack of coordination or improper planning. Some of them found time constrain, teachers' negative attitude, unfeasibility of plans as some of the drawbacks. However, most of the problems were handled democratically with true cooperation, through self-reflection, by identifying strengths and weaknesses of each members of the group, having realized the scope for improvements and finally working on these with positive attitude. Secondly, comments and feedback provided by the fellow teachers were found more objective, more relevant and more accurate in teaching collaboratively rather than teaching individually. Majority of them claimed that 'group work is more beneficial than individual'. Finally, teachers' perceptions on

collaborative reflective practices claimed that the present approach helped them to provide immediate feedback which they were unaware of and provided more opportunity to observe others and learn, prepare well, motivated and encouraged them to grow as better professionals.

Conclusion

Like other similar studies, the present study has some limitations. The study confines itself to a small sample and shortcourse duration that limit the generalizability of the result. Moreover, having the researcher as a part of the sample may have affected the objectivity of the study to some extent. Despite these limitations, the study concludes by providing some insight to different stakeholders on the benefits of collaborative reflective practices as such:

- For the trainee teachers, collaborative practices may foster reflection that may enable them to perform better than earlier.

- For in-service teachers, collaborative practices may give an insight to form an association to become reflective practitioners and life-long learners which helps them for CPD.

- For teacher educator and teacher training department, the research may provide an insight to train the teachers by adopting collaborative and reflective practices and create positive atmosphere.

- For the material designers, it may provide an insight to incorporate tasks that require collaborative reflective practice.

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Appendix-1

Self-Evaluation Report (PGCTE)

1. Name of the Teacher:

2. Roll No.:

3. Date and Time:

4. Lesson Plan Topic:

5. Specific Aim:

6. Overall Team's Aim:

7. Skill Focused:

8. Supervisors:

9. Reasons for selecting the lesson:

10. Stage-wise summary

- Planning of the lesson:

- Preparation/selection of Material:

- Actual classroom Teaching:

- Assessment and evaluation of the Students:

- Reflection on overall teaching performance:

11. Learners' Participation:

12. What went well and why?

13. What did not go well and why?

14. How could I do better?

15. How does the self-reflection help me in improving my teaching and develop   professionally as a teacher?

16. Did collaboration with other teachers help me in doing well from planning to implementation of a lesson? If yes, how?

Appendix-2
Peer Evaluation Checklist

1. Name of the Teacher   :
2. Roll No.   :
3. Date and Time   :
4. Lesson Plan Topic   :
5. Specific Aim   :
 6.. Overall Aim (Team)   :
7. Skills/Functions being taught   :
8. Reasons for selecting the lesson   :
9. What was the teacher trying to achieve?
a.   The place of the individual lesson in the overall integrated lesson,

objectives of the lesson vis-a-vis the team's integrated lesson:

b.   Appropriateness of the instructional strategies used:

c.   Teaching strategies (e.g. explanation, elicitation) used by the teacher:

d.   The teacher's pacing of the lesson:

e.   Appropriateness and effectiveness of learner activities:

f.   The nature of the interaction between the teacher and the learner's

(e.g. rapport with learners, responsiveness to learner queries, problems, needs):

g.   Any instances of incidental teaching:

h.   Any instances where the teacher needed to deviate from his/her plan.

What was the justification (as seen by the teacher/or you) for this? What, according

to you, were the consequences (both good/bad) of this?

i.   The teacher's use of materials/black board. The appropriateness and

effectiveness of the materials used for the desired instructional outcomes:

10. What were the learner roles planned by the teacher? What was the nature

of learner   participation and involvement? What was their contribution to the

lesson?

11. What were the roles assumed by the teacher during the lesson and what

was their relative appropriateness?

12. What were the classroom management techniques used by the teacher during the various steps of the lesson?

13. What went well and why?

14. What went less well and why?

15. What did you like about the lesson and why?

16. If you had to teach this lesson, what would you have retained and what would you have done   differently? Why?

17. What will you take away as a teacher? (What lessons have you learned and by observing this   lesson and what can you incorporate in your own teaching?)

Appendix-3

Semi-structural Interview of Teachers on Collaborative Reflective Practices

1.   Name of the teacher:

2.   How many teachers were in a group when you were engaged in collaborative teaching?

3.   How was the group organized (e.g. by supervisor, self-selection, etc.)?

4.   How were roles to 'each individual' assigned or did group members have equal responsibility?

5.   Does collaboration with other teachers to teach in a class help you in planning your teaching? If yes, how?

6.   Does collaboration with other teachers help you in designing or developing materials for your teaching? If yes, how?

7.   Does collaboration with other teachers help you in classroom management while taking the class? If yes, how?

8.   Do you find collaboration with other teachers plays any role in evaluating or assessing students' performance during your teaching in the classroom?

9.   What worked well and what didn't?

10.   Did you face any problem from planning to implementation in order to teach students? If yes, can you list them?

11.   How did your group deal with problems faced by you or other members, if any?

12.   Do you feel reflection with other members of your group in presence of your supervisor benefit you in addressing the issues you faced throughout teaching?

13.   Do you think that you have learned more as part of a group than you would have worked individually?

14.   Is there anything you would change about your own behaviour or approach in future collaborative teaching situations?

15.   Based on the experience, do you feel collaborative approach of teaching helps you develop professionally as a teacher?

Participatory Action Research (PAR): A Strategy to Work with the Marginalized

Noel Anurag Prasanth

Abstract:

This paper focuses on the issues that arise while researching the marginalized. Its overall aim is to provide with information, tools, skills and assistance on research and evaluation methods that are appropriate for doing research with and for the marginalized learners who are disadvantaged when compared with learners in the mainstream. The process of marginalization is both related to economic and political subjugation, education alone is not likely to bring the marginalized into the epicentre where the powerful stake holders exist. However, it can brighten the chances of the marginalized and enable them to gain control over their lives and livelihoods. The 'participatory action research' or PAR developed by researchers whose primary concern was with the lives of those on the margins, and how research could work to transform lives or at least change them for the better, as an approach suitable to conduct research with the marginalized will be highlighted. The principle aim of PAR is not just gaining a better understanding of the problems which arise in everyday practice, but actually working out a feasible solution to alter the situations, and to do so as part of the research process, rather than simply tagging it as an afterthought. Further, for any research to bring about meaningful change, it must involve those, whose lives are being changed as participants in the research and not just subjects of it. Research thereby becomes part of the process of social transformation bringing about change, rather than standing spaced out from it.

Introduction

Researching with the marginalized is an important area of research because of the fact that governments and organizations around the world, look to design methods and approaches to solve the problem of how to reach potential learners who are on the margins of their societies. Conventional approaches depend on bringing learners together in schools or on campuses, for daily lessons, with a teacher with whom they are face-to-face. Unfortunately, these approaches are not reaching people who cannot afford to attend a school, who live far away from such institutions and cannot leave their families and communities to relocate, or who are discriminated against because of their ethnicity, gender, religion, or some physical disability. Enabling people to study in their own communities, rather than requiring them to travel to a major centre or even to live there would be the main aim of conducting such a research. Researchers, thus have to play a supporting role by providing institutions and organizations with the information on what kinds of programming and support, work best for these learners by using systematic research methods.

Defining the term marginalized

"The term 'marginal' necessarily reflects the point of view of those who are dominant, economically or politically. And the concept has come into use to describe a reality of increasingly polarized life chances. The 'marginalized' are the poor and powerless, too busy with life at the edges of survival to be able to acquire the skills or material supports that would let them get out of the trap they were born into, or have been pushed into." – Molteno, M. (1998)

There is no single agreed definition of marginalization, the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2010: reaching the marginalized defines it as "a form of acute and persistent disadvantage rooted in underlying social inequalities". Often

many different forms of marginalization interact described as inter-sectionality, which refers to "multiple systems of discrimination operating simultaneously". For example, a young man from an indigenous population may face discrimination on account of his color, ethnicity and socioeconomic status/class. The multi-dimensionality of marginalization – that is, its complexity plagues policy-makers. There is little agreement in the academic literature or in policy networks on how to understand the "real problem." Therefore, it becomes essential to define who is marginalized and why according to one's own context, as it has multiple characteristics such as poverty, unemployment, not having enough skills, etc.

The approach to research that will be discussed in this paper has been labelled 'participatory action research' or PAR, which came into existence when researchers used theory and research to solve immediate social problems. This is research not for its own sake, but rather the purpose of PAR is to bring about change. The principle at work here is that research should not only be used to gain a better understanding of the problems which arise in everyday practice, but actually strive to alter things, and to do so as part of the research process, rather than to tag it on as an afterthought. Furthermore, for this type of research to bring about meaningful change, it must involve those, whose lives are being changed as participants in the research and not just subjects of it. Research thereby becomes an integral part of the process of social transformation, rather than appearing to be distanced from the reality existing on the ground.

PAR can best be described as a strategy for research rather than as a specific method. It is concerned with the aims and the design of the research, but is not constrained when it comes to the tools for data collection, leaving a scope for improvisation depending on the requirement of that particular context. Questionnaires, interviews, observation, documentary research, one or many different combinations can be used while conducting PAR. The major difference

when compared with other types of research is that the tools for conducting the research are developed in collaboration with the people, whose ideas, perceptions and behaviors are under scrutiny. The data is collected with the help of the participants who not only participate but also act as co-researchers themselves. All the research related documents are scrutinized by people who are insiders to the lives and circumstances portrayed in those documents and the perspective followed is that of an 'insider' known as 'emic' perspective.

Literature review

The origin of PAR

The historical roots of PAR can be traced back to the nineteenth and early twentieth century political activists Karl Marx, Fredrik Engels, and Antonio Gramsci. Marx's infamous claim that "The point of philosophy is not to understand the world but to change it" serves as the key point of reference to these revolutionary thinkers, writers and activists. In order to understand the political crises which characterised the mid-nineteenth century Europe, Marx and Engels used the 'Participant Observation Method' (POM) of research, aligning themselves with the oppressed through participating in their strikes and other actions rather than assuming the detached, allegedly value-free stance of the traditional researcher. PAR as we know it today, however, has its deepest roots in Latin America, where it emerged into its present form. The work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, among others, was fundamental in the development of PAR. In 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (1970), Freire introduced the concepts of 'conscientization' and 'critical reflection'. By conscientization, he meant the identification and critical analysis of social, political, and economic contradictions, leading to an organised action to solve immediate problems and to counter the oppressive aspects persistent in the society. Freire advocated a research approach

that involved a change in the traditional role of the researcher, who in addition to being an educator, gets transformed from being an 'objective' external researcher to a 'committed' co-investigator. The role of the target population will hence be converted from the objects being studied to active participants and co-researchers in the research process (Selener 1997:14).

The professional origins of participatory research focused on the inability of the dominant research paradigms and approaches to promote social change, as was evident in the excerpts from Marion Molteno's paper "Education at the margins" presented as a keynote address at an Educational conference. Researchers such as Hall (1975, 1979), Gaventa and Horton (1981) and Tandon (1982) argue that the emphasis of these conventional approaches on quantitative analysis type of research that tends to be associated with numbers as units of research – reduces the complexity, meaning and richness of human life to mere scores and tabulations. Hall (1977:4-8) in particular argues that such an approach oversimplifies reality and produces results which are inaccurate in at least three ways:

1   Research in the dominant tradition extracts information from individuals in isolation from one another and then collapses it into a single set of figures, thereby diminishing the complexity of human feeling and experience.

2   In extracting information through structured interviews or multiple-choice questionnaires, researchers oblige respondents to choose a response that might not reflect their perceptions.

3   The surveys compiled by researchers in this dominant tradition suffer from a lack of context, and present reality as a static snapshot of individuals rather than a picture of social beings, which has a past and a future.

Methodology

Conducting participatory action research

Daniel Selener gives us an account of the four phases of participatory action research and describes every stage of the research clearly (Selener 1997:39-42).

The four major phases according to him are:

1. Organizing the research project and gathering knowledge of the working area.

2. Definition of the problem by project participants.

3. Critical analysis of the problem.

4. Planning and implementing a plan of action.

Phase 1: Organizing the research and gathering knowledge of the working area

This phase includes establishing relationships with the various stakeholders involved in the research. This phase also involves defining the framework of concepts and methods that will shape the research. The following tasks contribute to the fulfilment of these objectives:

- Defining the objectives of the research, the methods that will be used to achieve them, and the assumptions that underlie the research.

- Defining the population of the study.

- Setting up the research team: selecting and training the members involved.

- Drafting and approving the budget.

- Drawing up a tentative timetable for the project.

- Setting up a structure for monitoring and evaluating the research; that is, ensuring that the research is on track towards meeting its objectives, and then,

evaluating the outcomes in terms of the extent to which the objectives have been met.

This phase also involves gathering basic information about the group that is the primary focus of the research by:

- Collecting and assessing relevant information about the socio-economic, political and technological context to aid the process of identifying the problem jointly with members of the group.

- Discovering as much as possible about how the members of the group view the world in which they live and the role that education plays in their lives.

Phase 2: Definition of the problem

This phase involves the joint identification, by the research team and other members of the group, on the topic or the focus of the research, i.e. the most significant problems that the group would like to address.

Phase 3: Critical analysis of the problem

In this phase, the task is to critically scrutinize the problems that have been identified, to look at them from a number of perspectives – local, regional, national and in a number of dimensions such as social, political, economic and technical. The following steps are involved:

- **Describing current perceptions of the problem**: Participants, working in discussion groups, state how they perceive and formulate the problem they want to solve, and their ideas towards finding solutions.

- **Questioning the representation of the problem**: Participants are encouraged to question these perceptions and understandings of the problem by looking at the problem from a number of different perspectives, including those of the educational provider and other organizations that may be involved in the education project.

- **Reformulating the problem**: With these new perspectives, participants should now be able to formulate the problem in a more objective manner. This includes:

- **Describing the problem**: Identifying different aspects and points of view; listing, classifying and comparing information; identifying contradictions among different elements of the situation; relating it to other problems; and so on

- **Explaining the problem**: Eliciting not only immediate causes of the problem but other, deeper causes, and relationships among various problems

- **Offering strategies for action**: Formulating hypotheses for action and speculating on likely results; identifying short- and long-term solutions, both would be made available to the participants and also those which would require action at another level; examining the collective action and cooperation necessary.

Phase 4: Definition of the plan of action

In this step, the plan of action is designed by the participants together with the research team, based on the problems identified and analyzed. The implementation of actions will change the reality initially analyzed, new issues will arise, and these in turn will require further analysis and new solutions. In other words, the broad phases of participatory action research constitute a continuous and on-going process.

Example of such a study: The adult education component of the Nigeria Community Education Programme which was conducted for a period of five years i.e. between 1997 and 2002.

Conclusion

Researchers, who need an approach that reflects the reality of the poor, and who are willing to work in order to help change that reality, may consider PAR. By involving the people whose problems are being studied as co-researchers in all stages of the process, there is a possibility that this might positively affect the results and help people solve practical problems, both in their immediate daily lives and in the long term effectively.

According to Selener, 'Participatory research assumes that returning the power of knowledge generation and use to ordinary, oppressed people will contribute to the creation of more accurate, critical reflection of social reality, the liberation of human creative potential, and the mobilisation of human resources to solve social problems' (Selener 1997:28). Thus participatory researchers promote empowerment of the community by encouraging ordinary people to participate in knowledge generation and to use the knowledge created to improve their life-situation.

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Linguistic expressions and Functional utilities in Diplomacy with reference to Treaties and Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs)

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Hemanga Dutta

Abstract

The present study analyses linguistic expressions and functional utilities involved in Diplomatic policies of Bangladesh with reference to Treaties and Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs). Diplomacy and International Relations are interlinked (Sagini, 2015). Diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of states. The sudy examines the functions of diplomacy with reference to Treaties and MOUs and their significance in diplomatic policies. There are main four functions in diplomacy. They are representation, negotiation, reporting and the protection of the nationalinterests (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961). Treaties and MOUs are considered as the outcome of diplomacy. A treaty is an agreement under international law entered into by actors in international law, namely sovereign states and international organizations. This is a legal binding instrument. On the other hand, a memorandum of understanding (MoU) describes a bilateral or multilateral agreement between two or more parties. It is known as non-binding legal instrument (Aust, 2013). The present study draws a major line of demarcation between Treaties and MOUs on the basis of political and foreign ethos. In addition, this research draws insights on linguistic differences involved in the drafting of Treaties and MOUs. Proper and judicious usage of linguistic items and vocabularies in treaties and MOUs is of crucial importance for the successful implementation of the diplomatic

policies. A treaty adheres to a particular format and a set of vocabularies where as an MOU does not have such strict conformity to such patterns.

Key words: Diplomacy, Linguistic expression, Treaty, MOU

1.0   Introduction:

Diplomacy is the conduct of a state's formal relations with other states as well as with regional, multilateral and international organizations for the promotion of its national interests (Woods, 2011). National interests could be political, economic, commercial, cultural, educational, scientific, technological, environmental defense and many more. Diplomacy is, therefore, multi-dimensional in nature. Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact in the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their relations with dependent territories, and between governments and international institutions; or more briefly, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means (Roberts, 2012).

The main tool of diplomacy is negotiation. So, generally diplomats are considered as negotiators. They draft a wide variety of bilateral and multilateral treaties and Memorandum of Understanding (MOUs) as outcome of negotiations. It is found that United States concludes over 160 treaties and 3500 executive agreements anually. In the age of globalization, each and every country is involed with cooperation engazements with other country. No country will be found in the world who does not have bilateral or mulilateral arrangement with reference to treaties and MOUs with other countries or mulateral organizations (Kim, 2015). So, functional utilities in diplomacy with reference to treaties and MOUs are invaluable.

Over the past centuries, State practice has developed a variety of terms to refer to international instruments by which States establish rights and obligations among themselves (UN Treaty Collection, 1999). The international instruments binding at international law refer to treaties, agreements, conventions, charters, protocols, declarations, memoranda of understanding. In spite of this diversity of terminology, no precise nomenclature exists. In fact, the meaning of the terms used is variable, changing from State to State, from region to region and instrument to instrument. Some of the terms can easily be interchanged: an instrument that is designated "agreement" might also be called "treaty"(UN Treaty Collection, 1999). In this connection, the success of diplomacy and diplomats in particular does not rely not exclusively on the functional utilies embodied its Treaties and MOUs but also on the proper and judicious usage of linguistic items and vocabularies. A sound and appropriate linguistic expression is instrumental in achieving the optimal goals set by the diplomatic missions.

This paper based on diplomatic tools and strategies of Bangladesh seeks to draw the significance of both treaties and MOUs. In addition, an attempt has been made here to draw a line of demarcation between the two based on political and linguistic ethos. Section 2 of this paper highlights the theories related to Diplomatic strategies in the context of Bangladesh and its foreign relations. Section 3 is devoted to the research questions related to the functional and linguistic implications involved in the drafting of the treaties and MOUs which is followed by a brief discussion on methodology involved in writing this research paper in section 4 of this paper. In section5, the authors discuss the functions of diplomacy in various spheres along with a discussion on the differences existing between Treaties and MOUs both at the level of foreign policy ethos and linguistic ethos as well. Section 6 focuses on the limitations which is followed by a summary

of the findings and future implications of research on this line in section 7 of the paper.

2.0 Diplomacy and Bangladesh:

It is considered that the origin of diplomacy in Bangladesh started from the fourth century BC when sailor Buddha Gupta sailed from Chittagong port for Malacca. According to Malayan history, Buddha Gupta was instrumental in establishing relations between Bengal and Malacca in fourth century BC. Fa-Xien, Chinese great monk traveller, undertook visits to India, including Sonargaon of Bengal from in 411 AD (Hossain, 2015).

From the fifteenth century till the arrival of the British Raj there had not been much activities of worth mention in diplomatic arena in Bengal. Following the partition of British India, professionalism of diplomacy had taken shape. Competitive examination requiring high educational standard had been introduced. However, there was wide disparity in recruiting from East Pakistan which became part of Pakistan during partition of British India in 1947. A few had been inducted diplomatic service from East Pakistan at the initial stage which became an independent and sovereign country through bloody war of liberation in December, 1971 (Hossain, 2015). Since independence in 1971, the country has stressed its principle of *friendship towards all, malice towards none* in dictating its diplomacy.

At present, Government of Bangladesh has set a highly inspirational foreign policy vision-"to establish the country globally as influential self-reliant and knowledge-based nation, with a democratic, secular and inclusive identity, contributing to global peace, progress and prosperity." Ministry of Foreign Affairs

has been pursuing this Foreign Policy vision into reality with proactive diplomatic engagement bilaterally and multilaterally through 74 Bangladesh Missions abroad. In order to enhance diplomatic engagement bilaterally and multilaterally, Bangladesh involves in making Treaty, MOU, Agreement, Convention, Charter, Protocol and Declaration among the countries. A short description of these instruments is given below:

Treaty

The word 'Treaty' is derived from the French word *traiter* (Roberts, 2012)**,** which means to negotiate. The term 'treaty' can be defined in both a general and a restricted sense'. In general sense, 'treaty' is a binding instrument. The instrument must be written and concluded by States or international organizations with treaty making-power and it has to be governed by international law (Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties**,** 1969). In restricted sense, the term 'treaty requires signatures which are usually sealed and they normally require ratification. Typical examples of international instruments designated as 'treaties' are Peace Treaties, Delimitation Treaties, Extradition Treaties and Treaties of Friendship, Commerce and Cooperation.

Memoranda of Understanding

MOUs are not legally binding instrument. In the United States, an MOU is the same as a letter of intent which is a nonbinding agreement. MOUs are most often used as part of multinational international relations because, unlike treaties, they are quick and can be kept secret **(**Investopedia, 2014**)**. There are documents that are not legally binding even if they are drafted by a lawyer and signed by

witnesses. Such a document is called a memorandum of understanding (MoU) and is actually just a means for two parties to reach a decision. It is used to gauge the intention of the transacting parties before a deal is officially signed between them and doesn't grant either of them any rights. So, in some cases, it may make more sense to opt for a softer, non-legal document than a legally binding one (Babwani, 2013)

Other Forms of Treaties include

The term *treaty* is used generically to describe a variety of instruments, including conventions, agreements, arrangements, protocols, covenants, charters, and acts (Shaw, 2004). In the strict sense of the term, however, many such instruments are not treaties. The key distinguishing feature of a treaty is that it is binding. For example, the United Nations (UN) Charter (1945) created a binding agreement and is thus a treaty (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014).

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Agreements

Agreements" are usually less formal and deal with a narrower range of subject matter than "treaties". The term "agreement" can be applied both bilateral and restricted multilateral treaties. It is employed especially for instruments of a technical or administrative character, which are signed by the representatives of government departments, but are not subject to ratification. Typical agreements deal with matters of economic, cultural, scientific and technical co-operation. Agreements also frequently deal with financial matters, such as avoidance of double taxation, investment guarantees or financial assistance.

Conventions

The term "convention" is synonymous with the term "treaty". "Convention" was regularly used for bilateral agreements but now it is generally used for formal multilateral treaties with a broad number of parties. For example, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 1982, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties of 1969.

Charters

The term "charter" is used for particularly formal and solemn instruments, such as the constituent treaty of an international organization. For example, the Magna Carta of 1215 and the Charter of the United Nations of 1945.

Protocols

The term "protocol" is used for agreements less formal than those entitled "treaty" or "convention". The term could be used to cover the following kinds of instruments:

(a) A Protocol of Signature is an instrument subsidiary to a treaty, and drawn up by the same parties. e.g. the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.

(b) An Optional Protocol to a Treaty is an instrument that establishes additional rights and obligations to a treaty. The Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 is a well-known example.

Declarations

The term "declaration" is used for various international instruments. However, declarations are not always legally binding. Some instruments entitled "declarations" were not originally intended to have binding force, but their provisions may have reflected customary international law or may have gained binding character as customary law at a later stage. Such was the case with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Declarations that are intended to have binding effects could be classified as follows:

3.0 Research Questions:

1.   What are the functions of diplomacy with reference to Treaties and MOUs?

2.   Why are both MOUs and Treaties significant in diplomatic policies?

3.   How is it possible to draw a major line of demarcation between Treaties and MOUs based on political and foreign ethos?

4.   What is the constitutional and statutory provision adopted by Bangladesh on Treaties and MOUs?

5.   Is there any linguistic difference involved in the drafting of Treaties and MOUs?

4.0 Research Methodology:

Descriptive method is used in this study. Information is mainly collected from various sources, i.e. relevant books, journals and scholars' articles. Moreover, few treaties and MOUs have been used in order to draw practical examples for a better understanding. In addition, Bangladesh's perspective on Treaties and MOUs is brought in to penetrating light of scrutiny here.

5.0 Functions of Diplomacy with reference to Treaties and MOUs:

There are many functions performed by a diplomat, some of these include: diplomatic representation, protection of his nationals, exchange of roles on matters of mutual interest, political and parliamentary negotiations, and most importantly, preservation and projection of the national interests of his country generally. The work of a diplomat may be broken down into four basic functions:

(i) representation (ii) negotiation (iii) reporting and (iv) the protection of the interests of the nation and of its citizens in foreign lands. These functions are closely interrelated.

Most of the International legal instruments are conducted forward through negotiation between the foreign offices by the use of ordinary diplomatic channels. But the major international agreements are usually negotiated directly by Head of the State/Governor or foreign ministers or their special representatives often at international conferences. That's why functions of diplomacy is interconnected to Treaties and MOUs (Discover Diplomacy, 2015).

5.1 Significance of both MOUs and Treaties in diplomatic policies:

The final result of negotiations is usually a formal written communiqué or agreement that spells out the actions and responsibilities of each side. That's why, diplomatic achievement/success is measured by the number of Treaties and MoUs signed between/among the countries. For example:

- The Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, H.E. Shri Narendra Modi paid a State visit to Bangladesh on 6-7 June 2015 at the invitation of our Hon'ble Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. This visit epitomized the existing friendly relations between the two countries. The two leaders discussed the entire gamut of bilateral relations between the two countries. As many as 22 MOUs/treaties were signed/exchanged between the two countries.

- Bangladesh and China on 14 October 2016 signed 27 agreements and Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs) during the landmark visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping. Here signing 27 agreements and Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs) between Bangladesh and China are considered as one of the biggest diplomatic achievement of both the countries.

The significance of both MOUs and Treaties in diplomatic policies is as follows:

a)   The need for treaties/MOUs has increased due to globalization and technological advancement. As a result, one country to other is signing treaty/MOU for the promotion of trade and commerce, economic cooperation, sharing know how and cultural development.

b)   International legal instuments make international bodies uniter for bringing world's peace and prosperity. For example, adoption of Sustainable Development Goals 2015, Convention on Climate Change 2016.

c)   Treaties also provide for international cooperation on law enforcement, such as in relation to drug trafficking; establish resource management regimes to encourage sustainable development, and enhance global and regional security.

d)   National interest is related with treaties/MOUs signing. So Government's decision is important before signing the instruments.

5.2 Major line of demarcation between Treaties and MoUs—political and foreign ethos:

Generally politics is the process of making decisions applying to all members of each group and ethos is used to describe the guiding beliefs or ideals that characterize a community, nation, or ideology. Based on political and foreign ethos, there are some similarities and dissimilarites between Treaties and MOUs. The similarities are-

a.   Both consist of an offer, acceptance.

b.   There must be two or more parties.

c.   Consensus ad idem i.e. the parties should agree on the same thing in the same manner.

d.   The common objective of the parties.

The difference between a treaty and a MOU is shown below:

	Binding Instrument (Treaty)	Nonbinding Instrument (MOU)
Meaning	A treaty is an international agreement between states in written form and governed by international law for a common objective	A Memorandum of Understanding or MoU is a legal document which describes the terms of an arrangement between the two or more parties forming a bilateral or multilateral agreement.

Clarity	This is final definitive document detailing the terms and conditions of the deal.	There should be a clear mention of another agreement that will be drawn up at a later stage.
Elements	Offer, Acceptance.	Offer, Acceptance, Intention and Consideration.
Enforceability	A treaty can be enforceable in the court of law.	A Memorandum of Understanding cannot be enforceable in the court of law.
Binding nature	It is always binding on the parties to the agreement.	It is binding upon the parties, if the memorandum is signed in exchange for monetary consideration.
Collateral Rights	It grants substantial rights to the parties.	It does not grant substantial rights to the parties, just captures the intentions of all parties.

(Siteadmin, 2015)

5.3 Bangladesh constitutional and statutory provision on Treaties and MOUs:

The position of Bangladesh, in relation to the domestic application of international law, is characteristised by the constitutional and statutory provision.

There are two main provisions (articles 25 and 145A) in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh regarding international law and relations.

The definition of 'treaty' is very relevant to understand the constitutional position of treaty in Bangladesh. According to article 145A of the Constitution of Bangladesh, "all treaties with foreign countries shall be submitted to the President, who shall cause them to be laid before the Parliament". Article 145A is very specific by categorically saying that only treaties (either bilateral or multilateral) with foreign countries, but not with any international organisations, are needed to be submitted to the President who is constitutionally head of the executive branch of the State. Since treaty making in a common law country is an authority of the executive, hence this provision of the Constitution shows the way of authorising the head of the executive for making treaty (Azad, 2015). Nevertheless, article 145A lacks to prescribe the process of taking either approval or disapproval from the Parliament for ratifying a treaty (Islam, 2015).

Being compatible with the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, the definition of 'treaty' under this proposed Act means "a written bilateral or multilateral treaty, convention and agreements with other states or inter-state organisations". This definition not only clarifies the constitutional position of treaty in Bangladesh, but also extends a greater possibility of applying treaty law in case of local issues with global relevance.

In negotiating treaties, the Act obligates the government to be bound by the fundamental principles of state policy and the fundamental rights, which have been ensured in the Constitution. In that sense, it can be said that the mandate given in article 8(2) of the Constitution, i.e. the applicability of FPSPs in the making of laws, and article 25, i.e. promotion of international peace, security and solidarity, has been reflected in the proposed Act.

5.4. Linguistic expressions and diplomacy:

A question arises if it is possible to draw a line of demarcation between Treaties and MOUs from a linguistic perspective at the level of vocabulary and syntactic usage.

As for instance we would like to explore if certain usage of lexical items and syntactic patterns are used exclusively for a treaty & a MOU and if there is any common ground of usage between the two domains. Certain formal, stylistic and linguistic features are associated with agreements binding under international law. With respect to the title of a non-binding document, negotiators should avoid using the terms "treaty" or "agreement." While the use of a title such as "Memorandum of Understanding" is common for non-binding documents. Negotiators should avoid using the term "Parties" in non-binding documents and it is encouraged to use "Participants" for binding documents in consideration to linguistic perspective.

United States practice on non-binding documents may differ from that of other countries. For example, the mere fact that a document is called a "Memorandum of Understanding" does not mean that the document automatically is considered non-binding for the United States. Also, for the United States, the use of the verb "will" in the text does not necessarily mean that the commitment at issue is not legally binding under international law. Because the use of the term "will" may lead to confusion as to the intention of the participants (US Department of State).

5.4.1. Vocabulary and diplomacy

A treaty is a legal binding instrument. Generally vocabularies relating to law are used in the treaty. For instance, lexical items of a treaty are- article, agree, agreement or undertaking, authoritative or authentic, clause, continue in force,

mutually agreed, obligations, Parties, Preamble, rights, terms, undertake and so on. On the other hand, a MOU is a non-legal binding instrument. Here the word 'arrangement' is used instead of 'agreement' and the word 'understanding' is used instead of 'undertaking'. The lexical items of a treaty are paragraph, accept, approve, decide, arrangement or understanding, equally valid, continue to have effect, signed, jointly decided, commitments, Governments or Participants, benefits, carry out, provisions etc. Sometimes it is seen that some vocabularies of a treaty are being used in a MOU but vocabularies of a MOU is not used in the treaty.

Ideally, the following lexical items in the table are used in a treaty and a MOU:

Treaty	MOU
'article'	'paragraph'
'agree'	'accept' 'approve' 'decide'
'agreement' or 'undertaking'	'arrangement' or 'understanding'
'authoritative' or 'authentic'	'equally valid'
'clause'	'paragraph'
'conditions'	'provisions'
'continue in force'	'continue to have effect'
'Done'	'signed'
'enter into force'	'come into operation' or 'come into effect'
'mutually agreed'	'jointly decided'

'obligations'	'commitments'
'Parties'	'Governments' or 'Participants'
'Preamble'	'Introduction'
'rights', 'have the right'	'benefits', 'be permitted to'
'shall' 'undertake to' 'agree to' or 'undertake'	'will' or 'decide'
'terms'	'provisions'
'undertake'	'carry out'

(Surbhi, 2014)

5.4.2 Syntactic structure and Diplomatic tools

Syntactic structure indicates the study of sentence structure. Beyond linguistics, Syntactic Structures has a big impact on the study of knowledge, mind and mental processes. Similarly, syntactic structure has impact with reference to treaties and MOUs. Syntactic pattern of treaties and MOUs is a bit different from general writing. Sample structures of a treaty and an MOU have been shown in the appendix 1 and 2.

5.4.2.1   Treaties:

Since the late 19th century, most treaties have followed a fairly consistent format (Roberts, 2012). A treaty concluded in heads of state form can be broken down into the following parts:

➢   Preamble: A treaty typically begins with a preamble describing the contracting parties and their joint objectives in executing the treaty.Modern preambles are sometimes structured as a single very long sentence formatted into

multiple paragraphs for readability, in which each of the paragraphs begins with a verb (desiring, recognizing, having, and so on).

The end of the preamble and the start of the actual agreement is often signaled by the words "have agreed as follows."

➢ Articles: After the preamble comes numbered articles, which contain the substance of the parties' actual agreement. Each article heading usually encompasses a paragraph. A long treaty may further group articles under chapter headings.

➢ Final Clauses: A series of articles generally known as the 'final clauses' which deal with such matters as the territorial application of the treaty, signature, ratification, accession, entry into force, amendment, denunciation (withdrawal), and duration.

➢ Execution Clause: The end of a treaty is often signalled by a clause like "in witness whereof" or "in faith whereof," the parties have affixed their signatures, followed by the words "DONE at," then the site(s) of the treaty's execution and the date(s) of its execution. The date is typically written in its most formal, longest possible form (Roberts, 2012). For example, the Charter of the United Nations was "DONE at the city of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five." If the treaty is executed in multiple copies in different languages, that fact is always noted, and is followed by a stipulation that the versions in different languages are equally authentic.

Signature:The signatures of the parties' representatives follow at the very end.

5.4.3 Level of intelligibility from the perspective of public:

Generally it is expected that Laws should be clear, comprehensible and certain. But practically laws are found difficult in understanding because of ambiguity. The main barriers to the intelligibility of a particular law are, in my view, are excessively involuted sentence structure, the use of language other than in its plain or ordinary sense, and recursive drafting techniques that require the reader to interpret one section by reference to another (Siteadmin, 2015). *Similarly it is not very easy to understand treaties and MOUs for the common people. The treaties are widely used between the states. Under a treaty, many MOUs may be made. So, language of treaties is very important and carries more meanings. Sometimes general people can not understad the intrisic meaning of treaties. On other hand, MOUs are widely used by the states and different organizations too. Language of an MOU is easier that that of a treaty. In some cases, explanation of a treaty is given in the additional protocols and MOUs. But an MOU does not bring additional instruments for explanations.*

6.0 Limitations of the study

The study is likely to have following limitations:

- The present data is based exclusively on the secondary sources. Primary data has to be collected to make our claims more realistic, feasible, authentic and transparent.

- Only treaties and MOUs have been discussed broadly here in this paper but other legal instruments involving diplomacy such as convention, protocol, declaration, charter to mention a few have to be taken into consideration for a broader understanding of the theme.

- An extensive fieldwork can provide a better picture of the reality.

7**.0 Conclusions**

Earlier diplomacy was used for enhancing foreign relations among the countries only. Now a days Diplomacy is used for bringing peace, security, prosperity and solidarity in the world. Both MOUs and Treaties have a great significance in diplomacy. The outcome of diplomacy is measured by the number of treaties and MOUs signed. Promotion of trade and commece, cooperation engagements, cross culture relationship and sollution of diputes and conflicts are done under treaties and MOUs.

Based on political and foreign ethos, there are some similarities and dissimilarites between a Treaty and an MOU. A treaty is a legal binding instrument where as an MOU is a non-binding legal instrument. Certain lexical items and syntactic patterns are used exclusively for a treaty and an MOU. Vocabularies of a treaty are related with law. Sometimes it is seen that some vocabularies of a treaty are being used in an MOU but vocabularies of an MOU is not used in the treaty. Syntactic pattern of a treaty and an MOU is a bit different from general writing. A treaty follows a particular format but an MOU does not follow such kind of strict format.. From the perspective of the public, the level of intelligibilty of a treay is less than that of an MOU.

The definition of 'treaty' is very relevant to understand the constitutional position of treaty in Bangladesh. Article 145A of the Constitution of Bangladesh has clearly stated that only treaties (either bilateral or multilateral) with foreign countries, but not with any international organisations, are needed to be submitted to the President who is constitutionally head of the State. The study also presents the constitutional and statutory provision adopted by Bangladesh on Treaties and

MOUs. It is important to say that diplomats, government officials and businessmen should have a lucid understanding of different types of treaties and MOUs before making any deal with foreign countries.

Glossary

- Acceptance and Approval

The instruments of "acceptance" or "approval" of a treaty have the same legal effect as ratification and consequently express the consent of a state to be bound by a treaty. In the practice of certain states acceptance and approval have been used instead of ratification when, at a national level, constitutional law does not require the treaty to be ratified by the head of state. [Arts.2 (1) (b) and 14 (2), Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969]

- Accession

"Accession" is the act whereby a state accepts the offer or the opportunity to become a party to a treaty already negotiated and signed by other states. It has the same legal effect as ratification. Accession usually occurs after the treaty has entered into force. [Arts.2 (1) (b) and 15, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969]

- Entry into Force

Typically, the provisions of the treaty determine the date on which the treaty enters into force. Bilateral treaties may provide for their entry into force on a particular date, upon the day of their last signature, upon exchange of the instruments of ratification or upon the exchange of notifications. In cases where multilateral treaties are involved, it is common to provide for a fixed number of states to

express their consent for entry into force. [Art.24, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969]

- Exchange of Letters/Notes

An "exchange of letters/notes" is a record of a routine agreement, that has many similarities with the private law contract. The agreement consists of the exchange of two documents, each of the parties being in the possession of the one signed by the representative of the other. [Art.13, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969]

- Full Powers

"Full powers" means a document emanating from the competent authority of a state designating a person or persons to represent the state for negotiating, adopting, authenticating the text of a treaty, expressing the consent of a state to be bound by a treaty, or for accomplishing any other act with respect to that treaty. Heads of State, Heads of Government and Ministers for Foreign Affairs are considered as representing their state for the purpose of all acts relating to the conclusion of a treaty and do not need to present full powers. [Art.2 (1) (c) and Art.7 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969]

- Ratification

Ratification defines the international act whereby a state indicates its consent to be bound to a treaty if the parties intended to show their consent by such an act. The institution of ratification grants states the necessary time-frame to seek the required approval for the treaty on the domestic level and to enact the necessary legislation to give domestic effect to that treaty. [Arts.2 (1) (b), 14 (1) and 16, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969]

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Appendix: 1

A specimen of a signed Treaty between Bangladesh and India is shown below:

TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Dacca, 19 March 1972

INSPIRED by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism,

HAVING struggled together for the realisation of these ideals and cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangladesh,

DETERMINED to maintain fraternal and good-neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship,

ADHERING firmly to the basic tenets of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, mutual cooperation, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

DETERMINED to safeguard peace, stability and security and to promote progress of their respective countries through all possible avenues of mutual cooperation,

DETERMINED further to expand and strengthen the existing relations of friendship between them, convinced that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the national interests of both States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

RESOLVED to contribute to strengthening world peace and security and to make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and the final elimination of vestiges of colonialism, racialism and imperialism,

CONVINCED that in the present-day world international problems can be solved only through cooperation and not through conflict or confrontation,

REAFFIRMING their determination to follow the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Republic of India, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of Bangladesh, on the other,

HAVE decided to conclude the present Treaty.

Article 1

The high Contracting Parties, inspired by the ideals for which their respective peoples struggled and made sacrifices together, solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between their two countries and their peoples, each side shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side.

The high Contracting Parties shall further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship, good-neighbourliness and all-round cooperation existing between them, on the basis of the above-mentioned principles as well as the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 2

Being guided by their devotion to the principles of equality of all peoples and states, irrespective of race or creed, the high Contracting Parties condemn colonalism and

racialism in all forms and manifestations and are determined to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The high Contracting Parties shall cooperate with other states in achieving these aims and support the just aspirations of people in their struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination and for their national liberation.

Article 3

The high Contracting Parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existance as important factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security, and strengthening national sovereignty and independence.

Article 4

The high Contracting Parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both States, through meetings and exchanges of views at all levels.

Article 5

The high Contracting Parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all-round cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical fields. The two countries shall develop mutual cooperation in the fields of trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the most-favoured nation principle.

Article 6

The high Contracting Parties further agree to make joint studies and take point action in the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.

Article 7

The high Contracting Parties shall promote relations in the fields of art, literature,

education, culture, sports and health.

Article 8

In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries each of the high Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each of the high Contracting Parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other high contracting party.

Article 9

Each of the high Contracting Parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict, against the other party. In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take appropriate effective measures to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the peace and security of their counties.

Article 10

Each of the high Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not undertake any commitment secret or open, toward one or more States which may be incompatible with the present Treaty.

Article 11

The present Treaty is signed for a term of twenty five years and shall be subject to renewal by mutual agreement of the high Contracting Parties.

The Treaty shall come into force with immediate effect from the date of its signature.

Article 12

Any differences in interpreting any article or articles of the present Treaty that may

arise between the high Contracting Parties shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

DONE in Dacca on the nineteenth day of March nineteen hundred and seventy two.

Sd/-   Sd/-

(Smt) INDIRA GANDHI   SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

Prime Minister   Prime Minister

For the Republic of India   For the People's Republic of Bangladesh

Appendix :2

MOUs

An MOU signals a legal contract is imminent. However, an MOU itself is not legally defensible but should still clearly outline specific points of an understanding. An MOU should describe who the parties are, what the project is they are agreeing on, the scope of the document, each parties' roles and responsibilities and more. While an MOU is not legally binding, it can help two parties move in the right direction toward an agreement.

There is no strict format of MoU. However, the format of treaties is used for drafting MOUs. The general format of an MOU is as follows-

1. Name of the parties

2. Purpose and objectives:The end of the preamble and the start of the actual agreement are often signaled by the words "have reached the following understandings."

3. General Provisions: Nowadays it is observed that the name 'article' is used instead of using the name 'paragraph', which contain the substance of the parties' actual agreement.

4. Tenure, enforcement date and termination date have to be mentioned in the MOUs.

5. Locality and date (signed in ....orginals in ......day of.....)

6. Signature without seal.

A specimen of a signed MOU between Bangladesh and India is shown below:

Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh on Conservation of the Sundarban

The Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh hereinafter referred to as "Parties":

Considering that both the Governments are parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity 1992 and are contracting parties to the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands 1971;

Recognizing that the Sundarban of India and Bangladesh represent a single ecosystem divided between the two countries;

Acknowledging that the wildlife sanctuaries of the Sundarban located in both countries is recognized as UNESCO World Heritage Site and in Bangladesh as Ramsar site as well;

Have Reached the Following Understanding:
ARTICLE I
      Both Parties recognize the need to monitor and conserve the Sundarban, which is home to rich biodiversity consisting of large variety of rare species of flora and fauna, and acts as a vital protective barrier protecting the mainland from flooding, tidal waves and cyclones.

Article II
Both Parties, with a view to exploiting the potential of the Sundarban for development and alleviation of poverty, agree to undertake, but not limited to, the following endeavors:
      1.   consider and adopt appropriate joint management and joint monitoring of resources;
      2.   explore the possibility of implementing conservation and protection efforts, encourage mangrove regeneration, habitat restoration and rehabilitation programs, which would eventually increase the potential for carbon sequestration;
      3.   develop a long term strategy for creating ecotourism opportunities for both countries, which will create synergy and generate greater revenue.

      Article III
The Parties are in agreement that the Sundarban ecosystem is greatly influenced by human use and the human beings living around the Sunderban. The Parties will map and delineate these human settlements on respective sides so that a better understanding emerges of the relationship between human settlements and the ecosystems. The Parties will further develop a management plan that utilizes this

information to address issues of livelihood, deprivation by flooding and other climate related disasters, man-animal conflict, pollution, resource depletion, etc. The Parties will through the management plan, also identify opportunities for livelihood generation that do not adversely affect the Sundarban ecosystem.

Article IV

Both Parties agree that an exercise needs to be conducted to identify and catalogue the diversity of flora and fauna that are found in the Sundarban along with their spatial distribution across the countries of Parties. Through this exercise, Parties will determine what areas and species are under pressure including those facing threat of endangerment and extinction. The Parties will develop a comprehensive plan to tackle these threats along with a detailed action plan to adapt against perceived threats.

Article V

Both Parties will carry out research to develop a common and shared understanding of the impacts of climate change along with adaptation strategies that can be implemented.

Article VI

The Parties, in order to contribute to strengthening the management of the Sundarban across the two countries, are committed to the advancement of collaboration in the following and other areas:

1. Share relevant information between the concerned officials, forest and otherwise, of both the countries;

2. Explore the possibilities of joint research and management projects;

3. Share technical knowledge with the common goal of conservation and management of biodiversity of Sundarban;

4. Organize joint tiger estimation at regular intervals;

5. Execution of patrolling exercises by the Forest and other relevant Officials of both the Parties along the respective borders to prevent poaching or smuggling of derivatives from wild life;

6. Promote capacity building exercise and exchange visits of Forest Officials of field level in order to better understand and share ideas and problems of management, biodiversity conservation, climate change adaptation and promotion of sustainable socio-economic development, and ecotourism;

7. Exchange personnel for training and promotion of education in forestry, including at the Wildlife Institute of India, Dehradun financed by the Government of India.

A Working Group will be set up to define activities, responsibilities, time, and resources involved, according to the activities established as per this Memorandum.

Article VII

The Parties further agree that:

Should changes of national policies in either country result in difficulties in the further development and implementation of this Memorandum, both countries will do their utmost to ensure a reconciliation vis-à-vis the difficulties raised.

This Memorandum is non exclusive, allowing both Parties to enter into similar agreements with other countries. This Memorandum does not constitute any legal obligations for either Party in any international forum and it does not conflict with any other treaty to which either country may be a party to.

Article VIII

The Memorandum may be modified by mutual written consent of the Parties. The period of this Memorandum will be 5 (five) years and shall be extended automatically at the end of each period unless terminated by mutual consent by either Party by serving written notice 90 (ninety) days prior to the date of termination.

Termination of this Memorandum shall have no effect on other similar agreements or projects entered into by the Parties.

Termination shall not affect the programmes under implementation.This Memorandum will come into effect on signature and will continue in operation, until terminated by either Party as stated in this Memorandum. Signed in two originals in Dhaka on the Sixth day of September 2011 in English Language.

For and on behalf of
the Government of
the Republic of
India

For and on behalf of
the Government of the
People's Republic of
Bangladesh

Eco Peace: Reconstructing Pedagogy and Teaching in Literature

Deepa Dass

Abstract

The 21st century is booming with new knowledge, technology and super machinery gadgets, prepared to take the mankind towards a techno-dominated society. But every day the newspaper and the news bulletin reports of huge calamities, war, crime and human grief's. We talk about peace but we do not know where the roots of human peace lie. We all talk about religion ,religious scriptures, take thousand oaths to practice them ,yet we couldn't bring them into practices because our text books ,literature and schools do not have place for the universal truth which criticizes violence ,crime, most importantly harm to nature. Nature includes man woman, plants and animal and the land we live in.

The research paper points out that the problems, chaos, war we face in the world are just the reflectionary echo   of the various misdeeds (Karma) of human beings   done in ignorance, greed and violence. These ignorance and cunningness of human society brings about unlimited and innumerous calamities and grief consequencing great wars occasionally and masses of such people get killed in battlefields, ((Chaitanya Charitamrita, Madhya 24.251, purport) and many natural hazards. Pythagoras has warned century back that "those who kill animals for food will be more prone than vegetarians to torture and kill their fellow men." On one hand we keep pets for our security and living on the same time we kill them   mercilessly for our ego gratification and self -interest. Our education lacks the right kind of pedagogy and teaching and the human will to create an eco-balance in the society and nature which can really reconstruct eco-peace in mind and can re-build a peaceful society.

Keywords: Eco-peace, Textbook, Pedagogy, Teaching, Religious Scriptures.

Introduction

The planet we live in is at the dangerous peak of disaster and we are all of suddenly going back to probe into literatures related to environment or environmental literatures, commonly known as omnibus term eco-criticism. We all are looking for a solution to stop the universe from further damage and bring back the ecological balance and peace which once dwelled on earth and "back to nature "as historians suggests.

The 21st century is booming with new knowledge, technology and super machinery gadgets, prepared to take the mankind towards a techno-dominated society. But every day the newspaper and the news bulletin

reports of huge natural calamities, climate change ,war, crime and human grief's. It seems nature too is at war with us to save the earth and demolishing everything which are against peace.

We talk about peace but we do not know where the roots of human peace lies. We all talk about religion ,religious scriptures, take thousand oaths to practice them ,yet we couldn't bring them into practices because our text books ,literature and schools do not have place for the universal truth which criticizes violence ,crime, most importantly harm to nature.

Nature includes man woman, plants and animal and the land we live in and it's a creation of God .God is a religious embodiment differing religion to religion but do have a common understanding that he is the creator and "since the roots of our (environmental) trouble are so largely religious, the remedy must also be essentially religious."(White, L. 1973).Many available scriptures and literatures idealizes and propagate the theory of inter-connection between religion and nature. (Tucker, M.E. & Williams, D.R. (Eds.) 1998).

More important of all, in-spite of all scientific and technological development we cannot create a single living thing on this earth or any part of natural pastoral the human kind is blessed with and therefore we do not have the right to destroy, pollute or kill .This is a simple law of nature and when we are not compassionate towards them we meet the consequences. This is the gist of all religious scriptures and all of them directly and indirectly tells us the same.

A brief Review of literature on Literature, Religion and Environment

The Eco critical collections show that Literature and environment studies have evolved significantly overtime still there is a gap which needs to be connected. All our religious scriptures invoke one common thought that we the religious practitioners must abide by the moral framework (Buddhism and Ecology. Catalan Pyrenees: Nick Day. Retrieved February 18, 2010) of nature and every religion has given importance to the

environment which constitutes of the flora and fauna as well the human species.

In Judeo-Christianity (a part of Christian tradition) there is a dichotomy between people and nature. The first of myths (Genesis Chapter 1) is that God creates humans as his previous five days' work. With Divine blessing they are granted dominion over the rest of creation: Then God said "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth." (Gen. 1: 26). The term "dominion' was opined as if every creature of the earth has been created to serve a human necessary and there is no need human beings to serve them back. The human intelligence has made superior from other species and his intelligence has better purpose to serve. It is human beings duty termed as dharma to protect the nature, to respect the nature of law and protect others rights of living.

In Hinduism, dharma signifies behaviours that are considered to be in accord with the universal order that makes life and universe possible and includes duties, rights, laws, conduct, virtues and ''right way of living''.(The Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th Ed.,2013).Mostly people associate dharma to religion but it is not restricted to that and in Buddhism it is termed as Dhamma.

 Dhamma represents the ethical laws of the universe like the law of nature. The universe is also governed by laws of Dhamma for the sake of individual and social good. Thus Dhamma includes all good and sensible behaviours and actions.

The nature follows cause and effect relationship and therefore the deteriorating behaviors of human being are leading to the deteriorating condition of nature. Nature can fulfill am man's need but not his greed.

Human excessive need and greed are the root cause of exploitation of nature and Buddhism is based on ethical structure and a devout Buddhist must own nothing beyond the basic necessities and this is his Dhamma.

Buddha wanted to see that there exists harmony in everything, even in nature. Man could only maintain this by his sensible non-greedy behaviours and follow the path of nonviolence and peace. To practice that there must be co-existence relation between man and nature in order to safeguard all kinds of imbalances in the nature and human society. The Buddhism philosophy preaches eco-centric ethics. It stresses on an environment friendly attitude.

In Hinduism each and every tree, fruit, occasion has a religious connotation and even the seasons are worshipped and celebrated as festivals .Thus the brief literature on religion validates that nature will always had and will always remain the source of our deepest spiritual sustenance and for sustainable ecological balance we must follow the religious guidelines.

Based on the above literature, the following objectives were set:

1. To study the religious literatures / scriptures and list the themes wisdom which provides guidelines of universal global peace.
2. To reconstruct pedagogy and teaching in school literatures to develop eco peace.
3. To inculcate peaceful behaviours in us with regards to self, others and the environment?

Research Questions:

1. Historically and geographically which countries/religious scriptures provides details on how to create a global ecological balanced society?

2. Do the non –violent, criminal or otherwise, killing act have an adverse effect on the law of nature and what the religious scriptures says about them?

3. Can school teach students to be supportive of non-violence and peace building internally and externally?

4. Do the scriptures suggest any strategies of eco-peace building across the world?

Methodology:

The research is qualitative in approach and due to limitation of words only few content analysis of the qualitative data has been presented. The data were collected from secondary resources. The textual analysis of the data available from secondary resources was done.

The steps followed in the content analysis are:

1) Reading through the transcript and making brief notes of relevant information as per the objective and research questions.

2) Listing the different types of information found.

3) Read through the list and categorize each item in a way that offers a description of what it is about.

4) Identify whether or not the categories can be linked any way and list them as major categories (or themes) and / or minor categories (or themes).

5) Compare and contrast the various major and minor categories.

6) Collecting the categories or themes and examine each in detail and consider if it fits and its relevance

7) Categorizing into minor and major categories/themes, review in order to ensure that the information is categorized in sequence.

Limitation of the study –The study is limited to the Vedic literature available in Hinduism and preaching of Vaishnava saints.

Definition of related terms:

1. **Content Analysis** :Content analysis is a research methodology that utilizes a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. (Weber, 1985).It is a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from themes, texts and documents.

2.**Religious Scriptures**- BhagwatGita, Chaitanya Shikshamrit, and Shreemad Bhagwatam are the Indian religious scriptures of Hinduism used as secondary data.

3.**Textual analysis –** In this process of the use of words and phrases within a text - and the consideration of if and how words and phrases may be used to influence the reader is analyzed.

Results and Discussion

The themes /content studied are discussed below:

Karma (our action) of human beings   is the root of every consequence we face in this earth. Karma is one of those topics that many people know about, but few understand the intricacies of it. In literal terms, "karma" means "activity" and the law of karma regulates the reactions to our activities. If we act in good or pious ways, we reap good reactions. If we act in impious, sinful, or destructive ways, we reap bad reactions in the future. Christian theology explains, "As ye sow so ye shall ye reap" while in physics karma is expressed by Newton's Law, "For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction."The problems, chaos, war we face in the world are just the reflectionary echo   of the various misdeeds (Bad Karma) of human beings   done in ignorance, greed and violence**.** These ignorance and cunningness of human society brings about unlimited   and

innumerous calamities and grief consequencing great wars occasionally and masses of such people get killed in battlefields, ((Chaitanya Charitamrita, Madhya 24.251, purport) and many natural hazards. Pythagoras has warned too century back that "those who kill animals for food will be more prone than vegetarians to torture and kill their fellow men."Even Bible validates that "Whoever sheds man's blood, by man his blood shall be shed, for in the image of God He made man" Bible Genesis 9:6 .

Therefore, the nature of law is just like Newton's third law and if we want that there is an external peace , internal peace and environmental peace than our text books must acknowledge these universal laws create an environment where children are taught to develop positive behaviours towards self ,others and environment and reverse the bad karmic cycle. Even killing of animals and meat eating have an adverse effect because the Vedic theory says "whatever we eat it has a very delicate impact on our mind. The material world is itself a place always full of anxieties, and by encouraging animal slaughter the whole atmosphere becomes polluted more and more by war, pestilence, famine and many other unwanted calamities. At the present age we talk about mercy but as scriptures says we find that there is no mercy around as we are exploiting nature , flora and fauna both and the status of women and children are not so good across the world.

There the Vaishnava sects, followers of Saint Chaitanya Mahaprabhu abandons meat eating and goes for vegetarian diet. Men do not understand that because they unrestrictedly kill so many animals, they will be also slaughtered like animals in big wars. This is very much evident in the Western countries. In the West, slaughterhouses are maintained without restriction, and therefore every fifth or tenth year there is a big war in which countless people are slaughtered even more cruelly than the animals. Sometimes during war, soldiers keep their enemies in concentration camps and kill them in very cruel ways. These are reactions

brought about by unrestricted animal-killing in the slaughterhouse and by hunters in the forest. Proud, demoniac persons do not know the laws of nature, or the laws of God. Consequently, they unrestrictedly kill poor animals, not caring for them at all.

Violence of any kind whether through words or action brings more violence and that is why the saints of India preached about non-violence – ahinsa. Gandhijee followed the same path and it's his non-violence movement which changed history. Diplomatic issues and cultural ethical issues do not reveal the reasons behind certain activities sometime but they at times generate more confusion, chaos and misunderstanding. Religious scriptures should be understood as it is and from true spiritual masters and moral code of conducts should be made in consultation with them. Bhagwat Gita provides the art of living and code of conduct of life but it is seldom taught in classroom teachings.

We can bring peace only through love: Love thy neighbor as you love thee, and not only we must love and care the environment we are handed over too so that we can hand it to our future generations .Love(prema) is even greater than the concept of non-violence (ahimsa). To 'not harm others' is a negative; that is to say, it means to refrain from doing something rather than doing it. On the other hand, love   is a positive action; it is the effort to do well towards others. Similarly Buddhism expresses love and compassion for all beings. It stresses on a non-exploitative, non-aggressive, gentle attitude towards nature.

The prema- bhakti movement initiated by ChaitanyaMahaprabhu preaches God –Krishna is God is the very center of everything that exist in this material world. "I am the source of all spiritual and material worlds. Everything emanates from Me"and if anyone do not believe in oneness and unity then it is inevitable that love for the body, family, society, province and country will clash with the body, family, society, province and country of others.

Today we all are facing the same problem. We love our own country but we do not learn to respect others country and for caste, creed and so many reason we become violent in our actions resulting accumulated violence to be faced.

History repeats but we seldom learn. But to cherish mankind we will have to relearn the simple basics of life which is universal and can protect mankind.

Conclusion

Research question 1. The research paper suggests that historically and geographically India in its vedic literature and scriptures – Bhagwat Gita , ChaitanyaShikshamrit ,Shreemad Bhagwatam, Mahabharat ,Ramayana are religious scriptures which provides details on how to create a global ecological balanced family , society and healthy war free environment.

2.The research paper also points out that the violent, criminal or otherwise, killing act have an adverse effect on the law of nature and   the great masters like Shrila Prabhupad of International Society of Krishna Consciousness(ISKCON) has given plenty of discourse on that and have suggested vegetarian diet to lead a peaceful and higher spiritual life.Today in USA 23% have turned vegetarian and all the international devotees practice the prema-bhakti movement.

3. School can teach students to be supportive of non-violence and peace building internally and externally and to the global environment by making consensus on non-violence issues, include chapters on what the true path of saving mankind and his environment and by teaching Vasudeva Kutumbakam meaning we all belong to one family of the same lord and we all are here to achieve higher goals like self -realization and help each other in getting so. This mother earth is a learning organisation where we are supposed to learn higher mode of behaviours and conduct.

4. The research paper points out that the universe is a home and habitat created by the supreme entity-God, for human beings and other forms of life, but in all living beings there exists the same kind of soul, be it a man or a rabbit. All are his children and everyone has a right to live as it is part of the nature. There is no discrimination of caste, race and gender in this cosmos and all are part of a universe with a specific and significant role to play in it.

The nature is formed of all the five elements air, fire , water ,earth and space(sky) and all the plant ,trees ,earth are made of these five elements ,so is the body of human beings.

 If we want our environment to be peaceful, for that we need to nurture peace behaviours in our children, society and environment. Our religious scriptures not only teachers us to worship the moon and sun but every deity of Hinduism is attached with one animal .And at the end of the research paper here is a small incidents taken for Mahabharat which provide the very essence of developing eco-peace in our world.

The Mahabharata war was all set and the day before the war was to begin, Lord Krishna's eyes fell on the nest of two birds which came into the vicinity of the war field .He went to the nest and found two little birds in the nest. He took the nest and the two birds far away to the woods where the birds could be safe from the destruction going to happen in the war.

 The incident has a strong message .The innocents should not be made victim of the war, whether it's animal or people or the nature,. Each and every individual and living entity should be given the same right to live and let live whoever lives in this universe or part of this universe. Even a trivial incidence of saving the innocents and vulnerable can help in peace building in mind through action. But in this most modern technology driven society one never thinks of for a second of the numerous innocents who might get killed in political/racial /or in anti-social acts.

Small stories with good morals and peace messages provided in literatures and religious scriptures must be included in textbooks.

School should encourage in developing thinking skills for peace making environment and society.

Positive behavioral reinforcements should be given in schools.

There is a dire need to reconstruct the pedagogy and teachings in the text books , curriculum and the modern literature around us.

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Book Reviews

Future Past and Other Sci- Fi short Stories
Written by Mr. Subrat Sahoo (IAS)

Publisher: Frog Books, Leadstart Publishing Pvt. Ltd.
Bandara   Kurla, Frog Books, Mumbai
Reviewer: Shibaram Mishra
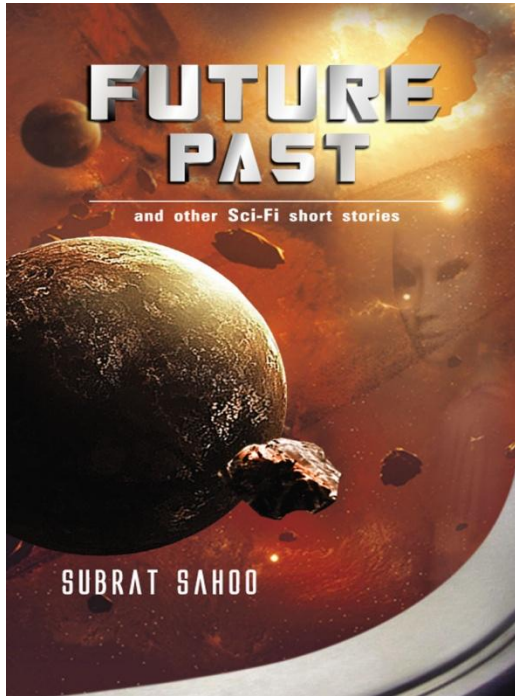
"Future Past" the title itself triggers the imagination of a reader before you start reading the book. One thing to be noticed about the book is, it does not have a preface, and thus it keeps the reader wondering what the book is all about and creates a curiosity to go through the book.

As a Sci-Fi reader, you need to create a space of your own while being with the context of your story and allow things to happen around you in your imagination. *Future Past* has nine such stories, which takes you to an all together different domain and you become a part of the story.

IN AN OUTSIDE is a story drooling with science, mysteries, possibilities and positivity. First of all "we don't know what we don't know yet". There is another space, possibility and much more beyond our knowledge and imagination. The story starts as a typical science fiction, a battleship trapped inside an unknown barrier in outer space, trying to break out. Slowly they realize the barrier might be a huge living being which has engulfed the ship, and in the process of finding a way out they first try with firing the barrier with mild ammo instead of going all out and using the deadliest weapons. Meanwhile, one of the crew members falls sick as his abdomen bursts, and has a lot of bleeding internally, when they check, they don't find any blood inside his stomach, he recovers, and again after sometime he bleeds and they find blood inside his stomach. They find it is very much similar to the barrier behaving, oozing blood, blood vanishing and then the ship inside the pool of blood.

Suddenly they realize the ship is inside the officer, Mark's belly, and Mark is inside the ship. They map it with the multidimensional planes within the human mind, the telescoping of one or more dimensions into another in a coinciding time frame.

NEVER A NEXT is a story of a robot, a loyal robot, built by its master, destined to perform certain predefined tasks and functions, put to test, fails and is set to be reprogrammed. The point to wonder is, was it his fault?

RITES OF PASSSAGE starts with a plot where people from two different planets, Allene and Suryakant meet for a common research purpose. Allene travels her way from Pylee, earlier a part of planet earth. Off late the colonies have developed differences and the colonies don't see planet earth in a healthy manner. Facts apart, when both of them meet and start working on the research project and spend time

together Surya develops some kind of attraction/infatuation towards Allene, which he knows is forbidden as per federal laws. As the story proceeds we come across twists and turns of events, Surya showing his feeling, federal court punishing Surya with death penalty and finally a brief passage beyond his memory and turn of events.

Things are not always predictable, and do not always follow the laws. The title story FUTURE PAST revolves around time-singularity where the unimaginable happens. During the course of the story, the focus revolves around technology, myth, probabilities, predictabilities and time travel, all leading to a conclusion that one can reactivate the history, same way future has some link with the present and the past. There is a saying, "the future influences the present, just as much as the past (Friedrich Netzche)", and the story says it all.

The past and present have met once, so will the past and future will meet; hence, future past. I will leave the liberty of the readers to imagine and interpret the essence of the story in their own way.

THE GOOD, THE BAD AND THE GONE is a very simple yet, thought provoking story, revolving around a child and his scientist father who works on evolutionary life forms. The plot is very simple, yet needs detailed attention. As a scientist, Steve experiments with various species, and his son Vinn requests him to allow him to take one of the species as a pet an play with him. But later Vinn sets the "pet" free. As the story proceeds, Steve finds himself captive in a lab in another planet, as a subject. What happens next is an interesting turn in the story, which will compel the reader to think about it.

Confucius has said "Life is really simple,   but   we   insist   on   making   it complicated".

SIMPLE PHYSICS as a story is not as simple as it seems from the title, to be honest. Its takes some time for the reader to enroll in to the plot, as it revolves around traction mechanism, force shield, quantum entanglement and so on which are not so easy theories of physics. Prof Dunston an expert in his own area of research was discussing with a group of students about the challenges, come across various views and queries from the students. Suddenly one of the students comes with a solution which relates to basic theories of physics. And Prof finds things are not so complicated, it's Simple Physics.

MASTERING GOD is a very nice version of an innovator / scientist about God. It's about Man -> Created God -> Created Man -> Created Robot -> Created Man and the circle continues.

REPRIEVE is a beautiful story which shows the beauty of humanity and kindness. While someone working for a leader like Yius, who is in search of stars and planets where living forms are present, so that he can acquire and experiment on them, use the resources available there, Jibiki, who works for Yius in fact finds two planets with living forms in them but does not inform him so that the living forms in the planet can buy some time and escape before Yius finds them. What brings this thought in Jibiki is the point to ponder.

THE STORY OF THE GREATEST EVENT THAT NEVER HAPPENED is a piece of story that leaves you pondering about the mystery and unknown aspects of the time flux or the flow of time. A series of events that happens with the ship and it crews makes you think that we are stranded in the space and do we really exist?

Whatever we experience or experienced, did it happen, or yet to happen? Are we really in the present? Or are we living our past? Or we haven't happened yet??? While most of the stories keep you enrolled to the plot, my personal opinion, few stories are lengthy and distract you from the plot, or at point of time you get engrossed in something else, other than the main plot. The stories are brain teaser and this piece of creation is not just easy going Sci-Fi, this needs all your attention and involvement. Some stories make you wonder what is going to happen next and that's where the beauty of imaginations the climax and anticipating the next comes in.

A simplified and versions in regional languages will attract the young readers, they will definitely enjoy it.

My congratulations to the author and look forward for his new creations.

Multilingual Education in India: The Case for English
by Mahendra K. Mishra (Author), Anand Mahanand (Author)
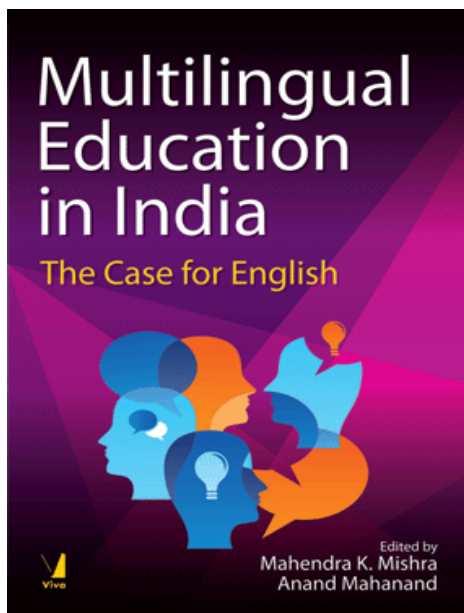
Reviewed by   Jayanta Kumar Das
Published by Viva   Books, New Delhi
Page: 301
Price : Rs 999/-

Multilingualism is a unique cultural and historical feature of India. lndian thinking looked at the world as a family and respected differences and identities. While monolingual nations considered multilingualism a problem, it remained the natural condition for various domains of life in India. In recent times, multilingualism has come to be recognized as an invaluable asset and resource by educationists and policymakers paving the way for a new educational approach that is in harmony with local traditions. Some perceive English language education as a hindrance to the growth of lndian languages and allege that it causes a social divide. The arguments of this book convincingly correct this uninformed notion and prove that English has been a tool of empowerment and a driver of social and economic mobility. The contributors demonstrate that local languages and cultures can be revived by integrating them into English language education. Compensating

the lack of organized ideas on multilingual education, this book aims to introduce a trendsetting change in the lndian perspective on education. It will be a source of direction for teachers, teacher trainers, policymakers, and those with an interest in education and sociolinguistics.

Given the current state of affairs where globalization has taken a central stage, multilingualism as an offshoot of it has become more of a norm rather than an aberration. There are many countries in the world which practise multilingualism, India being one of them. Multilingualism in Indian context bears unique characteristics compared to other contexts where, if we delve into the historical facts, it has come into existence because of immigration and mass exodus in the past. In India, however, multilingualism is largely a result of the presence of two prominent language families known as Indo-Aryan languages and Dravidian languages, and their subsequent changes over the time owing to various geographical and cultural factors. Highlighting these issues and many more centring multilingualism, *Multilingual Education in India: The Case for English* makes out a strong case for integrating multilingualism into Indian education in general and English language education in particular.

Multilingual Education in India: The Case for English is a compilation of scholarly papers and articles contributed by Emeritus Professors, practising teachers and research scholars. The book has a collection of twenty two academic papers which are divided into three parts based on such themes as *Problematization*, *Practices* and *Possibilities*. Multilingualism as a subject has numerous facets to it. Having divided the papers under various themes, the editors of the book have provided an organization to the book which invariably would help the reader choose the paper which they wish to read based on their area of interest in multilingualism.

The book has a *Preface* which rightfully introduces the contributors and gives a sense about the nature of the book in addition to throwing some light on multilingualism in India. The *Preface* also highlights the focus of the book by talking about the three broad themes which form the three sections of the book and the papers included under each theme.

The first theme, i.e., *Problematization* of the book has five scholarly papers under it. These papers help in understanding the broad and varied multilingual contexts, and the theoretical inputs on multilingual education. The papers under this theme are though not data driven, nevertheless, they provide a solid background to understand multilingualism in its varying and multitudinous forms, and the issues and challenges involving multilingualism. To give an example, the paper by David discusses multilingualism by exploring how multilingual education (MLE) programmes for indigenous peoples in Nepal and worldwide can benefit from adapting the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples into their national language and planning structures.

Practices constitute the second theme of the book. There are as many as eleven papers under this theme. As the title suggests, the papers included under this theme highlight MLE and its practices in multilingual contexts with reference to English language education. Unlike the papers under the first theme, most of the papers under this theme are data driven focusing on various issues that are involved with multilingual teaching practices. To enumerate a few such papers, Mishra's paper explores 'Multilingual Education' and 'Srujan'—two community-based programmes—and their effectiveness in multilingual contexts. Mohanraj and Uma's paper investigates how translanguaging can be tapped to realize its pedagogic potentiality in a multilingual teaching-learning practice. Barik's paper reports an experimental study in a multilingual classroom using *chain story writing*

in L1 to improve L2 writing. Nanda's paper explores the possibility of using L1 to teach L2 from the teachers' perspective.

The third organizing theme of the book is *Possibilities*. There are six papers under it of which five are position/theoretical papers with evidences gathered from authors' observations and/or from the literature, and one paper is data driven. These papers in addition to highlighting the issues pertaining to multilingualism, propose and suggest teaching models and techniques in a multilingual framework to meet the future challenges that come with the ever changing times. To cite a few examples, Mohanraj's paper along with underlining some of the existing problems that we observe in a typical multilingual classroom, suggests a few measures that could be adopted to overcome the problems. Durairajan's paper presents a theoretical justification for a futuristic cross-lingual evaluation, and examines the feasibility of such an evaluation by discussing its various practical possibilities. Mukhopadhyay's paper argues in favour of exploiting L1 knowledge as a cognitive aid to make L2 writing meaningful, natural and accessible. To this end, the paper presents tasks and feedback-strategies to develop bilingual moving on to L2 writing skills.

The range of topics that is covered in *Multilingual Education in India: The Case for English* will surely provide a reader who is new to multilingualism a solid background knowledge on multilingualism, and someone who already has some knowledge of multilingualism, a deeper understanding on multilingualism. This book has a universal appeal for it has not only included papers from the Indian authors but beyond. Considering the range of issues that the papers in this volume have covered/addressed, it can be said that the book is an invaluable contribution to multilingual education and the teaching of English in India equally. A book of this nature can be prescribed to be included in the 'course of study' of any teaching program on bi/multilingualism.

Interviews

Being a Bilingual: Issues and Perspectives

An Interview with Prof. G. Rajagopal

Subhasis Nanda

Amit Kumar

Professor G. Rajagopal is one of the first scholars to have taken Bilingual education as a subject of study in India. He worked on bilingualism in relation to English Language Teaching for his doctoral degree. He has been active in conducting and supervising research in this area. He had held various academic and administrative positions such as Head, Dept. of ESL Studies; and, Dean, School of English Language Education before his retirement in 2012 from EFL University, Hyderabad. In addition to these, he has been associated with premier educational bodies such as NCERT, KVS, and RIEs.

Q- 1. You are a pioneer of in the study of bilingualism in ELT context in India and have perceived the development of studies in Bilingualism from close quarters. Would you like to share your view on this development?

Answer- Sure. I don't know if I am the pioneer. I am definitely somebody who has thought about and worked on it here and it is a concept which has affected me very deeply. I treat bilingualism primarily as an important concept, which what it is for me. Now understanding any "ism" is not very easy. It is very complex and very deep rooted. To me bilingualism is a factor which is pervasive all over India. I will not talk about other countries where it exists, but I will talk about my country. As you are aware, primarily since we are multilingual, a multilingual country bilingualism and multilingualism as "isms" are there. It is been there always everywhere. Now, if I look at it very carefully, I feel very personally that first of all, human mind is attuned, built in to this notion of bi/multilingualism. I strongly believe that anybody can be a bilingual; anybody can be a multilingual. All human beings on this earth can, and this is my strong belief number one. Number two, to me bilingualism particularly in our country, is first and foremost a societal phenomenon. Now why do I say that, because, an individual can survive in our country as a monolingual and there are many who have survived for years and probably still surviving as monolinguals. So it is not a surprising factor. But, I say that bilingualism is a social phenomenon because it is the society which makes an individual to become a monolingual or multilingual. For example, if you look at a family, a child begins as a monolingual and if the child discovers the environment as predominantly monolingual, the child can continue to be a monolingual. Whereas, if a child discovers once its cognitive faculties grow - that in fact it is surviving in a multilingual context, then it's thinking- cognitive thinking immediately switch over to bilingualism. In a certain context, even if the child discovers that there is a big difference between the home language and language

outside the home, there is where the child shifts to a bilingual accent. If for example the child discovers that the parents speak two different languages and the caretaker speaks a third language, and society speaks the fourth language, a child knows how to switch from one language to another. In other words, in India, if I look at the context the factor called bilingualism is there because it is an inbuilt system in the cognition of the child and it is prevalent there. So, to me this distinction is more than adequate to pursue in this role etc in our country.

Q- 2. What advantages Bilingual approach has on language learning?

Answer- There are many advantages. Now, language and learning a language is primarily a purpose of survival; survival of oneself, survival in society and survival in the world. Now, bilingualism is, as I told you, something which is not absent at all. In any individual, in every individual on this earth, every individual I strongly believe is capable of triggering this particular faculty in him/her when the situation arises. Now, in certain cases, may be certain attitudinal factors might prevent an individual from triggering this faculty and not becoming a bilingual, for example. But that's a different aspect altogether, because it's a kind of social consciousness or individual's consciousness. I am not going to talk about that. To me, being a bilingual is a factor which enables one to become a bilingual. And becoming a bilingual has its own profits, lots of profits. So it has a positive effect on language learning.

Q- 3. Where do you place bilingualism in relation to teacher education? How can teacher educators use it effectively?

Answer- Bilingualism as an "-ism", is an extremely complex phenomenon. If you want to know as an "ism", one needs to understand its implications. For example, what do you mean by 'implications'? By this we mean, this is a facility

which is there in the human cognition. How do we use this facility, how do teachers get to use this facility? In teacher education, for example, teachers need to know that it is not just an existence of two languages but its how one utilizes this available existence. Now this utilization of this available existence could be related to language teaching or teaching of two languages or language learning- that is the learning of L2 or L3 for example. Now, it can therefore be related to the concept of a bilingual teaching approach. A bilingual teaching approach does not have any fixed procedural detail. It means it is an approach which, as its strong principle, utilizes two languages. How you utilize the two languages to what extent and in what proportion is a matter that the teachers need to know. Now bilingualism does not simply mean translation. It does not either mean, simply using two languages, in whatever fashion you like. No, it has a certain pattern to it. There has to be certain eclecticism to that. Now, how does it affect teacher education is, you see, the teachers need to be made aware of all these conceptual factors. Once they know the conceptual factors, how they operate in human mind, how they operate in a certain society, how they can incorporate it to their own teaching, how they can improve the conditions of language learning using this as a very broad approach should form a part of teacher education, which is a very complex activity but needs to be done.

Question- 4.Continuous Professional Development (CPD) is being seen as an asset for teachers. Does bilingualism have any role to play to in CPD?

Answer- now, Continuous Professional Development is something which goes on even to this stage to me for example. I also continue to know, continue to learn. There is no end to it, simply because, teachers encounter several stages of progress. If there is continuous development in the profession, then CPD has its own role. A teacher needs to understand where and how to begin bilingual

education, for example. Now it's a very careful planning first and foremost, no doubt. But it is a long term planning simply because the teacher is attempting to use two language or whatever, and needs to monitor the progress of learning. Now, in order to understand the progress of learning, to assess the progress they also need tools for assessment; tools for introspection and in addition the techniques to modify whatever the processes s/he is doing. It means, eventually, that a teacher should be able to ensure why using two languages in a classroom, of whatever the purpose it is, for that the objectives are achieved, eventually. I strongly believe that in any educational plan, when we look at the CPD of the teacher, I suppose bilingualism is something which is almost like an "Immersion" concept. So, which means there is a certain stage where bilingualism is introduced in language teaching and progressively it will be withdrawn because, its aim is to go into the target language. So, that is the CPD a teacher needs to be aware of and we need to build in teacher's own mind.

Q- 5. Though most of the teachers are bilinguals themselves, how trained are they to use L1; and what is the general perception among them regarding use of L1 in classroom?

Answer- See, not just the teacher, a teacher is after all is trained to do a certain kind of job and they have been given a word or a few instructions. Now, that is what it forms as thier perception. Now, in this particular case, as long as there are people who do not have a detailed or precise or in-depth knowledge of the role of two languages in which human mind operates which can be utilized in a certain manner in the teaching of another language and as long as people do not have a perception that language teaching in particular, in two languages in a classroom in the minds of vast number of teachers who have met and not just the teachers alone, but even so called experts also have, I am sorry to say, a half-baked knowledge. What it means is that a lot of information, a lot of technical

knowledge, a lot of in depth perception need to be incorporated into the training programme of the teachers. A lot of myths have to be removed and people should be told that there are these positive factors in pursuing bilingual teaching which they must incorporate into their teaching.

Question- 6. How much support, vision and encouragement do teachers get from other stake holders like teacher educators, NCTE, NCERT and/or various boards of education?

Answer- ahhh… For a number of reasons, may be some of them, I am also guilty of this, the stakeholders perhaps are not fully aware of the implications of using two languages in a classroom. Many people who I have come across say "oh yes, it is very important to use first language in the classroom. We must use first language at primary level", and you ask them why, you don't have answers. Which means somewhere that a campaign needs to be carried out for example, through brochures, through charts, through booklets and people with knowledge of all these implications need to talk about it, you know, very firmly and knowledgeably, at many of these training programmes which also should include the stakeholders. Mind you, the older stakeholders are not always very pleased with this, and you cannot challenge them, they feel they know everything. Probably at one stage we may have to shift attention to the training programmes where some kind of a major instruction in this particular field needs to be carried out. And, such alternative ways of using two languages in a classroom with full knowledge of implications should be brought to the notice of the stakeholders. So, it is at a volatile stage at the moment and I think it needs a campaign of some sort.

Question- 7. According to you what is the future of Bilingualism in India? Do you perceive any possible paradigm shift in bilingualism?

Answer- ahhh, you see, bilingualism exists, it is there. Like monolingualism it is also there. Now mind you, in our country where there are these English

medium schools, they would like to follow a mono-lingual approach. I won't say "direct method" as a method but as an approach, monolingual approach despite knowing that children who come to those schools are bilinguals, and the classroom is bilingual as much where the teachers themselves are bilinguals. Despite knowing all these, as a policy matter they would like to follow monolingualism. So as far as that is concerned you see, that is another dimension we see. But a very large majority of our schools do have a need for the perception of bilingualism because on the one hand, a teacher needs to use the first language in a classroom while teaching English as second language. There are cases where English is taught totally through the first language. So, I have come across many such schools, even the teachers are more comfortable in the first language than English. And the end product of teaching English is simply where the child is asked to rote-learn a few things in English that will be the best outcome. So given such a scenario there is a very strong future, in fact there is no way bilingualism can disappear from our country. In my perception in fact it has to be stronger and needs to be strengthened. For example, in the teacher training programmes I do, and if I ask them, would you like to use mother tongue in your classroom, if the principal is sitting there, the teacher would say no, if the principal is not there, they would like to say yes, in fact, for most of the time. Then we should discuss how should we use Mother tongue, for what purpose, how much, when do we start, when do we stop and what would be the outcome and how do we keep that in practice? Mind you I see a very large presence of bilingualism in our country. But I only hope it will be structured and knowledge-based and the practice will be beautifully structured in our country and I hope there will be a proper help in this regard.

Question-8. From your vast experience in the area of bilingualism, please share your vision to help out learners from marginalized, rural and deprived contexts in terms of English language learning?

Answer- Thank you very much for asking this question. If that is the vast population in our country, now, leave aside the urban centers. Even within the urban centers there are marginalized schools, marginalized localities, apart from that you go into the semi-urban, rural, semi-rural, highly rural and the tribal and the interior, agency areas and so on, my God, it's actually very much necessary that all these, particularly in these areas for the marginalized, for the rural, for the deprived community, deprived context and so on, there is a need for very strong teacher education programme. For example, in our country, even if you go into these contexts, what do I mean by that marginalized and the deprived and the tribal and other contexts, remember we have two major issues here; one is the dominant language and the second is the learners' language. Now the learners' home language may have virtually no role to play at all in a society for the marginalized and deprived and the tribal child. They are confined to their own homes and as the children get educated even that language will disappear in that it gets confined to the parents and grandparents. So, the language which they need to adopt is extremely complex. However, when they need to go through formal academic instructions, they have to pick up the majority language, whether it is for the survival inside the classroom or outside the classroom. There is an enormous pressure on the marginalized and deprived or tribal children. We have no business to put them under this academic pressure, under no circumstances. I strongly believe that they need to be put at ease, when they learn something. How can we do this? Mind you all languages in our country the dialectical variations vary to this extent where an idiolect is a different format altogether. Now, the marginalized, deprived and the tribal community will need to be helped enormously and how do we do this? It could be using charts, it could be using multilingual books, it could be a multilingual classroom teaching methodology. Now, who will do all these – apart from the language teacher? It's only the

teachers who can do that. But the teachers can't do it on their own because it's possible that the teacher does not speak the child's language or may not know the child's language. But, the teacher has a job to do. And therefore, all those above the teacher- the stakeholders- we need to sit together and help them to develop teaching materials and these materials in other format also for example the schools where children go to, should be loaded with multilingual charts and students should be able to see them and feel thatthey arte true to their experience and so on, and mind you, cultural factors also are very important and whatever it is, any number of the additional factors. Basically, in my mind, in response to your question, the marginalized, deprived and tribal child will need a lot more help from the rest of the stakeholders. There teachers need lot more help from the senior, the elder stakeholders.

In Conversation with Dulal Da

By Mahendra Kumar Mishra
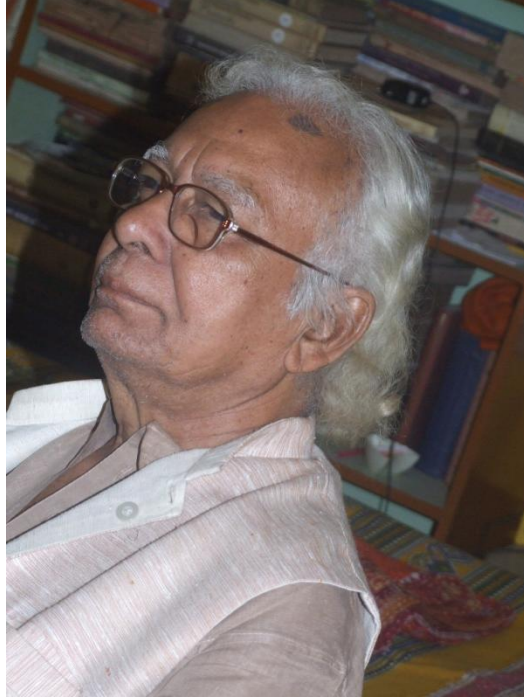
Dr Dulal Kanti Chaudhury is an erudite scholar in folklore and Indian culture, with a pleasing personality. Active and experienced teacher of languages and literature. Keen interest in Yoga, Meditation, and Indian folk medicine. Participated in social service and youth leadership development programs. He has been sharing his knowledge as a researcher and professor in many ace universities of India and abroad in the field of folklore. He has also extended his service in many research organizations to enrich and enhance the knowledge on folklore and literature.

Mahendra: How did you enter into the field of folklore?

Dulal: I was a scholar of Bangla literature, and it is enriched with the trend of folk literature since pre independence era. Tagore, Guru Sadaya Dutta, Lal Bihari Dey, and many other noted scholars were engaged in revitalizing Bangla folk literature for their national identity. Tagore wrote lok sahitya essays during his **Russia** visit. Besides his book on lok sahitya & **Chhele Bhulona Chhada**, including many other genres are the source of inspiration in my journey to folklore.

Mahendra: Which genre of folklore was your first research project?

Dulal: Folk festival of Bengal was the first project I undertook from the UGC during 1964-67, after that I went to Bangla academy Dhaka during 1973-74 to study on Chakmas of Bangladesh, a survey. After that I wrote Chakma Prabad in Bangla.

After that I got a research project on Chakmas of Tripura from the ICSSR for two years and wrote books on migrant folklore and their identity.

There after I took a project on wall paintings of West Bengal on Lalit Kala Academy New Delhi. I also got fellowship from Govt. of India for Chhau Dance of India.

Mahendra: Besides research where did you teach?

Dulal: I was the Associate Professor in F C College, served as Dist. Youth Cordinator in Vardhaman Dist. (1986-88). I became the programme officer in the NSS scheme in the FC college under Calcutta University. All these activities helped me in understanding the community culture during 1986-90.

Mahendra: I understand that you introduced Lokaratna Award in your Academy of Folklore Calcutta. As the founder director what was your experience in heading a subject like folklore which is neither supported by the government, not the academics?

Dulal: We the group of folklorists of Calcutta introduced the award of Lokaratna and we have awarded it to Devendra Satyarthi, Kunjabihari Das, Krishnadev Upadhyaya, and many other who have contributed to the folklore research in India.

Heading a cultural organization in India is a very challenging task, we have faced a lot of problems to run this academy but it is also true that without funding we have been able to generate lot of human resources, scholars, PhDs, and writers on Bangla folklore and Indian folklore as well.

Mahendra: What is your experience about Indian Folklore Congress?

Dulal: I and Mr Jawaharlal Handu started IFC in 1977. I was the general secretary and he was the permanent president of IFC. We conducted annual seminars in many parts of the country and popularized folklore studies in India. As the unregistered organization, it was dependant on Universities and CIIL Mysore. Since last 30 years it has created a lot of folklorists old and new. But after year 2000, I opted out because of some personal reasons. I took my own research activities on South Asian Folklore after that.

I bring out Lok Sanskriti Patrika, theory and methods on folklore research in Bangla and English.

Mahendra: What about the books and publications you have contributed to Indian Folklore?

Dulal: I have authored around 24 books and numerous articles on folklore, folk medicine, literature, mythology, and methodology of fieldwork etc.

Mahendra: Lets us know about your participation in various seminars and conferences

Dulal: I have attended and participated in numerous International(USA, Canada, England, Turkey and Bangladesh) and National conferences and seminars in folklore and allied matters.

The creative mind : Illustations by child artist Omkar

Omkar has an artistic mind. His emotions come out in the form of lines and curves and most of the incidents he depicts through his drawings.

He is comfortable with pencils and crayons. Also he loves water and acrylic colors.

Whenever he comes across a story or he plays a new game, he makes it as a storyboard with proper character sketches. He brings down entire narrations in the storyboard scene by scene. Sometimes he includes dialogues too. In fact he starts new stories, jokes and small incidents with the same characters.

His imagination is unmatched and unique.

He is studying at Class – IV now, and the following images are his drawings between the ages 3-6 years.

As Krishna on Janmastami
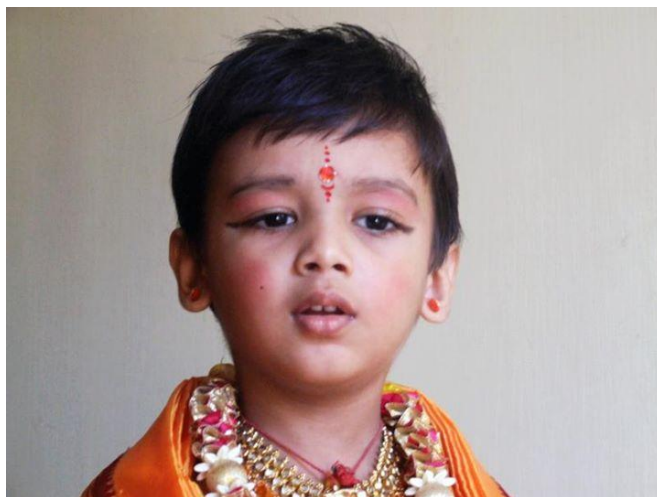
As Rama on Rama navami

His art works:

It was women's day. I wanted to host a party for my mother. I wanted to organise the party by setting dress code for girls was colored dress and for women it was saree. My akka (sister) was my co- host.

It was summer holiday and I wanted to swim. But I din know how to swim. My mother helped me in getting into water and learn swimming.

As usual I was enjoying my shower with my buddy Snakey. I could see my mother capturing me in her camera. After a while, after the bath I draw the scene.

During summer holiday I try many recipes along with my mother. I saw lemonade in cookbook and tried. It came out very well.

A scene from Ra-One where G-One is attacking Ra-One with his powers

Sri Ram and Laxman

My Homeworks

Angry Birds

A fish having his lunch!

Lokaratna Khazana:
Treasure Trove of Folklore

Three Stories from Abolkara *Kahani*

(Re-told by Anand Mahanand)

Abolkara Kahani is a treasure trove of stories stored in the memories of many legendary story tellers who tend to present these unique stories to their listeners in many different unique ways. These stories are from unique Odia story telling traditions and not available elsewhere in such tone and style. It is worthmentioning here how did the Abolkara stories originate.

Once there was a learned Pandit in Odisha. As he become aged, he wanted to go on a pilgrimage by travelling to may pilgrimage centres such as Ganga, Gaya, Kashi, Mathura, Vrindavan and so on. He wanted to take a young helper

with him. He arranged a young chap called Makara for the purpose. Makaras was the village young barber boy. He was chosen as the Pandit could accept water from his caste.   How Makara did become Abolkara?

The Pandit travelled a few miles and as he reached to a village, he would like to rest and spend the night near the village temple or in a dharamshala. He would send Makara to the village to buy some cereal and vegetables so that he would cook food. Makara would see something strange and won't understand it. He would come back to the Pandit and ask about it and request the Pandit to explain through a story . He would put a condition saying, "if you explain me this, I would obey you or else, I would become disobedient (Abolkara). He was not always obedient or readily obedient (bolakara) but often acted as disobedient (Abolkara). So he was called Abolkara by the Pandit and the stories are called Abolkara Kahani in Odisha.

Here, we would like to present three stories from the larger collections of *Abolkara Kahani.*

One

The Story of the Flowering Tree

Once, Abolkara and the Pandit were travelling. After travelling for a long distance in the forest, they reached near a village. It was almost evening time. They decided to take rest in a temple that was near the village. There was a pond adjacent to the temple. The temple complex had space to cook food and take rest. The Pandit asked Abolkara to go and get some cereal, vegetables and edible oil from the village shop. Then he had his evening prayers and set the fire to cook food. Abolkara walked towards the village. As he was approaching the village, he came across a beautiful palace complex at the entrance of the village. It was well-decorated. There was a beautiful gold statue of a flowering tree and a beautiful gold statue of a queen. There were six stone statues of senior queens around the golden statue. Abolkara saw these statues and wondered about them. He stood there for a while with his mouth wide open in wonder. He was curious to know about the statues. He forgot about the provisions and ran back to the Pandit to ask him about the golden statue and the flowering tree.

The Pandit had just finished the evening prayers and getting ready to boil water for cooking rice. Then he saw Abolkara come running towards him with an empty bag. He asked Abolkara, "What's the matter, Abolkara? Have you got the provisions? Abolkara replied, "Pandite, I have seen something very unusual. Let

me tell you what I have seen first. You have to tell me the story of the thing I have seen, and then I will get the provisions. The Pandit told him, "Alright. You tell me what you have seen. I will explain you!" Then Abolkara said, "I had almost reached the village. Near the village, I came across a beautiful palace. It was a beautiful space and very beautifully decorated. There was beautiful golden statue of a flowering tree placed at the centre .There was also a golden statue. It looked like it was that of a beautiful queen. Around the statue of the queen, there were six other golden statues. They looked like other queens. Now tell me, who were these people? What is the story behind them?"

The Pandit then said, "Alright, Abolkara. Listen to the story of the statues. In this kingdom, there lived a God fearing and righteous king. He was very rich and powerful but he had one lack. He had six queens but nobody had a child. The king was worried for a heir. He called and consulted the pundits of the kingdom and prayed to Goddess Durga. One night, Goddess Durga told him in his dream that he should marry a young princess called Satarupa who had been growing up as a young princess in the neighbouring kingdom called Kanakpur. She is endowed with many arts and skills. "If you marry her you will get a child." The king followed the Goddess' advice and arranged for his marriage. He went to the kingdom with his ministers and people and married the beautiful princess Satarupa. She was a devout lady. She had acquired the blessings from Goddess Durga and

endowed with many arts. The king was happy with her. She conceived and gave birth to a son called Krishna Kumar. The king was very pleased with the queen. The other six queens felt ignored and annoyed with the seventh queen, Satarupa.

The other six queens hatched a plot to kill her as they were jealous of her. They went to her and said, "Dear little one. You have proved yourself to be a blessing to the kingdom. With the birth of your child, the kingdom has got a heir. Without you and without a child, it would have been a curse! We are grateful to you for being such nice and benevolent. You are also blessed with a lot of arts and skills. We heard that you can turn yourself to a flowering tree and come back to human shape after that. Can you show us how you do all this?"

Queen Satarupa heard all these and blushed at the praise. She said, "I see, you know about all this. The maidservant might have told you all about this. It is very simple. I will show you the process. See, this is the water mixed with my mantra. If you pour some of it on me, I will become a flowering tree. If you pour rest of the water, on the tree again, I will come back to my original shape. But if you pour the water somewhere else, I will become a golden statue and you will also become stone statues. The six senior queens were looking for an opportunity to punish the youngest queen. So eagerly said yes and asked her to show the skills. Then Satarupa took a pot of water, applied her mantra and sprinkle some water on her and gave the rest of water to the senior queens. Soon she turned into a

flowering tree. The six queens, however, did not pour the rest of water on the tree but put it elsewhere. As a result, Satarupa remained as a tree of statue and the six queens remained as statues of stone. The king came to know about it and was inconsolably sad. In the memory of his beloved queen, he built the beautiful spot and the golden flowering tree and the statues have been there since then. Abolkara listened to the story and went to the shop to get the provisions. Both of them had their food and slept peacefully. The next day, they started their journey again.

Two

Story of the Clever Maid Servant

As the Pandit and Abolkara reached near another village, they came across a temple complex. The Pandit decided to take rest in the *dharamshala* that was near the temple. As they entered the *dharamshala*, the Pandit asked Abolkara to put down the bundle, umbrella and the blanket he was carrying. He asked him to go to the nearby pond and wash his hands and feet. As Abolkara finished all that, the Pandit asked him to go to another temple and get some Prasad for both of them to eat in the night. Abolkara followed his order and went towards another temple. As he was going near the temple he came across a big hall. Inside the hall, he saw the statue of a beautiful gold cage. Inside the cage, he saw a silver statue. He also saw that many people were standing before the bird and praying to the bird that was inside the golden cage. But people were not able to explain much to his

satisfaction. So he came running to the Pandit to find out about the statue and the cage. The Pandit was surprised to see Abolkara back. He asked him, "What is the matter? Have you got the Prasad?" Abolkara replied, "I have seen something very unusual. Please explain it to me." The Pandit then enquired about what Abolkara had seen. Abolkara said, "In the big hall near the temple complex, there is a golden cage and in the golden cage there is a silver statue of a bird. People are praying the bird to fulfil their wishes. I was told that the bird could fulfil fill their wishes. Please explain me how it is possible." Then the Pandit told the following story to Abolkara.

In the kingdom of Pratappur there lived a powerful king called Bikram Kesari. He was very notorious and ill-mannered. His subjects were not happy with him. He had a beautiful daughter called Swapna Sundari. She was very religious and God-fearing. She was a devout person. She worshipped the presiding deity of the kingdom and was very pious. The Gods and Goddesses were pleased with her. As the king became old, he assigned the responsibility of his kingdom to his daughter princess- Swapna Sundari. The neighbouring kings observed this and attacked the kingdom of Pratappur suddenly. Princess Swapna Sundari was brave. She prayed the silver bird that was there in the golden cage and got swarms of powerful armies with their help, she could defeat the attackers. After the death of the king, she became the ruler of Pratappur. The Minister's son was interested to

marry the princess. He approached her and offered to marry her but she refused o marry him. Then he thought of a plan to punish her. He took the maid servant's help in this plot. On the advice of the minister's son, the maid-servant went to the princess one day and said, "You have been asking so many things to the bird in the golden cage. Have you thought how beautiful you would look if you stand in the golden cage? You should ask the bird to allow you to be there in the golden cage as the silver bird." The princess could not understand the plot and did the same. She requested the bird to let her go inside and be there as a golden bird. The bird allowed her to be inside the cage and disappeared. As the princess went inside, the maid servant locked her from outside and the princess became a silver statue of the bird. Since then the minister's son became the ruler. He kept the silver statue in the hall. People of the kingdom respected the princess. So they gathered and pray for their wishes. The boy was happy to listen to the story. Then he went and got the Prasad from the temple. Both of them had thee Prasad in the evening and slept peacefully. They started their journey again towards *Vrindavan* in the morning.

Three

The Story of Sati Sautuni Temple

As they were making their journey, the Pandit and Abolkara came near the river Yamuna. They wanted to rest near a village near the river. The Pandit asked

Abolkara to go to the village and get some provisions. As he went, he came across a temple. He saw people crowded at the temple. They were waiting for their turn to pray to a beautiful statue f a woman. Abolkar was taken aback. A woman was being worshipped! He had not seen anywhere people praying to such a beautiful woman like that.

He came running to the Pandit to ask about it. He asked the Pandit, 'Pandite, I have really seen a strange scene today. I found that people were in queue to worship the statue of a woman. It was not the statue of a goddess or anything but bust a beautiful woman. Please tell me the story of the woman they are worshipping." The Pandit said, "Alright, I know you will not do anything unless I tell you the story."

In a kingdom called Chandrapur there lived a powerful king called Pratap Singh. He was very rich and pleasure loving. He married as many as seven queens. All his six queens were quarrelsome and of bad character. They were not loyal and committed to their husband, but the seventh queen Subhalakshmi was a devout lady. She was honest and committed to her husband. She was the daughter of a sage. So she grew up with prayers and meditation. She was educated and knew many arts and skills. The other six queens were jealous o her. They wanted to banish her from the kingdom. So they brought false allegations against her saying that he had an illicit relationship with the commander of the army. She

urged the king to banish her from the kingdom. The king believed in what his senior queens said and banished Subhalakshmi and her son Govind Ballbhav to the jungle. The queen and her son left the palace and lived in the jungle with the forest dwellers. They were helped by the forest dwellers because of their good nature. Soon they discovered a gold treasure in the forest and became very rich. Govind Ballabh could establish a small kingdom in the jungle was chosen as the king of the small kingdom. Slowly he expanded his kingdom and became very powerful and famous. His fame went far and wide.

King Pratap Singh on the other hand was discarded by the queens and the army leaders. He came to Govind Ballabh's kingdom to seek appointment as a minister. Govind Ballabh could not recognize him, but offered him to keep him as a minister. But queen Subhalakshmi could recognize her husband. She asked her son to make her husband the king. Govind Ballabh was happy to make his father the king of the new kingdom and three of them were happy. The king was grateful to his queen Subhalakshmi and got a statue of her made and people worship her like a goddess since then. She is calld sati sautuni or the honest sister-in-law and her temple is called Sati Sautuni temple. Abolkara liked the story very much. His doubts were cleared. Then he went to get the provisions from the village shop. They prepared the evening meal, had it and in the next morning continued their journey again...

Shah Abdul Karim: The Ecstasy of Unfulfilment

Amitendu Bhattacharya

Shah Abdul Karim (1916-2009) is the preeminent *Baul* singer and songwriter of recent times. All his life he lived in Ujan Dhol village by the Kalni river in Sylhet division of Bangladesh. Born to poverty and hardship, he earned his living by becoming an agricultural help. As a shepherd he had ample time to jot down his passing thoughts and emotions. Nobody exactly knows the number of songs he had composed but the figure is estimated to be around fifteen hundred. He received his spiritual and musical training from Shah Ibrahim Mastan Baksh. In 2001, Shah Abdul Karim was honoured with the *Ekushey Padak*, the second highest civilian award in Bangladesh, for his contributions to folk music and culture.

Baul Shah Abdul Karim

Picture Courtesy: <http://alchetron.com/Shah-Abdul-Karim-1025557-W#->

A whore drifting without a shore

I'm a whore[10] drifting without a shore

Don't touch me any of you, my dears

---

[10] This metaphor of the seeker of god as whore is not uncommon in South Asian devotional poetry. Compare with the utterance of Janabai, the Marathi bhakti poet of the thirteenth century, in one of her compositions: "Jani says: I have become your whore, Keshava. / I have come now to wreck your home." (Pinto, Jerry, and Neela Bhagwat, trans. "I have let my veil drop". *Eating God: A Book of Bhakti Poetry*. Ed. by Arundhathi Subramaniam. New Delhi: Penguin, 2014. 133. Print)

Loving the person after my own heart

Grief has made my life fall apart

Weeping go my days and nights

Don't touch me any of you, my dears

To love is the sport of heaven

Separation the punishment of hell

My soul knows it only too well

Don't touch me any of you, my dears

Tell me, my dears, what recourse do I have?

The hardships Baul Karim braves

Will follow him to the grave

Don't touch me any of you, my dears

This splendid world has no use for me

If I can't possess the one I'm obsessed with

This multihued life has no meaning for me

Love's lunacy has robbed my peace

A homeless whore I've nowhere to go

To love I surrendered my soul, mind and body

Didn't foresee what I wished for would never be

I'll be back, said he and left

All I now have are tears and torment

Baul Abdul Karim says, I sing not songs of glee

This splendid world has no use for me

Why did you allow love to grow

Why did you allow my love to grow?

When you knew someday you'd go

How should my mind await your return, my friend?

When the situation at home is inconvenient

The neighbourhood has turned my foe

Sick at heart, I shed tears of woe

To whom should I relate my story when I'm the guilty one?

Crying the whole time I've made my eyes like rivers run

Baul Abdul Karim asks, what's this malady?

For all my sufferings you are the only remed

What was destined has struck

Why ponder things of the past?

What was destined has struck

Family, clan, youth now all maligned

Losing my life for him is next in line

In love with the dark one, I'm stung by a black serpent

The one which can pour out venom in torrents

Love, love, love, proclaim those who've been in love

I know the ones who've really been charred by love

Actual fire is no match for the fire of love

Undying, escape from it one can't think of

What's there to fear when people speak ill about family's honour?

Says Abdul Karim, to be united with my friend in life or in death

is the only thing that matters

You haven't come, O friend

You haven't come, O friend

You have driven me insane

In this season of idyllic spring

Peace of mind you can't bring

Stricken by incomparable extreme desire I'm, O friend

This keen pain of separation never before I've experienced

Wear the garland of scandal round my neck

None loves me, O friend

What good will the clan's pride do?

When I can't be one with you

Bereft of familial honour is Abdul Karim

Don't you know, O friend?

A good friend in good times

Haven't seen you in a long while

Without you I'm distraught

Without you I'm distraught

Want to step across the threshold more often than not

Listen, O friend, don't erase me from memory

To you this is my only entreaty

Sacrificing the clan's pride

To you I've offered my body, soul and mind

All my treasures I've delivered at your feet

Friend, don't erase me from memory

To you this is my only entreaty

If you ever leave me behind

If ever you make me cry

Swear that the tears you shed would equal mine

Friend, don't erase me from memory

To you this is my only entreaty

Blemishing the clan's pride, what do I stand to lose?

Without you I won't survive, what should I do?

In your ocean of love Karim plunges and dies

Friend, don't erase me from memory

To you this is my only entreaty

[i] *Ramayana* is one of the Epics ever composed in India. *Ramayana* has many versions but in this paper I am dealing with the authentic one composed by Valmiki. Here after different characters from this epic will do appear in this paper like- Sita, Rama, Maruti or Hanumana, Ravana, Mandodari, Lav-Kush and so on.

[ii] *Jatyavarchya Ovya* are those songs which are sung on the grind mill during grinding the grains by the women of the rural Maharashtra. In English it is being translated either as "Grind mill songs" or "songs of the grind mill".

[iii] *Mahabharata* is the second Epic composed in India by Vyasa. In this paper I shall be incorporating the name of this epic only when I talk about Indian epic in general.

[iv] In the book Multilingual Education for Social Justice, editors Ajit K. Mohanty, Minati Panda, Robert Phillipson, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas define Multilingual education (MLE) as meaning the use of two or more languages as media of instruction in subjects other than the languages themselves. This paper differs from this position.

[v] For a discussion of the provision of this article and its effect see

http://yashasvisingh.com/?tag=article-350a

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