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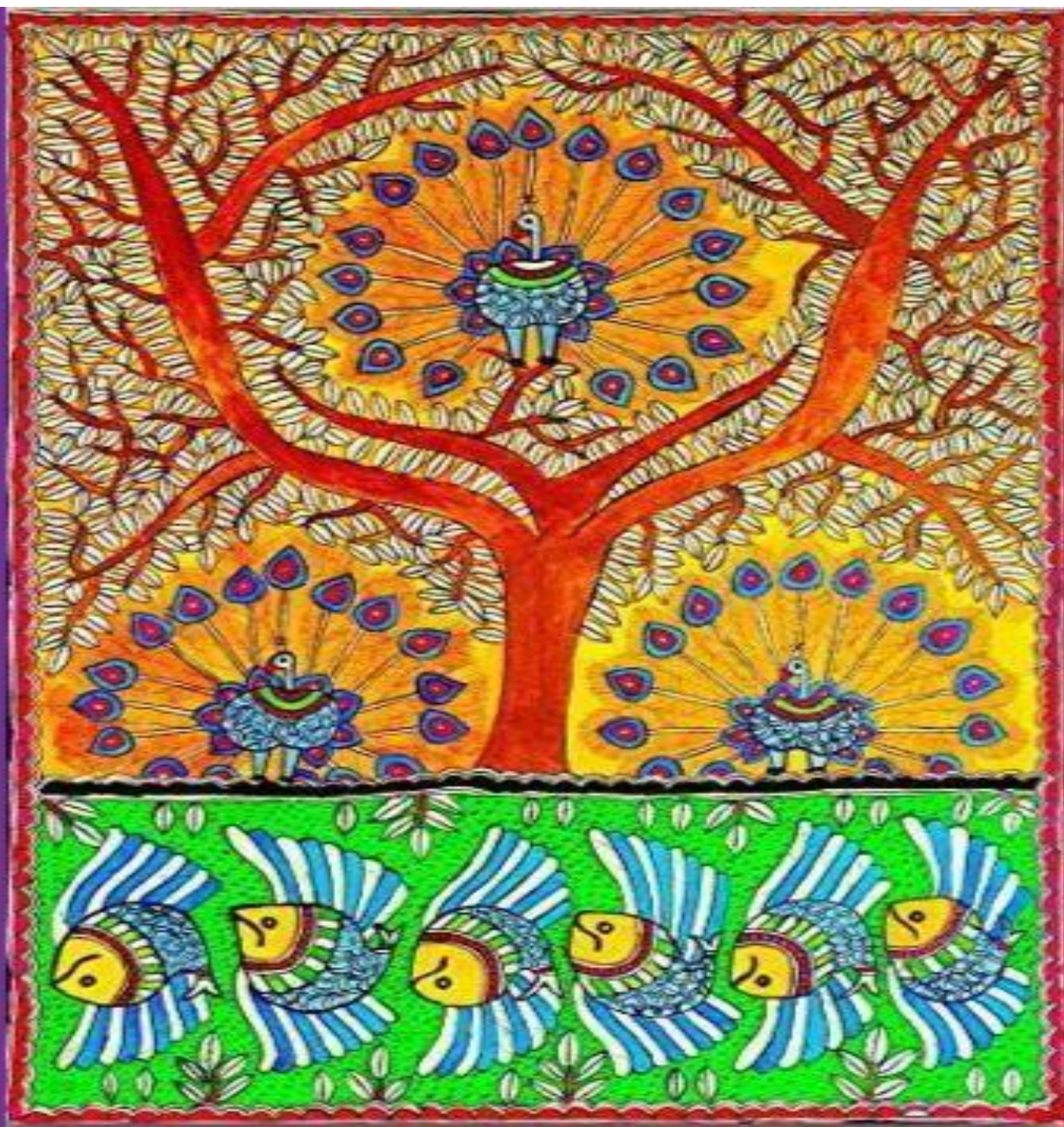Project   writing a book on Multilingual Education in Odisha ,India View project

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Lokaratna is the e-journal of the Folklore Foundation, Bhubaneswar. *Lokaratna* is a peer-reviewed International journal with ISSN: 2347-6427.The purpose of the journal is to explore the rich cultural tradition of India 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.

Lokaratna is the official journal of the Folklore Foundation, located in

Bhubaneswar, Orissa. Lokaratna is a peer-reviewed academic journal in English.

The objectives of the journal are:

- To invite scholars to contribute research papers on any aspect of folklore, literature, socio-political issues, linguistics and language teaching in English. They should be based on the theory and research methodologies widely adopted in the areas concerned, and on empirical studies with substantial field work.
- To publish seminal articles written by senior scholars on Folklores, making them available from the original sources. It would help present lives of folklorists, outlining their substantial contribution to existing resources.
- To publish book reviews, field work reports, descriptions of research projects and announcements for seminars and workshops.
- To present interviews with eminent folklorists and scholars from India and abroad.
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Dr Mahendra K Mishra

Request for online/manuscript submissions should be addressed to Mahendra Kumar Mishra,Editor in Chief, Lokaratna, Folklore Foundation, Bhubaneswar, Odisha- 751010,
E mail:

From the Desk of the Editor-in-Chief

Our civilization has touched a point where there is no chance to get back what we have lost. We have conquered the planet but lost the natural world. Deterioration of human values, the dilapidation of Earth and its nature, the devastation of human potentialities, and the disappearance of plants and animals around us has made us insensitive and heartless. The aesthetic environment has become a desert. Every moment we come across the threat of war, intolerance and violence in one hand and loss of cultural biodiversity resulting in global warming and forgetting of culture on the other. The bang of knowledge has taken off our choice to be a simple retainer on our excellence, instead, making our life bewildering misplacing our focus from our interest andchoice. Our future is more challenging and more susceptible. Now the most affluent person can also not sure what to do with so much wealth and power.

On the one hand, people are fed-off with plenty, and on the other hand, billions of hungry men are starving for a slice of bread. What made us civilized? The global thinkers face a severe challenge of restoring peace against the demoralizing force. The state authority faces the threat of terrorism and apprehends safeguarding its sovereignty. The prophets of religion, staying on heaven, must have witnessed that how their human religion has been misrepresented and used against humanity resulted in the wash the history with human blood.

We destroyed nature for power and authority, and are in search of water and oxygen on another planet to migrate. Is it not conscious cruelty of power to dream a utopia leaving behind this beautiful Earth?

What is left with us? How can we reconstruct the beautiful world again and connect our self with nature and humanity? Can we detach from the mother? We may be in a small territory, but our smallest effort can transform our location, and our creation will fill the air with colour and fragrance.

The writers of Lokaratna are a group who believe in solidarity and explore the beauty of humanity. It is like a small flower on the grass to assert its presence in a magnificent garden of creativity. We do not know where the centre of the globe is, but we know where we stand along, there rests the centre. Without our existence, we cannot imagine a globe outside of us.

I hope the readers and scholars will well appreciate this volume. We build the new to make them stand forth for a beautiful world of love, peace and creativity and inheritance. Let the Earth be greener and let the rain wet the Earth, let one grain become billions, and one tree generate millions.

Mahendra Kumar Mishra

From the Desk of the Executive Editor

In primitive society the clan centred on the women, on whom the responsibility rested for essentially important function of rearing the young and of imparting to them whatever could be characterized as the human heritage at the dawn of civilization. All cultural traits, including habits, norms of behaviours, inherited tradition, etc. were formed by and transmitted through the females. The woman was not only the symbol of generation, but the actual producer of life. Her organs and attributes were thought to be endowed with generative power, and so they were the life- giving symbols. In the earliest phases of social evolution, it was this maternity that held the field, the life producing mother being the central figure of religion.

(Bhattacharya, N.N. *The Indian Mother Goddess*. Delhi: Manohar, 1999. P. 1)

Mother goddess has been a respectful figure in cultural practices of many communities not only in India but throughout the world. Mother goddesses are worshipped in different forms throughout the world. N.N. Bhattacharya in his book *The Indian Mother Goddess* has studied these figures that are worshipped in different cultures. In many parts of India, villagers worship ―Gram Devi‖ or village deity. They seek blessings from her in the time of distress and difficulties; seek blessings when they are affected by draught, disease or any sortof distress. They regard the supernatural force as companion, savior and part of the larger family. Even now in some parts of Odisha a bride offers prayers to the Gram Debi before she leaves for her in-laws‘ home on her marriage.

In his recent novel *Gun Island* the celebrated writer Amitabh Ghosh shows aunique relationship the humans have with the elements of Nature. This relationship is developed through their reverence to the supernatural force known as Goddess Manasi Debi as we find the same supernatural force called Bon Bibi in his other novel *The Hungry Tide*. These deities help human beings to foster a unique sort of relationship; a relationship of reverence, fear yet of affection. The deity is their Mother who can be harsh at time, yet bestow showers of love and care. As they believe she shows her wrath by causing calamities but she can also protect them. The reverence for the deity has helped the inhabitants to save different kinds of natural elements and maintain harmony with Nature. The need of our harmony with Nature sounds relevant today as we are affected by climate change due to ecological imbalance. Such relationships available in folklore, epics, Puranas and local histories educate us to re-affirm our relationship with Nature. It is heartening to see that this volume has some articles dealing with such topics. For instance, Padmini Rangarajan in her article "Significance of Rural Female Folk Deities-Rituals, Culture, Belief System and Celebrations in Tamil Nadu‖ explores the practice of worshipping female deities in Tamilnadu. Similarly, Arpita Raj studies the relationship between human and non-Human relationship in Santal world view in her article ―Revisiting Human and Non-human

Relationship in *Santal* Worldview.‖ Nandini Tank's article‖ Binti: Rethinking Santal Identity through the Creation Myth‖ explains how Santal identity is formed through creation myths. Mridul Moran in his article — Sexually Aggressive Male Characters in Assamese Folktales‖ analyses sexually aggressive male characters by studying certain folktales from the collection *Budhi Aair Sadhu* compiled by Lakshminath Bezbaruah. Ankita Ananyas Gaya's article —Motherhood—An Alternative Identity? *Beeja-mantra* as a dialect of Third World Womanhood‖ explores the concept of motherhood in the context of Tribal India by analysing a few short stories by Pratibha Ray. KBS Krishna's article — Critiquing the Use of Trtributivism in Contemporary Crime Fiction‖ applies Immanual Kant's concept Retributivism to contemporary crime fiction and demonstrates the relationship between crime and law in relation to the concept proposed by Kant. Pradip Panda in his article — Interlacing Themes and Forms: Anand's Narrative Strategy on Human Exploitation‖ foregrounds the relationship between theme and form in fiction. He gives example from Mulk Raj Anand's fiction to explain the relationship. The article of Dr Priyadarshini Mishra is based on empirical evidences about the politics of witchcraft prevalent among the tribal communities of Odisha. She has made a strong argument on how the women folk are victimized in the name of witchcraft exclusively in two districts of Odisha , i.e. Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj.

The article in the areas of language and pedagogy section too concerned with socio-cultural issues. Ramabau Subedi and Hemang Dutta in their article — Linguistic Landscape and Language Policies with Reference to   Federal   Democratic Republic of Nepal: A Sociolinguistic Study‖ examine the linguistic policies of Nepal and discovers the discrepancies in them. Neelam Singh in her article —A Sociological Landscape of the Maram Tribe‖ makes an investigation into the sociological features of the language of the Maram tribe of the North Eastern India from sociolinguistic point of view by foregrounding its different aspects. Kanak Das in his article —Representation of Recalled Propositions in L1 by Secondary Level Learners‖ studies how recall asa strategy can help in reading comprehension. M. Maheswaram and M. Rajaambedhkar propose different models of communicative competence in learning English. The last item is an interview of the prominent Odia critic and folklorist Professor Raghunath Meher who has been interviewed by Nilima Meher. Thus all the articles that figure in this volume are concerned with social and cultural life and have social relevance. We would like to thank the contributors for their valuable contributions. We are also grateful to the reviewers and the editorial team for reviewing these articles.Here, we offer the XII issue of Lokaratna to our dear readers!

Anand Mahanand, Executive Editor

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1.Significance of Rural Female Folk Deities

Rituals, Culture, Belief System and Celebrations in Tamil Nadu

Padmini Rangarajan

Abstract

India is a country of cultural inspiration and amusements. It is the land of folklores, folktales, temples and tourism. Again it is the beautiful fabrication of inter-culture and intra-culture, belief systems and people that paves ways towards research explorations and opportunities. Recent visits to _Amman', _Gramadevis and Gramadevata' temples, in rural areas near Chennai pushed me to study the significance of rural female folk deities and the rituals associated with it. The following paper is an attempt made to study the predominance of female deities worshipping especially by women folk with vigor as religious routine for daily life existence in rural Tamil Nadu.

Introduction

India well known as a country of villages with the majority of population living in villages and semi-urban settings backed with strong rituals and cultural belief system. The belief system vested in powerful divine presences of the Gramadevis/Gramadevatas, a deity who is chiefly identified with the villages and the villagers. It is not uncommon, to witness several village deities in a village, each of whom have been attributed with a specialized function.

The Gramadevis/Gramadevatas or village deity concept is prevalent all over India from the time immemorial. State of Tamil Nadu has more temples for Gramadevis/Gramadevata than any other states in India. So is with other temples and temple architectures.

Who is Gramadevi or Gramadevata?

Gramadevis/Gramadevatas the manifold manifestations of the supreme reality described as 'Brahman' in Upanishads as described by H. Krishnasastri (1986). Gramadevata or Gramadevi is a chosen deity for the entire village or the rural setting whose primary duty is to _safeguard' the interests of the villagers. People often have a special affection and gratitude towards the deity.

Thus every family in the village has a special kind of emotional attachment or bonding towards deity and the temple. Many of these village deities are deprived of well-built temple a structure which again has a story rolling connecting to folk mythology. These village deities are not necessarily to be represented in anthropomorphic images-can be in the form of a stone, a tree, a pillar, totem, and bunch of feathers, mound of earth (anthill), or with a proper form of human or animal. It could be a sacred space with absence of shrine. It

is during special festivals the temporary structures are built to house or represent the deity. These manifestations have been nurturing the strong faith and belief system of the illiterate masses.

Periodical mass congregation prayers and celebrations to these deities are for seeking to control epidemics, for good health, for monsoon rain, good harvest and so on. The names of the gramadevi or devatas advocatevaried characteristics and functions of them. These deities have a regional status too.

The names of a certain gramadevatas are popular throughout the region. The goddesses Mariamman, Karumariamman, Angala-Parameshwari, Pachaiamman, Muthumariamman, Pachaiamman, Muthumariamman, Ponniyayi or Ponnu thayi, Renuka Parameshwari, Bhagavathiamman, Kaliyamman, Karumariamman, are quite popular rural Tamil Nadu.

Some deities enjoy the status of monopoly recognition in one region like _Angala Parameshwari‘ of _Melmalayanur‘ near Chennai, _Samayapuram Mariamman‘, _Banniamman near Satyamangalam‘ and so on.

The most prominent characteristics of rural Tamil Nadu are the multifaceted Hindu religious beliefs and ritual associated with the worship of the Goddess-_AMMAN‘. Amman is a common name which suffixed with other names like _Mariamman‘, _Karumariamman‘, _Pachiamman‘, _Muthamariamman‘ and so on.

_Amman‘ in Tamil means _mother‘. According to studies, a considerable number of goddesses are known from various Hindu scriptures and the Vedic hymns. However in the contemporary period numbers of goddesses are remarkable with popularity associating right from birth to death. The beliefs' system, rituals and worshipping is backed up with a rich source of mythology, tradition and diverse history of each goddess.

My little exposure to some parts of rural Tamil Nadu helped me to conduct a baseline study not only the appearances of Goddess but also the significance of her being worshipped with faith. I borrow the lines from David Kinsley (1998) conveys better that the rural female deities are more exhaustive in numbers and nature than the restricted numbers visible in Vedic literatures and schools of thoughts of the Hindu tradition:

The goddesses, who are usually associated with popular Hinduism, often illustrate important ideas of the Hindu tradition, ideas that underlie the great Hindu philosophic visions. Several goddesses, for example, are unambiguously identified with or called prakrti, a central notion in most philosophic systems. Prakrti denotes physical (as opposed to spiritual) reality. It is nature in all its complexity, orderliness, and intensity. The identification of a particular goddess with prakrti is a commentary on her nature. At the same time, descriptions of her nature and behavior are a commentary on the Hindu understanding of physical reality.

The beauty of many goddesses wide spread over geographical areas of subcontinent establishes a relationship of sanctified universe and spiritual freedom. The core philosophic texts and beliefs rests that _all gods /

goddesses are one ultimate truth or universal power' with extended diversion appearance, nature and forms to be fitting to the geographical setting, people, customs and rituals. The basic nature of these gods and goddessesare diversified. In most cases it is either interchange of roles or intra changes of roles between gods and goddesses. For instance, _Sita' establishes the nature of devotion and divine relationship of human.

Whereas, some of the rural goddesses are as strong as masculine in nature, some are potent maternal in nature and saver, powerful warriors and destroyer, some identified with male deities, some goddesses are identified with wild and wildlife, multifaceted, some are personification of art, literature and culture.

Despite the variation of these village deities with respect to names, number, and nature, there are some similarities too. Firstly predominantly, most of rural deities are female deities/ goddesses. Speaking of South India, Henry Whitehead (1976) says that the village deities, with few exceptions, are female all over Southern India... the village deities are almost exclusively female. It is quite common to find, Male Deities like _Karuppanna samy' also known as _Karuppu samy' or _Karuppar', _Munieshwar samy', _ Muniyandi', _Munisami' and _Muniappa' and so on are the twenty-one associate folk deities of _Ayyannnar' and thu popularly known as _Kaval daivam'- meaning _protecting gods'.

In the rural Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and even in Kerala states, one can find these _Kaval daivam' –male protecting deities or male attendants to the female deities and the village as a whole. They are believed to guard the shrines and carry out the commands of the goddesses. Huge –gigantic statues of these male deities with wide opened horrifying large eyes, opened mouth with a long tongue protruding out, holding weapons like Aruval-the sword and Sangili-the iron chain and seen along with white horse and _veetai nayi'- the hunting dog. The male deities are also offered with a cigar and a bottle of alcohol.Even the worshiping pattern of these temples are non Vedic and non- agamic (agamic of agama Shastra). Folk tales, folk songs, _Villupattu', _Karagam' and _Koothu' are the main folk forms through which the worshiping.

Yet another significance feature to note here is that these deities of goddesses are worshipped with full vigor and devotion than the main Vedic gods and goddesses with an exception to _Pillayar' or _ _Ganesha' and _Murugan' who are considered as the children of the goddesses. Again _Murugan' is believed to be in the snake form residing in the snake nesting burrows or also commonly called anthills. It is not surprising to find heap of Mud Mountain like snake nesting burros near Amman Koil or Kovil or temples. Also one can find _Margosa' trees-Neem trees in the temple premises. It is the margosa leaves considered sacred and of medicinal value for intake consumption and for external application with turmeric powder.

It is the month of Aadi Masam (Masam-month) is the fourth month in Tamil Calendar which an auspicious month for the festivity celebrations called _Aadi Thiruvizha' in all the Amman kovil or koil or temples throughout Tamil Nadu. It is an auspicious month of celebration, fulfillment of vows for Tamilians, unlike for Telugu and others who call it as Aashadam or Aashada who consider this as inauspicious. However it is also considered as an inauspicious month for humans' personal celebrations or engagements like weddings and house warming as such.

Edible and other Offerings to Amman

The offerings to Amman are mostly non-Brahminical in nature. Nevertheless, offerings of camphor burning, flowers and coconut breaking are commonly seen in Amman kovil. The offerings offered in the form of materials and food to folk and Vedic deities differs significantly. The Vedic deities are offered with expensive materials of expensive metals like gold, silver, sandalwood, silk, precious stones and so on whereas, inexpensive materials are offered to the folk deities. However, today one can find even expensive articles like sword, crown, body and so on are done in silver and gold studded with precious gems even for the folk deities. These are used during annual festival celebrations or Aadi and Tai masam or months or during Navaratri celebrations.

Koozhu Ootharadu and Sweet Pongal Padayal

Koozh or Koozhu is the porridge cooked of country millets in earthen pots in and temple premises which is offered with delight in almost all the Amman Kovil. Women and children carry an earthen pot on their heads decorated with margosa (neem) leaves known as the Amman's favorite leaves. Some even carry pot of charcoal fire burning on their heads. The typical koozhu is mixed with buttermilk, salt and raw onion and is partaken as health drink. Apart from offering koozhu, even _Sweet Pongal'- pudding kind prepared by cookingrice, green gram, jaggery and milk in earthen pots.

Other edible materials forms of offerings offered to Amman deities are as part of type of worship and fulfillment of vow. Folk deities are commonly worshipped with animal sacrifices. Buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigsand fowls are offered to Amman. Black fowl offering is considered very special and as sign of good reward. These animal sacrifices are signifies the defeat of evil or demon/s. The blood of the sheep or goat offered to Amman is to appease her. The offerings of animals like goats or chickens, which are sacrificed in the name of Amman (killed) in the vicinity of the shrines and then consumed in communal meals by families and friends.

During the annual festivals and Aadi Thouvizha large numbers of animals referred above are sacrificed. Pallu refers fish, dry fish, goat, sheep and egg as common non-Brahminical offerings along with sugarcane, banana and coconuts considered as Brahminical offerings.

There is a belief that not a single drop of blood should be shed on the floor when the animals are beheaded so the possessor sucks all the blood of the sheep/ goats and then in an anger mood utters the future predictions with regard to the village, rainfall and prosperity in general and also to individuals who approach them with regard to future welfare or present sufferings. Nevertheless this practice is slowly changing in some of the Amman kovil due to the influence of the Vedic and Brahminical customs and ritual practices.

In addition to this, the devotees have to undertake torments like _fire walking known as _Pookkulithal' or _Poomedikkaradu'. _Pookkulithal' means walking on bed of flowers. However, here burning charcoal and firewood chunks are symbolized for flowers. Some even go to the extent of carrying fire pots on heads and palms as part of the ceremonious ritual too.

Next is piercing a metal rod called _Alagu Kuthikaradu' or _Vel' at the middle of one's tongue, passing from one cheek to another through mouth or through lower jaw in order to fulfill their vows. Some even hook swinging on the back of their body. Offering heaps of cooked rice or by carrying Karagam. _Mavu Vilakku'- lighting of rice flour lamp on once abdomen is yet another popular ordeal practiced even today. Each and everydeity gets either vegetarian or non-vegetarian offerings according to the established traditions in the culinary tastes of the village.

In order to carry out the ordeal successfully the individual who intends to perform needs to observe a strict ordeal ritual observation this commences by wearing a _Malai pottukarddu'-wearing of scared garland andneed to follow with adherence for twenty-one days during Aadi Masam. For this period, the devotee eats just a single meal a day or consumes koozhu, sleeps on the ground and avoids sexual pleasure. Some put themselves through a special tribulation of having one of the sacred weapons, dagger, trident, or a spear, inserted through their cheeks or tongues.

Form of the Female Deity

The female deity is usually seen with four arms, three eyes, red or yellow complexion, holding a skull mace known as _Kattuvanga' or holding a pot or a cup with blood, prominent teeth like fangs, a long garland of skulls around her neck-_rundamala' or _mundamala', a snake or hood of five snakes behind the main deity, a toddy cup, a demon lying underneath one of her legs, mostly in a sitting positing and sometime also seen in standing position. The goddesses _Mariyamman or Mariamma' or even _Mariyathal' in Tamil Nadu and _Manasa' in North India and _Shithala' in West Bengal and North-Eastern India are the most common deities of regional popularity associated with small pox, chicken pox, measles, and rashes. The word _Amman' means mother and _Mari' means _rain and small pox'. Common mass worship her in order to beget good rain fall which is directly related to the fertility and agricultural crop growth and harvest and so on. Also, to protectfrom epidemics related diseases. This is due to the direct association with the deity without discrimination and for the well being of the whole village.

In most of the temples the priest is from lower caste community known as _Pallis'. In the _Karumariamman' main temple in _Thiruveerkadu' near Chennai, and in _Mariyamman' in _Samayapuram' near Trichirapally, the priests are from Brahmin community whereas, in rest of the Mariamman temples across Tamil Nadu one can still find priests from lower untouchable community and caste.

Another significant feature of these temples is annual festival congregation which lasts from three days to nine days celebration. During this period the main priest or the member of the priesthood family from the lower caste is dressed like a _Bridegroom' and stays in the temple for till the commemoration of the festival and ties the sacred thread called _Tali' a symbol of marriage of the female deity. The traditional folk story narration of _Mariamma' and _Yellamma' or _Renukamma' is quite similar and one and the same. Mariamma is who is said to have a Brahmin head and an untouchable's body. In most of the Mariamma temples only the head portion is installed in the temple sanctum sanctorum.

Thus to conclude, Amman or Mariamman is the ancient Dravidian female deity who is the chief village deity of prominent importance and popular among common masses. Nevertheless the Brahmanization of Amman is also visible in major temple cities where the chief Vedic deity is either Shiva or Vishnu. Further, it empowers every rural woman to participate in temple activities and carry out the traditional rituals, customs and belief system by upholding their rights. The quotes found in one of the studies rightly points out that ―Women perceived in traditional religion and enhancing the status of women within that religion‖ .

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Balusubramani (2018, April-June). Amman temples, rituals, culture, belief system and celebrations. (Personal Interview). Mr. Balusubramai and his family members are regular visitors to Angala Parameshwari, Maariamman and other Amman Temples. Mr. Balusubramani has visited almost all the temples irrespective of Vaishnava sect, Shaiva sect, Madhwa peetam and Shakto peetam. Of all according to him visit and partcipation to Amman temples during Aadi masam is of prominent importance. His family also makes offerings to the Goddesses and also undertake ordeal of piercing metal rod "Alagu Kutikaradu" and "Pookkulithal".

2.Revisiting Human and Non-human Relationship in Santal Worldview

Arpita Raj

Abstract

Animal Studies has now-a -days become an important issue to discuss. The creation myths of the Santals tell us how Santals are connected deeply with the non-human beings especially with the animals and birds. Besides, the twelve clans in Santal society have their respective totems. They show high esteem to their totems. The respect that the Santals show towards their totemic species helps them to sustain a well-balanced eco-system. There are also a number of Santal folktales where the animals and birds have been attributed with the qualities of human beings. These foltales deal with some important messages of life. The aim of this paper is to focus on how the abovementioned factors lend a hand to build up a strong relationship between human and non-human beings in Santal worldview.

Key words: Animal Studies, human, non-human, Santal, worldview

I

Animal Studies has become an important emerging field to investigate the relationship between human and non-human beings. The study of the interdependence between human and non-human being is often called ―post human turn‖ in Humanities and Social Science. The present discussion focuses on the study of human and non-human relationship in Santal worldview.

Santals share a close relationship with the non-human beings especially with the animals and birds from the very ancient time. The non-human beings like animals and birds besides being a provision of food by hunting or being a source of cultivation in Santal life have a special relevance or significance. The significance of the animals and birds in Santal life here in lies that they are well connected with the culture and belief system of the Santals. Not only that, the animals and birds also had a certain position in the supernatural world of the Santals. A study of the creation myths of the Santals, their totemism and a study of select Santal folktales will highlight that the relationship of the Santals with animals and birds is rooted deeply in their mind. The high esteem that a Santal mind shows for some particular animals and birds helps also to retain a well balanced ecosystem in environment.

II

In the first creation myth of the Santals we have the reference to seven primeval animals. These animals helped in creating land. According to this myth at the very ancient time the earth was covered only with water. The animals that were given the responsibility by God to create land were crab, crocodile, alligator, eel, prawn, earthworm and tortoise. All these animals have the ability to connect two opposite worlds-- water and land. As the earth was filled with water, God was not able to create land for human being. So he called these amphibian animals one by one to help him out. Everyone was trying but six of them failed. Only the earthworm was successful to create land. The earthworm ate the bottom of water during seven days and seven nights and excreted it on the back of the tortoise. The tortoise was able to work on both sides firmly and to bring the earth up. In this way the land of the earth was shaped. Therefore, Santals believe that when there is an earthquake itis due to the body stirring of the tortoise. This myth about the creation of earth is unique in this sense thatunlike other indigenous tribes or mainstream culture it does not attribute the credit of creation of earth to Gods

or Goddesses but to seven amphibian animals, especially to the earthworm and the tortoise. Therefore, the animals constitute an important aspect in Santal culture and belief system.

Thereafter we will come to another creation myth of the Santals that put in the picture the creation of human beings on earth. God created two heavenly birds- has and hasil from his hair. These two birds flew in the sky. They could survive the primitive world as they flew below the sky and above the earth. Thus they can make a communication between two worlds. After flying a few days they built a nest on earth and laid two eggs. Out of these two eggs came out two creatures---first male and first female- Pilchu Harem and Pilchu Budhi. Therefore, the concept of Santal life starts with animals and birds. They believe that animals and birds are their ancestors. The creation myths of the Santals hint at the fact that unlike others, Santal belief system isassociated more with the non-human beings. Santals have a strong belief that there is a deep association of human beings with animals. Pilchu Harem and Pilhu Budhi gave birth to seven sons and seven daughters who were married to each other. They formed seven exogamous clans. With the passage of time five more groups were formed. Thus the total number of clans in Santal society is twelve. These clans are Hasdak, kisku, Marandi, Tudu, Baske, Besra, Chore, Pauria, and Bedea. Each of these twelve clans derived their names either from animal or plant species. Santals believe that there is some sacred relationship between the clan and their respective totemic species.

The clan members of the Hasdak enjoy the superior position in clan hierarchy of Santal society as they have derived the name of their clan from their ancestors. In Santali Has means wild goose and dak means water. Therefore, the clan, Hasdak is connected with the primitive world and the first ancestors of the Santals-- Has and Hasil. Hasdak is claimed to be the senior of all clans because this clan has derived their names from their creation myth. The totem of the Hasdak is wild goose. It builds nest on earth and also flies in the sky.

Next comes the Murmu in the clan hierarchy. The totem of this clan is antelope or nilgai. As per the myth of origin of this clan nilgai or antelope is the first animal to be haunted by the Santals. It is also the first animal to be sacrificed by the Santals. From that time Santals start hunting animals and sacrificing them. As a result, Santals become fond of hunting and eating of flesh. The Kisku comes third in clan hierarchy. Kingfisher is the totem of the Kisku. Kiskus are regarded as king and they enjoy that royal status.

The Tudus are musicians. They have accepted owl as their totem. Bedeas have some similarities with their totems. Sheep is the totem of Bedeas. It is said that there is nothing special in their character like their totem. Pigeon is the totem of the Pauria and lizard is the totem of the Chores.

Santals have such a deep reverence to their totems that they regard them as their own clan members. If any clan member sees a dead totem ever he will perform the death rituals. The members of a particular clan cannot eat their totem. The members of the same clan are not allowed to marry.

The above discussion leads us to conclude that Santals share a very deep rooted attachment with the animals and birds. Right from the very beginning of their civilization they consider the animals and birds as their ancestors. The creation myth of the Santals shows their unfathomable reverence to the animals and birds. Not only that, we can find certain numbers of Santal folktales that centre round the activities of animals and birds. These folktales are like fables that teach us a very important lesson of life. Sometimes human emotions or personalities are attributed to the characters of these animals and birds. Here is a discussion of some folktales that deal with some very important messages of life.

III

In a Santal folktale from C. H. Bompass's Folklore of the Santal Parganas, The Tiger Cub and the Calf, there was a tigress and a cow. They used to graze in a dense forest. They became such good friends that they decided

they would marry their children to each other. With the passing away of time the tigress gave birth to a she-cub and the cow to a bull-calf. They kept their young children at the same places, grazed together and returned to suckle their babies at the same time. The tigress used to drink water in the upper portion of the stream and the cow in the lower region. One day the cow went to drink in the upper portion of the stream. Some staffs from the cow's mouth floated down the river. The tigress tasted it. She found it very tasty and started thinking that the flesh of the cow must be tastier. Therefore, she planned to eat the cow one day. The cow came to know what was going on in the tigress's mind. She left some milk in the bowl and told her calf about the tigress's plan. She asked the calf that if the milk in the bowl turns red like blood then he must think that his mother has been killed. Then she came to graze with the tigress.

Both the young children were playing together but that day the calf was much tensed. He was looking at the bowl of milk. When the cub asked the reason he stated what his mother had said. Then the cub says that if it happens she will never suck her mother again. They decided to run away together. They saw that the colour of the milk in the bowl has been changed. Soon after the tigress came with flies clustered round her mouth. The tigress asked her cub to suck but she said that she would wait till the calf's mother returns. They want to have their meal together. Listening to it when the tigress frowned terribly the cab said that she will suck after her mother washes her mouth clearly because there was stain of blood. The tigress did not wash her mouth. Insteadshe ate more of the cow. When the tigress was away both the cab and the calf ran away to forest. As soon asthe tigress came back she could not see them. She started roaring and she was so angry that she would have killed the two of them if she could get them.

The analysis of this Santal folktale is vibrant with some valuable messages of life. First of all, the unfortunate incident that happens with the cow teaches us that the friendship should be carried away between persons from the same social and cultural background. If there remains a huge disparity in mental status the friendship will not grow up. Another very important lesson is that we should get rid of the company of evil persons in our life. Above all, we should not believe any person blindly. In The Elephant and the Ants, another Santal folktale from C. H. Bompass's Folklore of the Santal Parganas, there lived a wild elephant. One day a red ant and a black ant were making hole in the ground. Suddenly the wild elephant appeared there and asked angrily the reason of making a hole. He also warned that he will crush the ants into pieces. The ants requested the elephantnot to talk to them arrogantly considering them small creatures. In some ways they may be better than the elephant. The elephant replied to the ants pompously: ―Do not talk nonsense: there is nothing at which you could beat me; I am in all ways the largest and most powerful animal on the face of the earth‖ (213).

Then the ants proposed to have a race. The race will decide the winner. If the elephant cannot win the race the ants will not accept his supremacy. The race was started. Whenever the elephant got tired it took rest and found that two ants on the ground. This continued till the elephant almost exhausted and reached near his death. Here is the description:

And it set off to run off with all its might and when it got tired it looked down at the ground and there were two ants. So it started off again and when it stopped and looked down, there on the grounds were two ants; so it ran on again, but whenever it stopped it saw the ants, and at last it ran so far that it dropped down dead from exhaustion. (213)

Now this is a fact that ants are numerous in numbers than any other creatures on earth. Actually, the two ants were not running. They stayed where they were. Whenever the elephant looked at the ground it could see some ants were running there. The elephant thought that they were the ants who started the race. Being afraid of humiliation the elephant ran to death.

The folktale brings to us the message that we should not underestimate anybody. One day a small people can put a so called giant personality in trouble. God has sent every creature—may it big or small, clever or fool— with different purposes. Therefore, we should not underrate or bully or deceive anybody.

V

Here we can sum up that the relationship that the Santals continue between human and non-human beings is very strong and special. It forms the very foundation of the origin of the Santals. The respect of a Santal mindto the non-human beings like animals and birds hints at the fact that Santals are very curious to retain a healthy balance in the world of fauna and to maintain a well-balanced eco-system. Not only that, the relationship of theSantals with animals and birds distinguishes them from mainstream or other tribal culture. Moreover, as certainhuman qualities have been attributed to the animals and birds in some Santal folktales they leave a deep impactin the mind of the readers too.

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3.Binti: Re-Thinking Santal Identity through the Creation Myth

Nandini Tank

Abstract

Santals are one of the highly significant and well-studied tribes of India which belongs to Proto-Austoroid community. (Guha, 1944). Creation myths of Santals revolve around the creation of the world from the perspective of cosmology. Since the creation myths of santals are of human civilization, it is important to look at the genesis of oral narratives on creation to trace the historiography of the Santal tribe and their culture. At this juncture, most of the tribal communities have been listed as endangered (Census 2011); scholars of humanities and social-sciences in contemporary scenario have started focusing on studying and preserving the tribal languages and cultures in India. There have been several translations of the santal literature, scholarships such as W.H.Archer'sThe Blue Groove, SitakantMahapatra'sThe Awakened Wind: The Oral Poetry of the Indian Tribes. The scholarshiphas been focusing to locate and validate the tribal literature as a genre. Santals are rich in oral narratives such as songs, poems, and stories on cultivation, nature, marriage and festivals but there is a lack of knowledge about the dawn of human civilisation among the tribal scholarship. Since tribal community have come in contact with several amalgamations of the colonial penetration, Hindu institution of idol worship, Christian missionaries, and the dawn of technological advancement, it is important to be aware ofone's root in order to conquer the identity conflict among the tribals. There are several variations on the Santal creation myth, particularly in the process of telling, retelling and sharing across generations and shifting socio- cultural environment. The study seeks to move backward to the inception of t he world as believed by the Santal tribe, focusing on Binti, literally translated as _prayer' or _plea', a song of cosmology, generally recited by a group of three or more singers at marriage ceremonies. This study primarily examines the creation myth called _Binti', documented and translated into English by Sitakant Mahapatra in his work _The Awakened Wind: The Oral Poetry of the Indian Tribes' focusing on re-stabilizing tribal identity and analyses the Santal folklore tradition, oral narratives as performative arts and creation myths in translation from the aspect ofethnic culture and its significance among Santals. The paper also focuses on the historiography of the Santal world view and Santal culture.

Key words: Santal tribe, Binti, Creation Myth, Tribal Culture, Identity.

Introduction

Myths are universal and time-less stories which aids us understanding and locating ourselves in the wider universe. The manner in which a modern man explains his existence to the past events, commonly termed as _history', in the similar fashion the tribal community locate their existence as a result of numbers of pre-existing mythical events. Samar Bosu Mullick (2012) writes:

—Adi-dharam, the original belief system, as we know it today may not be the earliest but certainly one of the oldest systems of belief still in practice in its various forms and different levels of continuity and transformation from time immemorial among the Adivasis in India‖ (7)

It is assumed that every civilization had its own myth, which helped them to cope with the problems that are beyond human understanding. Although myths do not present facts, they assured lyguide us to live a peaceful life. Myth for the tribal community is a reality existed by their ancestors, a time when man and God spoke to each other, a living reality which speaks about the primeval space and time. J.G. Frazer (1890) in his tremendous work —The Golden Bough: The Roots of Religion and Folklore‖ , puts forward the central idea that

what the modern man thinks as baseless and superstitious holds an entire belief system and facts for the tribal community. Myths from the tribes of Jharkhand like every other tribe are mostly oral-narratives which are practiced in the form of story-telling or songs during rituals such as festivals, marriage ceremony, crop sowing, harvesting, birth and death. It is essential to keep in mind that these myths cannot exist in isolation; it can only be understood in a certain context in which it is performed. Alan Dundes (2007) write:

―Folklore texts without contexts are essentially analogous to the large numbers of exotic musical instruments which adorn the walls of anthropological or folk museums and grace the homes of private individuals.‖ (80)

These myths cannot be seen as universal in nature and might differ from place to place. These myths may be seem to the general audience as a story, but for the tribals, these oral narratives have become a part of daily ritual, a way of life .Every celebration or festival revolves around a peculiar song and dance which cannot be repeated in any other occasion. Malinowski, in his essay ―Myth in Primitive Psychology‖ argues that myths or the tribal texts should never be read or analyzed as mere text, but in relation to the context, which itself unfolds the existing literature. He argues:

―The text, of course, is extremely important, but without the context it remains lifeless.‖ (104)

In this context, every utterance or communication takes place in a particular context which is common to the speaker and the listener. Every utterance has a commonality (social) which both the speaker and listener are able to apprehend. In oral societies, there was no means of writing or preserving knowledge, the only source was of transmission from one generation to another in the form of songs, stories and dance. Binti, the creation story is also a part of the oral tradition which is performed by two or three men, commonly known as Karam Gurus . It is crucial to look at such oral narratives on the line of performance where there is no authorial power but secular in nature. Robert Kellogg writes:

―As a constant behind each performance is not the mind of an author but an ideal performance, an aspect of the tradition that is shared by performer and audience alike.‖ (58)

Myths not only link people to their ancestors who were intimate with spiritual beings, but, it also helps them to identify with their origin and thus claim an identity. It is argued that one can only proclaim to an identity when one is well versed with ones roots and have enough knowledge about ones origin. With the amalgamation of British institution, Hindu rituals of idol worship and the emergence of Christian missionaries across the Santal community, the origin myth of the tribe is perishing and is replaced by homogenous creation stories. Ruby Hembrom (2018) writes:

―I felt cheated of my identity, by not knowing this account. How did the Biblical creation tradition become the only narrative for a Santal?‖ (1)

It is essential to trace the historiography of the loss which has left the Santal community to face an identity conflict. There might have been several socio-political and economic reasons which resulted in the death of the creation myth, which needs to be interrogated and examined. Keeping aside this issue for future investigation, the present study would rather try to examine why it is important to attain the knowledge about the genesis for the Santals and how the creation myth can re-establish the Santal identity? Though there are multiple versions of the creation myth of Santals, the present study analyses the re-stabilizing tribal identity, Santal folklore tradition and oral narratives as performative arts in English translation of Binti, translated by Sitakant Mahapatra (1983) in his anthology of tribal poetry ―The Awakened Wind: The Oral Poetry of the Indian Tribes‖ . The study would be qualitative in nature, focusing mainly on the text mentioned.

Text and Context

Binti, literally translated as _prayer' or _plea' performed by three or four men known as Karam Gurus is a song about the creation according to the Santal worldview. Running on the roads of cosmology, describing the formation of the earth, man, flora and fauna, Bintiis especially sung during a marriage ceremony where it traces the particular function in a wider context of the mythical universe. P.O. Bodding (1925) in his work ―Traditions and Institutions of the Santals‖ argues that the Karam Binti is a chief performance among the Santals, which deals with _…the history of the world from the creation and through the ages.'(6)

Since Binti lies among the larger genre of oral narrative, passed on from generation to generation, there have been slight modifications in the act of telling and retelling. This act of continuous repetition of Binti is crucial to identify and acknowledge _memory' as a governing agent among the tribals. Since myth can only be understood in relation to its context, it is important to interrogate why is the creation myth performedespecially during a marriage ceremony? How can Binti, re-establish the Santal identity? How does the creation myth lay down a specimen for the Santal community in respect to their culture, lifestyle and daily-activities?

Oral narratives, especially song generally has no reference text. If so, it would be difficult to make out the meaning which the singer wants to deliver. The text is crucial for any genre but without the context, it might attract several ambiguous meanings. The primitive songs have also been a part of the communal activity and integral to the tribal society.Binti, sung during the marriage ceremony places the unification of two persons on a larger, mythical context of Santal culture and tradition. It traces marriage as an event parallel to the creation of the world and simultaneously creation of the first Santal human beings, Pilchi Kala and PilchiKuli . The song replicates the institution of marriage back to the time when Maranburu , the grandfather (God) of the first human beings rubbed the dirt of his right palm and created Hans Chene, and with the dirt of his left palmHansli Chene , was created.

―The moment the two birds received life, they started singing and cackling, and asked for a place where they could build a nest.‖ (Binti, 162)

The intelligibility of the tribal oral narrative lies on the use of their metaphors. The exchange between human beings and nature has always been a key among the Santal community. In such a case, the songs, especially metaphors are hugely drawn from the surroundings and nature. It is important to look at the manner in which the first birds Hans CheneandHansliCheneas soon as they breathe life sang and rejoiced. Their actions can be defined to how Santal community sing on special occasions, as a mode of expression. As we discussed earlier, Binti, not only describes the origin of the human beings, but it is also lays down a specimen for the lifestyleand tradition among the Santals. The song further goes on to describe the lives of the first birds:

―…Maranburu planted a karam tree on the earth, and the two birds went to live in it. They built a nest and laid two eggs.‖ (Binti, 162)

In this case, the marriage ceremony is part of the Santal civilization and Binti, a backbone to the tribe. We can find a parallel between these two; i.e. the text Binti and the context, the marriage function, where individuals are seen better in pairs and start an institution where they live together and form a family. Apart from the institution of marriage, it is necessary to note that the cultural significance of the song Binti, which narrates how the god, Maranburu chose the Karam tree to build home for the Hans Chene and Hansli Chene. TheKaram tree, which is central to Santal tribal society and social institution, is among the sacred groves of the Santals, immense in nature regarded as _Karam-raja'. Building a nest on the Karam tree signify its purity andis that it is holiest among the vegetable kingdom. Karam- the festival of cultivation celebrated for healthy cropsis mentioned here is thus significant for the Santal community.The song describes how the Gods named thefirst human beings as Pilchu Kala andPilchu Kuli.

—The gods build a house for Pilchu Kala and PilchiKuli, and gradually they passed from childhood into youth.‖ (163)

According to Binti, the first human beings of the Santal tribe were born out of eggs of Hans Chene and Hansli Chene. Maranburu taught Pilchu Kala and Pilchi Kuli; the art of surviving and feeding themselves. The Gods consulted Maranburu regarding the growth of human population. At this point, it is significant to understand how the primordial events sung by the Karam Gurus in the marriage ceremony accords to the mentioned context. Binti stands as an example for almost every communal activity, it reveals the process, the time-less actions and justifies every human emotion. The first humans were intoxicated by Handia , stirring them into love-making. When they met Maranburu, they confessed their actions. Maranburu replied:

—…that there was no sin in love – it is the most sacred human emotion. He directed them to live as husband and wife from that day, and to earn their livelihood by cultivating the land.‖ (163)

Marriage among the tribals is seen as a source to sustain the process of creation. Binti, thus continues to describe the growth of human civilization. Pilchu Kala and PilchiKuli grew in number and had seven sons and seven daughters. They learned to hurt, gather food and gradually fell in love.

—Maranburu assured Pilchu Kala and PilchiKulithat there was no sin in this, even though they were brothers and sisters, but their marriages must proceed according to the prescribed laws of the gotras.‖ (163)

Gotras , roughly translated as ‗clans' have had already been mentioned in the creation myth, which highlights the established norms prevailing in the primordial period. Binti, proclaims the inscribed laws in a marriage which is central to the communal ritual and stands central to the Santal tribe, not just describing the creation of the world but an important element which calls upon the spirits, their roles and primordial events by re-telling and re-calling the origin myth. Thus, the song continues to describe the tribe's population, the act of hunting, gathering food, division of tribals according to the work assigned, various functions performed, settling under the shade of Sari Sarjom , and finally migrating to different places.

Re-thinking Santal identity:

—I felt cheated of my identity, by not knowing this account. How did the Biblical creation tradition become the only narrative for a Santal?‖ (Hembrom, 1)

Ruby Hembrom (2018), in a lecture at the University of Zurich, opines that the identity conflict which led her to question the pertaining creation story. The ethno-religious mobilization might be one of the reasons among the amalgamations which led in the homogeneity of the creation story among the Santal tribe. Virginius Xaxa (1999), in his essay —Transformation of Tribes in India: Terms of Discourse‖ traces the tribal discourse in respect to the Colonial construct, Hinduisation, Sanskritisation, and Society as an institution. In his essay, it is noted that the tribes have undergone several institutional and social changes which led to question the very identity of the community. The question of ‗How' did the Biblical creation story become the only narrative for the Santal community? Or ‗How' are Hindu god and goddess worshipped in the Santal community? Or —How‖ does an animism community worship an idol? Since Dr. Timothy Hembrom (1994) states that —Thakur Jiu (one of the Gods), being a spiritual power cannot be reduced to any form of image, hence the tribals have been idol —worshipers‖ needs to be challenged and interrogated. Moreover, the question lies, —When‖ did these alien elements enter the tribal culture?

In oral societies, there was no means of writing or preserving knowledge. The only source was of transmission from one generation to another in the form of songs, stories and dance. Scholars believe that oral narrative is a result of continuous and repetitive process of creative activity which is exercised in a community by imitation.

Thus, if there has been no documented text, it is bound to lose its originality. This leads us to yet another question: ‚Did oral tradition lead to the loss of creation myth?' If so, ‚Did the textual creation stories such as the Biblical story or the Hindu mythology take over oral creation? Ruby Hembrom argues that, ―Culture has been lost for many reasons and not having a script or not being literate are not the only impelling ones. Land grab and displacement, making economic refugee of us in new environment, causes lifestyle changing, whichin turn causes loss of language and with it, loss of culture‖ . These issues are central in understanding the identity conflict among the Santals. In order to understand and study the root cause behind the loss of Binti, itis crucial to acknowledge the impact of socio-political, ethno-religious and technological advancement on the Binti. However, keeping all these effects aside, the present study rather tries to examine Binti, the creation myth, as a platform to re-establish Santal identity among the tribes.

Millennial Santals have been struggling to identify their own roots in the present scenario. The Santal community in order to understand and claim its identity needs to first understand its creation. In order to claim to a particular identity as their own, it is crucial to identify the roots one come from. Identities can be ambiguous, which leads to contradictions. Falling back to the primordial times and gathering the knowledge about the genesis of the tribe can help to overcome such identity conflicts. Mamang Dai (2002) in his essay
―On Creation Myths and Oral Narratives‖ states that:

―…one of the characteristic of the oral traditions is that their significance returns to us only when we are older. By then we realise the need to identify ourselves again as belonging to a particular place, a community; and some signs for this lie with our stories.‖

The tribal community always had the tradition of storytelling in the form of songs, poems or any other genre which circulated through generations. Malinowski (1926) believes that the creation myths ―…form an integral part of culture. Their existence and influence not merely transcend the act of telling the narrative, not only do they draw their substance from life and its interests – they govern and control many cultural features, they form the dogmatic backbone of primitive civilization‖ . Therefore, Binti is not just a creation myth; it is a document defining the origin of the tribe, a lived word claiming the beginning of Santal society. This origin myth connects the Santal tribe to share a primeval past, a sense of belonging, shared features which bind them into a distinctive community. For instance, in Mahapatra's Binti, ‚Maranburu explained to the gods that these were the first human beings. He took them out of the bird's nest, placed them on the leaves of an asan tree,took them on his lap, purified them by sprinkling cow-dunk water on them and named them Pilchu Kala and Pilchi Kuli.'. (162)When the events of the creation myth are understood in its conventional manner; it unites and guides the viewer towards unifying with the origin of the tribe, and therefore the question of one's identity and belonging unfolds. When Binti is understood as a myth which intends to create a common identity among the Santals by declaring a common ancestor; the first human beings of the Santal tribe were born out of the bird's eggs, it no more just serves as a cosmological story but a key to unlock the translucent human identity. Acrucial aspect of identity formation is recognition. Recognition, in the sense it needs to an identification of the similarities and differences among the tribe. An individual needs to recognize Pilchu Kala and Pilchi Kulias his/her first parents and the tribe members as part of the giant family. The creation myth bears the cultural symbol which passes from generation to generation. Culture here can be seen as an important and richestsource of identity which is seen on the line of the belief system, tradition, lifestyle and language of the tribal community. Binti can be seen as a framework to all the cultural, religious, functional, customary activities which an individual can assign in order to re-define their identity.

The power of the creation myth lies in its ability to penetrate the minds as well as lives of the reader and therefore recognize the roots. There lies a challenge in this continuous changing environment for the creation myth to sustain. This is only possible either through a repetitive process of collective memory or by documentation and thereby translating it. Ruby Hembrom writes, ―…The Adivasis are being exposed to new

methods of expression and documentation and using them either as a substitute or to supplement our traditional ways and we need to consolidate our efforts to magnify the impact of visibility and access. Our hopes are to memorialize and not necessarily immortalize.‖

Orality as Performance

It is often suggested that oral narratives of the tribes are generally performed as a ritual in social gatherings. A particular performance is governed by set of rules such as cultural themes at a particular context, where the performer and the viewer share a common background. Orality can be traced back to the classical literatures where ―…dramatic texts such as tragedies or comedies were not meant for silent reading in an armchair, but were recited and sung by actors and chorists who were acting and dancing on a stage, accompanied by musical instruments‖ (Schmitz, 2002).Till the fifth century B.C.E., literature was meant to be performed. Tribals have still continued the myths to sustain its life with the institution of oral tradition through constant repetition of performance. Oral traditions of Santals such as songs, stories, poems pass from one generation to another in their community activities. Indeed, Bintiis part of the oral literature which is sung by well-versed Karam Gurus. The song is accompanied by musical and theatrical props in order to re-create the mythical events, which usually lasts for three to four hours. The performers memorize Binti and re-create it by incorporating their vast knowledge about the creation myth of Santals. Written text can be passive in nature, but oralliterature performed in front of the ideal audience is in continuous interaction which makes the space lively. The Karam Gurus, perform Binti by fusing the mythical events through singing various levels from the World being ―…only an endless expanse of water‖ , to the formation of the Earth, ―…a king cobra would sit on theback of the Hara Raj, king of the turtles, that a golden plate would be kept on the head of the cobra and the Kichua Raj would put all the soil brought up from the bottom of the sea on this plate. As this was done, the earth gradually took shape, and in turn, trees and creepers were born‖ (162).

The performers present a visual graphics in front of the audience which leads to cultural affluence and easy for the listener to grasp. Karam Gurus, have attained the knowledge through continuous performances and ‗memory' is the key aspect to their profile. Kellogg writes,

―The memory system has two faces: it allows the orator to arrange his discourse and it allows his audience to hold it in memory as well. When applied to other art forms the memory system becomes both an ordering and a teaching device and the places which originally existed only in the mind of the orator become in the counterfeit oration the components of an ethically charged and highly visualised fiction.‖ (62)

Karam Gurus perform the creation myth in an organized manner, where each event flows in a system paving way for the audience to link the genesis of their tribe to the present time. Binti, not just talks about the mythical time, but it also acknowledges the daily-events in the Santal community – ―Once, while hunting on the forest, the siblings killed a murmur-menga with an arrow.‖ Acting as a guide book for the Santal tradition and functions, Binti presents the rituals relating to birth, death and alike. The performers continue to sing the oral myth and recite how the creation story assigned the clans and their particular functions. Binti, after being performed for several hours by the Karam Gurus, finally ends by praying the ancestors for a peacefulcommunion of the married couple and a happy life ahead.

Finally, it can be concluded that Sitakant Mahapatra's anthology ―The Awakened Wind: The Oral Poetry of the Indian Tribes‖ (1983)in which the English translation of the text, Binti, presents that in the fast growing world, oral literature is the future for the tribal people. There might be modifications by telling and re-telling ofBinti, but what remain is the root which we have known. Through the creation myth, identities have been re-established, the shared memory of the tribe has been known. Writing is not the end of the oral literature, but a co-creation, by the process of recording, documenting and translating. Binti could not have been reached to the

Santal millennial who do not have a command over their mother-tongue until and unless it was presented before them in the English version. Apart from that, what is crucial is to understand the context in which an oral literature is being performed. Every act by the Karam Gurus denotes a fixed event which is peculiar to the context in which it is performed. Creation story not just acts as a cosmological script for Santals, but it helps the tribals to assert to ones identity through recognition and identification with Binti. Once the identity has been re-established, the creation myth should be re-told in communal activities in the form of performance among the Santals.

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4.Sexually Aggressive Male Characters in Assamese Folktales

Mridul Moran

Abstract

Gender studies in folklore encompasses gender perspective to the evaluation of culture and folklore, the prominence of men or women in folklores and a comparative analysis of their respective gender aspects, gender voice; for example: the voice of men or women in the records of folklore, nature and characteristics of gender specific folklore etc. There are many issues related to gender, gender construction, gender discrimination, domestic violence etc. are in Assamese folk literature. In this research paper, an analysis is attempted on the representation of sexually aggressive male characters in selected two Assamese folktales entitled _Mekurir Jiyekar Sadhu' (The Tale of the Cat's Daughter), and _Kanchoni' from the collection of folktales _Burhi Aair Sadhu' by Lakshminath Bezbaruah. The present study is based on analytical method. The analysis primarily concentrates on the gender perspective. Traditional masculine stereotypes are investigated based on a coding scheme proposed by Macionis.

Key words: Assamese Folktale, Gender Studies, Gender Stereotype, Masculinity, Sexual Being.

Introduction

The usual widespread misconception about the interchangeability of Sex and Gender needs no introduction. Sex is a creation of birth while Gender is created by the society we live in. The society forms Gender Identity. Sex is a biological component of womanhood and manhood and Gender is psychological, social, and cultural thinking related to women and men. (Hossain, and Masuduzzaman 2012: 572)

Feminism is another sphere that is entangled with gender studies. Evidently, the fight put up by feminism against Gender bias is existent from inception of the former term. This provides for a coordinated insight into folklore from feminism and gender perspective. Feminism is seen to gain popularity with the rising development of underdeveloped and developing nations across the globe. And yet the civilization has not surpassed the barriers of Gender specific issues till date. Such barriers are frequently observed in the various aspects of folklore. Evidences of these issues are reflected in the folklore of various cultures and are termed as Gender Dimensions of Folklore (Islam 2011: 299).

There are many issues related to gender are find in Assamese proverbs. In this research article we try to analyze two Assamese folktales, entitled _Mekurir Jiyekar Sadhu' (The Tale of the Cat's Daughter), and _Kanchoni' from the collection of folktales _Burhi Aair Sadhu' by Lakshminath Bezbaruah by application of gender studies base.

Masculinity and Masculine Traits

In the discussion of Gender, a significant area is Gender formation in society or construction of social gender. This context has been elaborately discussed in the book _The Second Sex' (1949) by French author Simone De Beauvoir. The subject of Gender studies as a whole is immensely influenced by the de Beauvoir's quotation that: One is not born, but rather becomes, woman. No biological, psychic, or economic destiny defines the figure that the human female takes on in society; it is civilization as a whole that elaborates this intermediary product between the male and the eunuch that is called feminine. (Beauvoir, 2011: p. 330)

It may be noted here that de Beauvoir did not place his faith in the sexual nature of women. Instead, she placed her importance on nature of human being. Simone de Beauvoir has earnestly attempted to assert in her writings that Gender formation and Gender Identity is a result of society and not a result of birth. As used by the French writer Simone de Beauvoir, the concept of _the Other' describes women's status in patriarchal, androcentric cultures. While men are _the One' (in other words, beings in and of themselves), women are _the Other', beings defined only in relation to men. (Pilcher, and Whelehan, 2004: p. 90)

Gender studies places focused discussion on societal-cultural gender alone. This does not mean that the subject of _biological sex' can be completely ignored since the formation of gender by socialization and social processes are based on the revelations from _biological sex'.

Taking biological sex as a reference, the social processes provides standards of male-female behavior and teaches male-female characteristics to the subjects in society. Femininity and masculinity are also a social- cultural construction of patriarchal society. There are many forms of femininity and masculinity. Masculinity isthe set of social practice and cultural representations associated with being a man. (ibid: p. 82)

Masculine means, the manly behavior, which is socially acceptable. (Hossain, and Masuduzzaman 2006: 65) The major traits of masculinity can be stated as below:

Table 1: Gender Themes Based on a Traditional Gender Stereotypes

(Taylor 2003: 304)

Feminine Traits	Masculine Traits
Submissive	Dominant
Dependent	Independent
Unintelligent	Intelligent
Emotional	Rational
Receptive	Assertive
Intuitive	Analytical
Weak	Strong
Timid	Brave
Content	Ambitious
Passive	Active
Cooperative	Competitive
Sensitive	Insensible
Sex object	Sexually aggressive
Attractive due to physical appearance	Attractive due to achievement

Sexually Aggressive Male Characters in Selected Assamese Folktales

Men and women are to be identified as Human beings rather than creating distinctions and constructing artificial barriers in the various dimensions of socialization. On being identified as human beings alone, the differences-divisions between men and women can be reduced, id not eradicated. However, the male dominant society, as portrayed in existing folklore, considers women as mere Sexual Beings.

Kanchoni

According to the folktale, entitled _Kanchoni', Kanchoni was a very beautiful and very capable lady. Her husband was a stable in-charge of a King. The King was told that the stable in-charge had a beautiful and capable wife. Then the King thought that this type of woman is fit only for king. He killed Kanchoni's husbandto get her: …He (King) was told that the stable in-charge had a very beautiful and very capable wife. The King thought, ―If that is the truth, then I will bring her to the palace. Such a woman is fit to become a King's wife only and not belong to some ordinary stable in-charge.‖ The King ordered Kanchoni's husband to send her to his living quarters. Kanchoni's husband refused out right. The King could not convince him in any way so he put him in prison. He then went to Kanchoni and proposed to her, asking her to become his wife partner. Kanchoni was adamant and refused to the palace empty handed. He thought, as long as Kanchoni's husband was alive he will not be able to convince her to become his wife. So he ordered her husband to be impaled. (Bezbaruah 2010: 103)

The Tale of the Cat's Daughter

Drawing from the folktale _Mekurir Jiyekar Sadhu' (The Tale of the Cat's Daughter), it is observed that the merchant never asked about the reason of distress to the cat's younger daughter nor was any attempt/intention made to rescue the elder daughter who was abducted by the merman. The obvious indication showed here points to the identity of men and his nature: they visualize women merely as an object of sexuality. The portrayal of the scene stresses on the words _lonely girl by the river shore' and _beautiful girl' and the succeeding scene of the merchant taking away the girl, with the pretext of providing shelter or being noble: "Seeing the very beautiful girl sitting all alone in the wilderness he picked her up in his boat and took her home.‘‘(Bezbaruah 2010: 8) This provides clear evidence of the merchant's intention as a man: ―When he reached home, he accorded her the status of his third wife.‖ (ibid: 8) It is also known from the tale that the merchant was absent during two instances of child delivery of his third/youngest pregnant wife. The constant involvement in his business/trade may be a possible reason for his absence. However, this cannot be considered an excuse enough to waive off all responsibilities of the merchant as a husband from the time he planted a seed in the womb of his third wife. Hence, the merchant should have been present for the crucial timeof child delivery by his youngest wife. The mere presence of a husband during times like that providesimmense support to the woman expecting a child. Once, an excuse is twice intended. The Merchant failed in being present for child delivery for a second time. This shows the nature of Men during the time.

These directions of thought suggest that the Merchant saved the cat's younger daughter, only to serve his sexual pleasure being attracted by beauty and tender age of the girl. The age of the previous two wives may have been towards the higher side, as suggested in the tale that: ―The Merchant started showing greater love towards the younger and tender aged wife than his two previous wives.‖ (ibid: 8) However, the word _love' used here hides many other motives of men at that time. The love shown by the Merchant towards the youngestwife sparked hatred in the two previous wives for the youngest among them. Polygamy could underlie such contempt among women. The two previous wives conspired against the youngest wife and convinced her that she gave birth to a pestle and a pumpkin. The truth is though, there were two healthy born

sons to the youngest wife, whom the contemptuous wives floated into the river. Surprisingly, the Merchant had no suspiscion to the incidents nor did he attempt to investigate the matter any further. The Merchant was a Man and knew that he would never have shortage of women. Hence, he could take away a lonely and beautiful girl crying on the shore of a river. If necessary, such a man could also purchase women. Such was the state of women.

Conclusion

An analysis of this folktale with gender perspective has led us to put forth the following conclusions:

•   This folktale portrays the male dominant social picture.

•   In such a society, women were looked at as _sexual beings' instead of _human beings'.

•   The preliminary requisite of women for sexual being and marriage as depicted in the folktales is mainly beauty. In both of the tales the merchant and the king agreed to marry the cat's daughter and Kanchoni by seeing their beauty.

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5. Critiquing the Use of Retributivism in Contemporary Crime Fiction

KBS Krishna

Abstract

Some theories, while never scientifically proven as laws, appeal to a certain section of writers and readers. Immanuel Kant's Retributivism is one such theory. Framed in the 18th century, Retributivism is a policy or theory of criminal justice that advocates that crime and punishment for the crime should be of equal proportion. According to Kant, the law courts must draw upon retributive theory while punishing the guilty. However, a question arises as to what happens when the judicial system is unable to follow it or is incapable of enforcing it due to lack of evidence or the inability to measure the gravity of the crime. Should the victims take the law into their own hands and inflict suitable punishment on the guilty? While Kant vehemently condemns such procedure, there is a surfeit of literature, mainly in the twentieth century, which supports such acts of vengeance and/or vigilantism. In my paper, I would attempt to present how retributive theory is dealt with by crime fiction writers. By delving into the changing dynamics of Retributivism, I aim to show why this theory is still popular with writers and readers, and whether it is a reflection of the growing mistrust of the legal system
– and if so, why.

Key words: Retributivism, Immanuel Kant, Crime fiction, justice, Thomas Hardy.

From the time societies were envisaged, the twin issues of crime and punishment have troubled mankind. Irrespective of whether they have based their understanding on the romantic assumption that man is a friendly creature and thus created societies or on the notion that man is a self-centered beast red in tooth and claw and formed societies to protect themselves, social thinkers and philosophers have always tried to figure out how to justify punishment and find adequate justice for any given crime. The reason for this is that even in a Rousseauan world, an individual might be an aberration to the idea of friendly mankind, and thus commit crime. And the same is the case even in the Hobbesian scenario where the construct of a society might not deter an individual from reverting to his original state and thus turning to crime. Hence, it becomes necessary to devise ways and means to prevent or curb or punish such criminals. Thus, we now have various kinds of punishment such as restriction, reformation, rehabilitation, and retribution.

Restrictive punishment deals with curbing the possibility of criminal practice either by the threat of more severe punishment or lack of opportunity by using protective forces such as the police and punishing the criminals with imprisonment. Reformative and rehabilitative punishment deal with converting criminals by counseling and training them — thereby, enabling them to lead normal lives in society. Retributive punishment, on the other hand, is almost vindictive – as it advocates punishment, however coercive or cruel, based on the crime committed.

The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) in The Metaphysics of Morals (1797) has dealt with this theory in detail. Kant believes that retribution, or retributivism, (as he prefers to call it) is the ideal kind of punishment. He believes that criminals should be doled out punishment in a measure and manner befitting the gravity of their crime. He opines that this kind of punishment should only be delivered by an authority sanctioned by the state. In other words, despite the vindictive nature of such punishment, Kant desires to remove the involvement of passion by divorcing the victim from the act of delivering justice. This non-

advocacyof the victim turning to retributivism is an important aspect of Kant's theory. Although Kant has described retributivism in detail, at the fag end of the eighteenth century, it has been practiced and depicted both in earlier literature as well as in mythology. For instance, Bheema's demonical killing of Dushyasana in Mahabharata is an act of retribution for the latter's misbehavior towards Draupadi. Similar to this is Menelaus and his troops destroying Troy in the Iliad. In the Old Testament too, retribution is followed in the depiction of God as Jehovah who believes in punishing mankind severely for their crimes.

Even prior to Kant, English literature abounds in examples of retribution. For instance, in William Shakespeare's (1564-1616) The Tempest (1611), Prospero seeks retribution from his brother for usurping his throne and banishing him from his kingdom. In Alexander Pope's (1688-1744) The Rape of the Lock (1717), the cutting ofBelinda's hair becomes an act that calls out for retribution. Retribution is dealt with in greater detail in a work such as Oliver Goldsmith's (1728-1774) The Vicar of Wakefield (1766) where all the crimes committed against the paragon of virtue Dr. Primrose are adequately and justifiably punished at the end of the novel. Retributive theory has found favour with writers of the nineteenth century as well. Thus, in the Victorian era, criminals such as Oscar Wilde's (1854-1900) Dorian Gray and Charles Dickens' (1812-1870) Fagin are adequately punished.

However, it is in the nineteenth century that writers began to shift their allegiance from retributivism and display an ambivalent attitude towards this. An early example of this is Jane Austen's (1775-1817) Pride and Prejudice (1813) where a wild Wickham does not have his comeuppance and is depicted as a happy-go-lucky person even at the end of the novel. Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) too creates a similar charismatic villain in Treasure Island (1882), Long John Silver, who at the end of the novel, manages to escape with his loot. Stevenson, along with the narrator of the novel, Jim Hawkins, is apparently enamoured by the character and cannot seem to wish him ill. However, the issue becomes muddier in the case of Stevenson's The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde (1886)as the author seems to suggest that crime or evil is just an alter ago. Hence punishment in the form of retribution becomes difficult as every evil and seedy Mr Hyde is also a saintly Dr. Jekyll.

However, this ambivalent attitude towards retributivism comes to the fore very clearly in the works of arguably the first major modernist author, Thomas Hardy (1840-1928). His depiction of criminals and the punishment meted out to them raise pertinent questions about the nature of crime, how criminals are a product of society, and whether such criminals deserve to be considered guilty enough to be doled out retribution. In his very first novel Desperate Remedies (1871), Hardy's Aeneas Manston is seduced into a life of crime due to facing the ignominy of being an illegitimate child. Manston prefers suicide to the kind of punishment the state would have awarded him, and through this Hardy questions the right of society to punish criminals created by an unjust system. In a later novel, A Laodicean (1881), the antagonist Will Dare, again an illegitimate child, once again escapes retribution and Hardy seems to treat this runaway criminal not as a sinner who had escaped justice but as a misguided person being given yet another chance. But it is with his most famous novel Tess of the D'Urbervilles (1891) that Hardy no longer questions the concept of retributivism but points out the flaws insuch punishment. Quite aptly subtitled —A Pure Woman‖ , Tess is the story of a woman who murders the person that stole her innocence and is sentenced to death for it. According to Kant's theory of retribution, this punishment is not only justified but also appreciable. However, in the Hardyesque world which is a blighted planet, such punishment is neither justified nor deserved. The murder committed by Tess is in itself an act of retribution and the State, by punishing her, comes across as a jealous institution which is only interested in protecting its power to mete out what it considers as justice. This scenario leads one to wonder whether the State is ever interested in finding the cause of the crime or whether it is satisfied with blindly punishing anyonewho acts in a manner that goes against its laws.

This has led writers such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930) to create master criminals who would never be caught committing a crime as they get their minions to do their job. In his stories ―The Five Orange Pips‖ and ―The Valley of Fear‖ , Doyle's detective Sherlock Holmes ponders on how to bring such an arch criminal such as Professor Moriarty to justice as he is like a spider weaving his web and the various crimes that are committed in the city of London and the country at large are just the faintest tremors on the numerous threads of the web. Of course, the police force in these stories pooh-poohs Holmes's deduction as fantastical because they have no evidence to prove Moriarty's guilt. This shows the fundamental inadequacy of the legal system and the various kinds of punishment it would mete out to the delinquents. Retributivism, as a punishment, is comparatively more troubling than its counterparts as in the current legal system, the problem is that if the guilt of a criminal cannot be proved, how can we measure the extent of the crime or quantify it.

Such questioning of the legal system has led to a split in crime and detective fiction in the early twentieth century. While writers such as Agatha Christie (1890-1976), Dorothy L Sayers (1893-1957), Ngaio Marsh (1895-1982) and Mary Rinehart (1876-1958) have upheld the right of the State to punish criminals, others suchas Dashiell Hammett (1894-1961), James Hadley Chase (1906-1985) and Raymond Chandler (1888-1959) developed the hard-boiled crime fiction school which questioned the role of society in shaping criminals. The hard-boiled crime fiction writers depicted crime and criminals not as a disease as the other school dealing with country house murders did, but as a symptom of pernicious institutions formed apparently for the welfare of mankind. Hence, these works hardly are about the conversion or rehabilitation of criminals through punishment but become case studies of the seedy and seamy side of society. The detectives and the police forcein these works do not wait for the State through the law courts and the judicial system to dole out retribution to the guilty but act as a combination of sleuth, judge and executioner. This results in most of these novels having almost genocidal climaxes. Dashiell Hammett's Red Harvest (1929) and Mickey Spillane's (1918-2006) I, the Jury (1947) exemplify this as they end in gory bloodbaths.

This kind of vigilante justice as practiced by hard-boiled detectives is not altogether a new phenomenon. Even in the nineteenth century, detective fiction writers had to resort to such machinations to punish the guilty who are cunning enough not to be caught doing illegal activities by the law. A good example is the aforementioned Professor Moriarty who is killed by Holmes as he cannot bring the former to justice. Even in the other school of twentieth century detective fiction comprising country house mysteries which portray crime as a disease and a puzzle rather than a manifestation of the corruption inherent in society, we see examples of vigilante justice. For instance, Agatha Christie's fictional detective Hercule Poirot too murders the villain Mr. Norton in Curtain (1975)as he is unable to prove the latter's guilt to the judicial force. However, such acts of vigilante justice are not condoned by either the nineteenth century writer or the country house mystery writer. In both the cases cited above, the detective is killed after the murder of the villain. The fact that Sherlock Holmes is resurrected owing to public and financial pressure by Doyle does not, in any way, nullify that vigilante justice is not advocated by these authors.

So the question arises as to why hard-boiled crime fiction apparently supports retribution by detectives. This corruption of Kant's retributivism is a reflection of the kind of society that these writers are depicting in their works. No wonder that hard-boiled crime fiction writers also popularised the concept of the anti-hero and the psychotic protagonist. Patricia Highsmith (1921-1995) in her Ripley series of novels created a criminal who does not come across as the manifestation of evil that he is but as a charming young man that the reader can relate to and even empathise with. Similar is the case of Robert Bloch's (1917-1994) Norman Bates. Bloch's psychotic protagonist is a character that the reader is invited to sympathize with rather than condemn thus posing unanswerable questions as to whether such delinquents come under the purview of the normal judiciary.

While the punishment of the criminally insane remains a perplexing issue, more recent crime fiction has put new twists on the old question of vigilante justice. This concept of vigilante justice as popularised by hard- boiled detectives and super heroes becomes problematic once such justice is meted out by the victims themselves. This is nothing but victims seeking retribution on their own. Kant has specifically condemned suchpractice as he believed that retribution is only justified as a form of punishment when doled out by the proper authority. Nevertheless, this is exactly what happens in modern crime fiction such as Sidney Sheldon (1917- 2007)'s If Tomorrow Comes (1985)and John Grisham's (b. 1955)A Time to Kill(1989). While in the former novel the female protagonist sets out as an avenging angel seeking retributive justice against her former associates for condemning her to a life of imprisonment on the basis of fabricated evidence, the latter isactually a thesis on the victims's right to mete out retribution. Grisham's novel which depicts a legal battle to justify a father's execution of his minor daughter's rapists raises pertinent questions as to whether retributivismby victims is justified.

This concept of vigilante justice and victim retribution is further muddied in novels such as Guillermo Martinez's (b. 1962) The Book of Murder (2007) and Keigo Higashino's (b. 1958) The Devotion of Suspect X (2005). In Martinez's novel, this issue of victim retributivism is not only an act of vengeance but also a means of self-preservation. In The Book of Murder the narrator is approached by a former secretary seeking his helpin avenging herself against a popular author. While that seems straightforward enough, the problem is that the author's apparently only crime is that he had written fictionalized accounts of how to murder the victim's family and friends and they had come to happen. Whether the author had a hand in the realization of these murders or it is just plain coincidence or whether something supernatural is involved is left ambiguous by Martinez. Thus, the reader is forced to empathize with the narrator who is faced with this dilemma: should he help the secretary in wreaking vengeance on the author and thereby help her in preserving herself, or should he dismiss it as something fantastical? The denouement of the novel leaves the reader baffled as the narratorshirks from resolving this dilemma and the secretary is killed to the unmitigated joy of her antagonist. Martinezthrough this novel is posing a difficult question as to whether retributive justice either by the State or vigilante forces is possible against a crime that is amorphous.

Higashino's novel too raises equally pertinent questions. In The Devotion of Suspect X, the accidental killing of an abusive husband by a divorced mother and her teenage daughter becomes the focal point. To protect them from the State's legal force, their neighbour replaces the victim by murdering a homeless person. Committing a crime to hide another, however justifiable, still deserves punishment and the State metes out retribution to not just the neighbour (the Suspect X of the novel) but also to the mother and daughter. This poses the question as to why the mother, the daughter, or the neighbour had to commit murder in the first place. Higashino seems to suggest that if the State was able to provide adequate protection from the abusive husband, none of this would have come to pass. Higashino's novel thus becomes an indictment of society.

The popularity of these works and crime fiction of similar ilk shows that the questions posed by authors such as Martinez and Higashino are not limited to their geographical, social, political or cultural milieu, but are universal. These works seek to justify retributivism on the part of victims. Moreover, the impossibility of quantifying victims's pain makes people seek retribution on their own rather than trusting the legal force to do its duty. In essence, they are just echoing the clamour for retribution in reality. The recent outcry for the immediate hanging of rapists in India exemplifies this. Such desire for vicious retribution is further fuelled by the fear that if justice is delayed, it might be denied altogether. This suggests that judiciaries across the world and by extension the State has failed in coming up with appropriate punishment thus forcing people to become vigilantes. However, such acts of retribution on the part of victims lead to anarchy. As the saying goes, an eye for an eye might lead to the whole world going blind.

In such a scenario, it seems well-nigh impossible to dream of a harmonious world. However, while not a panacea, a probably solution is suggested by the social philosopher Lewis Mumford (1895-1990): create a harmonious society through co-operation beginning at a micro level, i.e. a home, and moving on to a macro level. Mumford believes that crime would be almost non-existent in such societies. However, while Mumford'stheory posits an optimistic society, the question still remains: Is it possible to create a harmonious society at themicro level these days as dysfunctional families become evermore common? Till an answer is found for this, retribution, not as depicted by Kant, but as practiced by vigilante forces, would be an intrinsic part of literature
– as it would depict reality.

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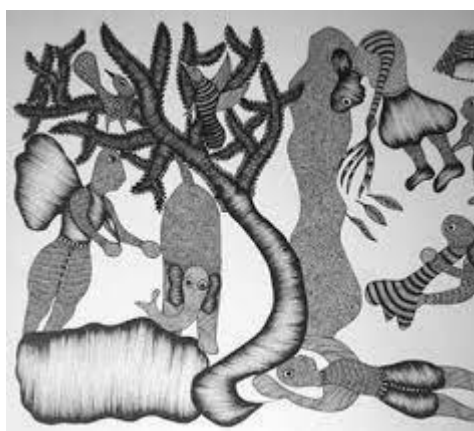
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6.Revisiting Oral Tales and Folkloric Tropes as Registers of Subversion and SocialCritique: Reading Girish Karnad's Hayavadanaas a Contemporaneous Version of Folklore

Deblina Rout

Abstract

The Cartesian duality of mind and body has seldom been so artfully critiqued, as in GirishKarnad's Hayavadana. The frame narrative is of a troubled creature, with the head of a horse, and the body of a man, Hayavadana, asking for assistance, for the fulfilment of a desire- the desire for completion. The universality of the play is established, even as the narrator goes on to describe the tale within the tale- that of two friends, and their love for a woman, the bone of contention in the narrative. The story of Kapila and Devdutta, the two friends- fantastical, and out of the ordinary, is a stock oral tale, told in many versions in the country's hinterlands. So is the story of Hayavadana, who is conceived from the mythopoeic variants of characters adorning the oldest phases of India's literary orality- instances of which include Panchatantra and the like.

Karnad plays with mythical traditions in order to create a theatrical experience which acts as a mirror to the contemporary society. The play is an existential study of the human desire for assertion of the self- this is shown by the subversive portrayal of Padmini, who attains a degree of sexual as well as emotional freedomthat is still not available to many women in our society. Using tropes like a mock heroic voice for the divine, toquestion the fundamentality of religion, as well as to aim subtle digs at institutions like caste, Karnad uses folk and oral traditions in a subversive manner. Folk tales assume new character in his narrative, as tools of social critique, giving them relevance in contemporary society.

Key words: Folk, Myth, Subversion, Social Critique, Oral Traditions

Introduction

As a playwright, GirishKarnad's contribution to the development of the _modern' Indian theatre is immense. Assuming multiple roles as a publisher, playwright, actor, director, he had performed much in his eventful career, but his ―true identity, as he has himself said, is that of a dramatist, a man of the theatre‖ (Nemichandra, 1992, p. 56). Primarily in Kannada, his dramatic oeuvre manifestly represented the complex interweaving of Eastern and Western cultural idioms to recreate a theatre of roots, with contemporary concerns for an urban audience. He reinforced the use of myth, folklore, and historical episodes, embedding a pre- colonial tone in Western dramatic styles and techniques to produce syncretic dramas. With him, playwriting in Kannada was transformed from a mere _literary exercise' to a living and dynamic force illuminated by new theatrical practices. His plays Yayati, Tughlaq, Hayavadana, Nagamandala, and the likes represent the best of the Kannada dramatic tradition, putting him in the ranks of master storytellers of the past such as Kailasam, Garuda, and AdyaRangacharya.

His plays, translated into English, apart from many Indian languages, are considered to be one of the important touchstones for Indian drama in English. An accurate description of his dramas is that they are _transcreated,' a term which refers to works translated and adapted by the author from one language and performance tradition to another, usually English (Balme, 1999, p. 145). In doing so, Karnad assimilates himself within a breed of playwrights who had taken up the language of the coloniser to portray expressly native concepts, positing a unique space between colonial and postcolonial performativity. In the words of Christopher Balme (1999), Karnad's syncretic dramas represent a ―conscious programmatic strategy to fashion

a new form of theatre in the light of colonial or post-colonial experience‖ (p.145). This process has created a hybridity of performative registers, a move which has not necessarily been welcomed by the Western, and Indian Academy alike.

Hayavadana ,Karnad's 1972 drama, was originally written and performed in Kannada, and subsequently translated into other Indian languages. But it is the English translation which has earned the drama fame and critical appreciation, breaking the assumption that Anglophone Indian drama was not meant ―for actual stage production‖ (Iyengar, 1961, p.33). The play adopts Anglophone linguistic models, and theatrical styles to appropriate popular folklore (marking a return to the pre-colonial ‗roots' which were under threat during colonial period), and is performed according to the folk theatrical tradition of Karnataka, called Yakshagana. It engages two levels of representation, wherein the dialectic of Hayavadana, and the narrators of the drama forms one level, while the narrated plot of the drama embedded within the frame story, i.e., the story of the two friends Kapila, and Devadatta, forms another level. Both levels of representation are fused at the end, to represent the hybridity that the drama entails, both on the level of form as well as content. Karnad thus occupies this unique middle position in theatrical practice: he practises the post-colonial model of the ‗theatre of roots'- but blended in it is a subversive agency which uses these tropes for social critique, to question a monolithic study of the past. This paper tries to locate Karnad's dramaturgy in the tradition of the ‗theatre of roots', and explores how folklore is appropriated to articulate social critique, rendering its contemporaneous import in our times.

Post-colonial theatre in India

The theatre of the post-independence period, or the post-colonial theatre in India, has been a contested terrain ever since its inception. As a canon, it has been shaped via multiple textual and performative registers, cultural, and linguistic mediations, as well as commercial ethos. The ‗modern' Indian theatrical consciousness as we know it, saw its genesis during the British colonial interregnum in the 18th and 19th centuries. It took into cognizance the popular indigenous myths and folklore, and aped the classical Western models, producing a lucrative market based endeavour (as was visible in the Parsi theatrical traditions). By the 1940s, this populist venture was reshaped to support a growing nationalist fervour, pre-empted by groups such as the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA), which encouraged socialist and political leanings in dramaturgy. It was the subsequent waning of IPTA, and the independence of the nation, that had radical effects on the landscapeof theatre in the country. Several autonomous bodies were set up to preserve and nurture the growth of the performing arts, such as the SangeetNatakAkademi, as well as the National School of Drama. These institutions ensured that the Indian theatre of the future, as AparnaDharwadker asserts, would follow 'synthesis', which she identifies as ―the middle ground between mere revivalism and imitative Westernization,which would reconcile pre-colonial traditions with the sociocultural formation of a modern nation-state‖ (2009, p. 43). A return to the ancient past, and the decolonisation of theatre was partly aimed by the revival of our rich Sanskrit dramatic heritage. Such developments initiated a movement towards the 'theatre of roots', thatsought its inspiration from the traditional, ritual and folk performances across languages and regions.

The ‗theatre of roots' was significant in many ways; most notably, it forged a multifaceted attachment to the various pre-colonial linguistic and cultural models, rejecting the ―servile imitation of the decadent Victorian and semi-realistic moulds of theatre devised for entertainment or superficial social reforms, or a mindless distortion of the Western dramatic and theatrical practices‖ (Jain, 2003, p. ix). Continuing through the 1960s and 1970s, this movement peaked in the 1980s, when Suresh Awasthi, former chairman of the National School of Drama, and former general secretary of SangeetNatakAkademistrongly propagated that modern theatre return to its ‗roots'. Playwrights like GirishKarnad, Mohan Rakesh, Vijay Tendulkar, BadalSircar, Habib Tanvir, UtpalDutt projected this essence in their dramas; but they also blended their pre- colonial roots with Western forms, to create a hybrid dramatic scene. Such a theatre helmed classical Indian culture, but not

without attempting a sharp critique of the same. Karnad'sHayavadana (1972) is one of the representative plays of this category, for it uses elements of Indian folklore, with Western formal traditions to produce a drama of subversion and social critique.

Hayavadana and the ‗theatre of roots'

The preliminary aesthetics of the ' theatre of roots', was to bring back the glorious legacy of classicalmythology and indigenous folklore, and to assimilate all the peripheral artistic traditions which were under threat during the colonial times. The search for roots was a process for the formation of new national identityby ―decolonising the Indian lifestyle, values, social institutions, creative forms and cultural modes‖ (Awasthi, 2008, p. 295). Suresh Awasthi explains how some of its distinctive features have to be seen against the backdrop of the past one century of Western realistic theatre that was practiced, during the colonial times.A return to the roots in Indian theatre meant appropriating the mores of classical Sanskrit dramaturgy, largely according to what had been laid in the Natyashastra, right from the level of form, upto the content. Awasthi notes that stylization remains a key factor in the theatre of roots.

Hayavadana is based on a tale found in Kathasaritasagara, a collection of stories in Sanskrit dating from the eleventh century. Karnad however borrowed it from Thomas Mann's retelling of the story in The Transposed Heads. The plot entails the story of two close friends, Devadatta and Kapila‒ one ―mind‖ (man of intellect) while the other ―heart‖ (man of the body) (Karnad, 1975, p.11). Devadatta marries the beautiful Padmini, who desires the best of what each man has to offer. When the two friends kill themselves in a sacrificial episode, trouble ensues as Padmini mistakenly swaps the heads attached to their bodies, in a bid to revive them.Devadatta and Kapila get each other's bodies, and the lingering question arises as to who is Padmini's husband, and whether the mind is superior to the body or vice versa. This results in a confusion of identities, and becomes a reflection of the idea of incompleteness as a universal human attribute, ultimately reflecting the
―ambiguous nature of human personality‖ (Karnad, 2016, p.viii). At the end, all the three die, but the confusion lingers without a solution. A second plot, framing this tale is on the narratorial plane within the drama; the performers of the drama, who are about to act out the plot are part of this frame narrative. They encounter ‗Hayavadana', a hybrid being, with a horse's head, and a man's body, wandering in search for completion. This frame story also highlights the central polemic of the inner story embedded in it: the mind- body duality, and the identity politics stemming out of it. However, the end results are different in case of Hayavadana-unlike the other characters, his desire for completion is fulfilled, as he turns into a horse. But here too, the judgement remains sketchy, as the animal body triumphs over the human head.

The central plot of the story is rooted in classical Sanskrit as well as folk traditions, and this runs on to the formal level of the drama. Though they maintain peripheral distinctions, Karnad contends that both the forms share common aesthetic principles: ―. . . there was no difference between the folk and the classical drama: theaesthetic principles are the same‖ . It is significant that Awasthi locates the crucial starting point of the 'theatreof roots' in B. V. Karanth's direction of Hayavadana in 1972 :

Girish Karnad's famous Hayavadana, inspired by the yakshagana of Karnataka, begins with the prayer 'Jai Gajavadane' - 'Victory to Ganesha', the elephant-headed god and its innovative and improvisatory production
... with music, mime, and movements heralded the return of Lord Ganesha, the presiding deity of traditional theatre. With this event, we might say, contemporary theatre began its encounter with tradition.

Karnad's use of the traditional Yakshagana folk theatre allows him a certain degree of freedom to appropriate the mythic and the folkloric, in order to situate the subversive themes of the play. In terms of stylisation, a major part of the play uses indigenous registers to reinstate precolonial theatre traditions, dating back to

classical times, in the contemporary post-colonial milieu. The return to the roots, is therefore performed by using the Kannada folk theatre form, and a classical Sanskrit story as the central plot.

The play encompasses several fundamental elements, which according to Chandrasekar Khambar are hallmarks of classical Kannada theatre. These include the prelude (the ritual involving the deity); the Chorus and music (involving singers with drums and cymbals accompanying the priest actor); dance (which is the spiritual and physical re-enactment of what they sing); and the theme (or the story of the deity sung by priest and chorus). The play begins with extensive stage directions, and the scene is set for the oral nature of the narration that succeeds it. The Bhagavata, the first to appear on the stage, along with the chorus of musicians, are the narrators, who provide a poetic rendition of the plot. According to Yakshagana traditions, the Bhagavata, is the learned priest, who orchestrates not only the narration, and singing, but also the dialectical exchanges taking place within the play. The Bhagavata thereby appears as a successor of his Sanskrit counterpart, the Sutradhara (as written in the Natyasastra), who links together all the narrative pieces in the play.

The opening scene presents to the audience the Bhagavata, and the musicians, who begin the play with a benedictory song dedicated to Lord Ganesha, a practice which mirrors the ritualistic nandi, in the tradition of ancient Sanskrit drama. The invocation to Lord Ganesha, the deity of the traditional theatre, reinstates the traditional ritual of performing a _pooja' (prayer), for paying homage to the Almighty before beginning the play. While it is a stylistic and ritualistic endeavour, the symbolisation of the deity ties up with the theme of incompleteness, which recurs on so many levels of the drama. Ganesha's appearance, with the head of an elephant, and the body of a man mirrors Hayavadana's futility of seeking completion; it also highlights the meaningless quandary regarding the superiority of mind over the body and vice versa, which divides Devadatta and Kapila and ultimately claims their lives.

The entry of Hayavadana marks an important moment in the play's trajectory: his entry not only highlights one of the main contentions running throughout the drama (the quest for completion), but also fulfils a stylistic need. Hayavadana, with the head of a horse, and the body of the man, frightens the actor (Nata) who is supposed to perform the play, resulting in a comic exchange that mirrors the Yakshagana trope of thecomedian (traditionally called Hanumanayaka). The Yakshagana comedians are flexible characters, having the liberty to speak on issues which characters of the main plotline cannot attempt to do. Hayavadana speaks on social issues and it is through his character that Karnad renders a contemporaneous tie with the classical narrative embedded within the frame story.

The Yakshagana, like many other folk forms, depends on the improvisational skills of its performers, and not on scripted roles. Karnad depicts this in the comic interlude in the first half of the play, as well as at the end, as the play heads towards resolution. He depicts how the audience and the actor of the play is frequently referred to by the Bhagavata, and how a frightened Nata interacts with the Bhagavata, and Hayavadana. Their speech largely departs from the stylised poetic renderings that form the basis of the Devadatta-Kapila plot, and borderson being conversational, almost dialogic in nature, with stops and pauses mimicking everyday speech.

Songs and dance, which are an integral part of the classical theatrical tradition also play an important role in Karnad's drama. Apart from the Bhagavata, who sings out the narrative, and the chorus, which supports him, there are several other instances of the use of songs to highlight crucial interludes in the play.Padmini's lullaby for her son, the song of the supernatural, that emerges from the spot where she allegedly commits sati, as well as Hayavadana's frantic rendition of the National Anthem in an effort to lose his human voice- all of these charged moments in the drama are rendered through song. Accompanying this is a mimetic representation of what is being sung, giving a physical rendition to the orality in the play. As such, in terms of stylisation, Karnad majorly focuses on indigenous performance traditions, barring a few exceptions.

Oral tales, and folklore as registers of social critique in Hayavadana

The idea, and the word, _folk' invokes a wide range of connotations – involving the _natural' the _native', the _traditional', the _rural' and the _communal'. The folklorist Alan Dundes uses the term _folk ideas' and defines such ideas as —traditional notions that a group of people have about the nature of humanity, the world,and life in general,‖ (Dundes, 2007, p. 185). They are —part of the unconscious or un-self conscious cultureof a people‖ (Dundes, 2007, p. 189) Folklores encompass these ideas, acting as carriers of culture, social mores, customs and forms of behaviour in a particular society. More often than not, the folkloric is associated with orality; therefore the nature of cultural transmission it permits, remains ever shifting. In adhering to the oral medium, folkloric tropes get reassessed according to spatio-temporal requirements, and are also subjected to narratorial intervention, thus becoming highly fluid, capable of travelling across time and cultures.

Rangan's characterization of folk imagination and folk play and their interplay with magic is easily applicable to Karnad's plays:

Folk imagination is at once mythopoeic and magical. In the folk mind, one subsumes the other. Folk belief, besides being naïve, has a touch of poetry about it which works towards a psychic adjustment. All folklore is religious, often based on animism because the primitive imagination extends its vision from the natural, in which it is steeped and with which it is saturated, to the supernatural, which to the folk mind is only an extension of the former (Rangan, 2008, p.199)

Karnad's use of folklore is a part of his attempt to locate his play in the classical roots. He uses the mobility of oral tales and folklore to mould it into his subversive narrative strategy, creating a drama of social critique. Folkloric tropes allow a seamless passage between the human, the divine, and the animal- the three registers of life that the drama strives to uphold. Therefore, Karnad's use of folklore panders to the dual extremes of the fantastical as well as the realistic: he creates a hybrid world which oscillates between the real and the unreal, the classical and the contemporaneous.

Commenting on the use of techniques in the classical and folk theatre of India, Karnad says, —The energy of folk theatre comes from the fact that although it seems to uphold traditional values, it also has the means of questioning these values, of making them literally stand on their head‖ (1997, p. 14). His use of folkloric tropes is therefore a means of critiquing dominant social norms. The frame story of Hayavadana, the mythical creature with a horse's head, and a man's body, born of the union of a celestial being and a human, is onewhich dates back to ancient Indian mythological texts such as the Puranas. It is also the basis of several oral legends stemming from the idea of a fantastical creature- half man, half beast, examples of which can be found in the Sanskrit compendium of folktales, called Panchatantra. These traditional stories aimed at imparting worldly wisdom and moral growth, without positing a space in the real world which the readers occupy. Hayavadana's tale, however, claims a space for itself in the world of the audience; it poses more questions than it possibly answers. Hayavadana's quest for completeness mirrors man's existential crisis of identity- the futile search for an identity that defines a complete selfhood, and is not contingent upon social conditioning and mediation. Hayavadana tells the Bhagavata how he has been to punyasthanas like Banaras, Rameshwaram, Haridwar, Gaya, Kedarnath to achieve this, but has failed in his quest. Despite him being a mythical creature with no basis in reality, the places he's been to are indeed real, as is his universal quest of finding completeness. And much like his human counterparts in the audience, his desire to eradicate his incompleteness remains elusive.

At the end, Hayavadana does attain what he wishes for, but not in the form he had desired. He becomes complete by the grace of God, but is transformed into a horse, not a human. In other words, his body morphs into that of a horse, and the persistent question remains: which is superior, the head, or the body?

Karnad lets the audience/reader of the drama decide the same. In making Hayavadana occupy the dimensions of myth and reality, Karnad gives the character multifocal bearings, destroying its monolithic identity as a stock character of folklore. The same focus is applied to the other stock characters of the drama, namely Devadatta, Padmini, Kapila- almost all of them come out as more than what their conventional characterisationexpects of them. In doing so, Karnad attempts to uphold a —ten¬sion between the archetypal and mythical experience and a living response of life and its values.‖

Another obvious folkloric import is the central plot of the drama. The story of the transposed heads, of which the trio of Devadatta-Kapila-Padmini are a part, is a stock tale found in the oral traditions of many parts of India. Apart from the 11th century Sanskrit text, Kathasaritasagar, this story is most often associated with the Vetalapanchavimshati, the legendary tales associated with King Vikramaditya, and the pichash, Vetala. Although Karnad‘s source is Thomas Mann‘s interpretation of the story in The Transposed Heads, the dimensions of the plot essentially remain the same in every version. His characters too, are types who fit into the shifting folk narratives, their names and physical characteristics being generic, in accordance to the social position they inhabit. On the issue of naming the characters, Karnad says, —I wanted them to be generic terms because the characters are types. In Sanskrit any person whose name you do not know is addressed as ‗Devadatta‘ and Kapila means dark and therefore earthly and Padmini is the name of the one class of women in Vatsyayana‘s Kamasutra.‖

These stock characters portray universal human foibles, and are part of a society which prescribes specific roles for them to fulfil. The trio does this initially, but trouble ensues when Padmini, who is married to Devadatta, begins to desire his friend, Kapila. Devadatta, the learned Brahmin, with his cultured head, and delicate body, bred to follow the upper caste ideals of his family, cannot fully satisfy Padmini. She desires the strong bodied Kapila, whose birth in a lower caste has taught him the hardened ways of life. Her desire for the best in both men puts into motion a shift in the paradigms of the narrative world, whose effect is perceivedonly later, when the heads of the Devadatta and Kapila get swapped. The central concern of the play, i.e, the question of human identity in a world of tangled relationships, begins to unfold from this act. The person with Devadatta‘s head is declared to be Padmini‘s husband, and she is delighted, as Kapila‘s body is attached to it. This is in accordance to the idea of the head being superior in the Cartesian concept of body-mind duality, afact that almost all versions of folklore support. However, as the two friends consider their new identities, it becomes apparent that human identity and selfhood cannot be defined according to the the boxed assumptions of Cartesian duality.

As Devadatta and Kapila‘s bodies are reshaped back to their original form, Padmini‘s initial distress makes a return. She seeks Kapila, and this begins a chain of events, ending with the death of the two friends, and Padmini‘s sati. The identity crisis that the two men face, gets mapped onto Padmini, as she can no longer determine whom she desires. It is evident that she cannot reconcile her desire for both men, and death remains the only option for her in a patriarchal society which links her identity to that of her husband. Karnad tries to depict how —myth and folktales in a patriarchal society represent primarily the male conscious forces and wishes, and are patriarchal constructs.‖ (Kurtkoti, 1974, p. 53). The deaths of the trio serve to highlight the absurdity of the episode, as well as human life in general. At the end, Padmini‘s life is transmuted to the realm of the supernatural, a folkloric trope which serves to highlight how her desires echo forces which are powerful, and rooted in the intangibility of human consciousness. Padmini‘s character follows the folk trajectory of womanhood, but radically departs from it too, representing a critique of the mind-body duality prevalent in the society, as well as the gender relations which perpetuate the functioning of it.

Apart from the registers of the human and the animal, the drama also highlights the divine register: Goddess Kali appears to Padmini as she laments over the bodies of Devadatta and Kapila, who have killed themselves. Her boon allows Padmini to revive both of them, but also commit the mistake of swapping the heads of the

two, resulting in the conflict that drives the narrative. Kali, seen as the fierce goddess in Indian mythology– quick in temper, eager to display her wrath, has undergone a visible makeover in Karnad's dramaturgy. She is represented almost in a mock-heroic fashion, and her laxity is evident in the way she dismisses Padmini's tragic circumstances. Folklore represents the divine as the source of eternal power, and grace; Karnad uses this trope to present a different version of the deity, who seems to adopt human qualities. Her tongue lolling out as she _yawns' before a frightened Padmini, clearly marks the satire in Karnad's conception of the divine. The sanctity of religion, and its coterminous engagement with man and his world is dismantled, as Karnad infuses a sense of irreverence and fickleness in the conception of the divine. What Karnad attempts to do is therefore a systematic critique of religion, and blind faith.

The jump between reality and magic within the world of the narrative is furthered by the use of the talking dolls. They reveal the thought processes and inner psyche of Padmini, whose conflict hinges upon the several contentions: the questions of mind-body duality, identity, desire, and gender relations in a patriarchal worldview. These dolls provide narratorial support in certain areas of the play, and are weaved into the idea of the magical and supernatural. They appear to be a derivative of the tradition of puppetry, a staple in many folk traditions. Through the dolls, Karnad critiques the social conception of the mind being the sole arbiter of human identity, and reveals how Padmini yearns for Kapila's body, proving the fact that identity is a complex amalgamation of both the mind and the body.

Departure from the theatre of roots: Use of Western theatrical tropes

While Karnad employs several folkloric tropes, and mostly projects the play as a part of the _theatre of roots', there are crucial moments of the drama which endorse Western theatrical models. The use of masks for Devadatta, and Kapila, while having a practical use (for the depiction of transposition of heads), is in no way, a device of Yakshagana traditions; instead, it is comparable to the use of masks in ancient Greek dramaturgy. The most prominent Western influence is the Brechtian alienation effect, which is actualised through the narrator, the Bhagavata. At the very outset, he says to the frightened actor Nata, There is nothing to be afraid of here. I am here. The musicians are here. And there is our large-hearted audience. It may that they fall asleep during a play sometimes. But they are ever alert when someone is in trouble (Karnad, 2016, p.3)

The audience becomes a part of the world of the play, and is invited by the Bhagavata to intervene in the conundrum that the characters find themselves in. The element of epic theatre is further enhanced as the Bhagavata asks of the audience neither emotional attachment nor tragic ethos, but implores them to think on the moral problem that represents the first half of the play, i.e, the transposition of the heads. What indeed is the solution to this problem, which holds the entire future of these three unfortunate beings … Haste would be disastrous. So there's a break of ten minutes now. Please have some tea, ponder over this situation and come back with your own solution. (Karnad, 2016, p.39)

Brechtian influences are also seen in the use of the dolls; through the dolls, the tropes of eavesdropping are used to provide a commentary on the subconscious of the characters. Such anti-naturalist techniques are common in European theatrical practices, linking Karnad's work to that of Brecht. Brecht's rejection of psychological realism and emotional identification sensitised Karnad, and his contemporaries to the potentialities of non-naturalist techniques available in their own theatre. Borrowing a phrase from Bertolt Brecht, Karnad says that use of myths and folk techniques allow for _Complex Seeing'; although the myths have traditional and reli¬gious sanction, they have the means of ques¬tioning these values.

The subversive potential of Karnad's play is immense. His syncretic dramaturgy collates not just western and indigenous models of theatre, but also relates a cohesive understanding of history and contemporaneity. Hayavadana might be a stock folktale character, but his tone and focus is contemporaneous;

he sings patriotic songs such as the Indian National Anthem, captures modern social anxieties, and also serves as an indicator of folkloric themes having an atemporal resonance in modernity. Hayavadana links together the several narrative threads by fusing the frame story, and the inner story, and the triad of human and non-human registers which control the action, but his existence is neither mythical nor real. That perhaps, is a poetic achievement in terms of dramaturgy.

Conclusion

In a study of Indian drama in translation Veena Noble Das considers Hayavadanato be a model for future Indian drama:

Both in its thematic and technical strategy, Hayavadana is an innovative experiment that offers a new direction to modern Indian theatre. This experiment proves that the traditional forms need not be treated as precious artefacts, but can be adopted to treat modern themes suitable for the urban Indian audience.

Perhaps the most important part of Karnad's dramatic innovation lies in the inclusivity of the endeavour: Hayavadana is in many ways, amelting pot of various performative cultures, and an echo of how history can be appropriated to suit contemporary concerns. Most of the playwrights in India have treated folk idioms in such a traditional manner that they've lost urban relevance or have urbanised the content to an extent, that it lost relevance to the tradi-tional part it was initially upholding. In this con¬text Karnad comments —We keep acrobating between the traditional and the modern, perhaps we could not hit upon a form, which balance both‖ . His play attempts to negotiate with this assumption, and thus, emerges as a balanced theatricalenterprise, which attempts to have social value and meaning for contemporary time

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7.Motherhood—An Alternative Identity? Beeja-Mantraas A Dialect of Third World Womanhood

Ankita Ananyaa Gaya

Abstract

Beeja-mantra and Other Stories is a seminal work of Pratibha Ray, a renowned writer of Odisha. She documents the ‚life and struggle' of five women from the tribal and marginalized community in her short stories. She presents a graphic picture of their life predicament, their trials and tribulations that has made them what they are. The characters do not have the elevated status of a goddess, as the Indian philosophy bestows onwomen, but are analyzed in the light of commonality that promote them into unique beings. What role does an individual choice play in this venture? Can an alternate identity be associated with this individualism? The paper attempts to showcase how their integrity, innocence, values, love and humanity have enabled the characters to exercise their individual choice, and how their lives were defined. It also focuses how an alternative definition of womanhood can be created through the unique power bestowed on women.

Introduction

‚Feminism', an umbrella term, appeals to the womanhood of the female sex as a universal concept. It encompasses the rights, consideration of emotions, and reaction against subjugations, with an effort to carve out a female identity. According to Pramod Nayar:—Feminist theory argues that the representation of women as weak, docile, innocent, seductive or irrational—sentimental is rooted in and influences actual social conditions, where she does not have power, is treated as a sex-object or a procreating machine, has fewer political and financial rights and is abused‖ (Contemporary Literary and Cultural Theory83). Her capability to reproduce is subjected to social bound, which the second wave feminists condemned and thought that the abolition of this capability can provide freedom to women. But is it really so? Can there be an alternative tofind identity embedded in the act of motherhood? Simone De Beauvoir rightly says: —Woman is required by society to make herself an erotic object. The purpose of the fashion to which she is enslaved is not to reveal heras an independent individual, but rather to offer her as prey to male desires; thus society is not seeking to further her projects but to thwart them.‖ (The Second Sex 543)

As we traverse through the stories of this book, we come across different versions of motherhood that has been exercised by the characters. This invokes Julia Kristeva's concept of ‚Chora' (womb theory), where she proposes it to be ‚the first point of reference' for the child. The body of the mother is regarded as the junction of ‚Nature' and ‚Culture', which transforms the mother into —a strange fold that changes culture into nature‖ (Kristeva, as quoted by Schippers48). The counter can be witnessed in the story —Debaki‖ , in which the protagonist Jhumuti materializes her body and capability to reproduce, to feed her husband and child. She has asuckling child at her breast, also pregnant, travels all through the forest into the market to sell her child.Though society demands her to be a ‚Mother', but she chooses to depart from the baby, with a hope that she will again get a boy. Her radical step was internalized as her nature, as she could manipulate her motherhood inlieu of hope. She was sad but: —At the same time Jhumuti was overcome with the pride of womanhood. She was now pregnant with the eighth baby. In few days once again she would attain motherhood.‖ (50)

An alternative narrative of motherhood can be witnessed in the story —One Lakh Rupees‖ , where Jada's Mother tries to nurture him throughout her life. She treats him as a prized possession, when the contractor praises him of his physique:—The old woman spat on her son to ward off the evil eye and gnashed her teeth —May his eye become blind!‖ .‖ (69)

Kristeva proposes in her —concept of abjection‖ that —the child's symbiotic relationship with the mother and the maternal body comes to an end; separation from the maternal body is necessary for the emergence of the subject‖ (49). This might be true that the individual comes forth only with the abjection to all his/her relations and attachments, but the subjectivity of the mother is a choice who shows the societal approach of motherhood. The abjection is not always a means of separation because the child also remembers the mother, even after being separated:

On that day for some reasons, he remembered his mother, _Has she fallen ill?' The old woman might be groping around and going about the chores. He remembered his mother, his village and started working with renewed energy. (72)

Even though the individual proposes that after segregation, it finds more of him/her, but in reality we tend to find an identity that is embedded in the respective roots. In the above case, both the mother and the son pined for each other, forming a symbiotic identity, which couldn't be severed even after the death of Jada.

The third wave of feminism emphasized on the _concept of individual' and not a female or a politically free citizen. The focus was laid on special conditions that are associated with feminism. All the waves of feminism that worked for the prosperity of the female sex as a whole were directed towards the European world. But the theorists of the third world defined feminism under circumstances that were specific to their situations and culture, which was very different from the first world. As Nayar maintains it saying —it emphasizes on location and cultural difference among women. It notes how spirituality, language and experiences of age, sexuality or motherhood are context specific (113)‖ and the main emphasis is laid on the _difference'.

—The Third world feminists have argued for the return to spirituality as a source of feminist power. In this, spiritualized feminism has a larger social role, because it works with ethnic communities and entire localities. It links the woman experience with both the community and the natural setting/surrounding (Nayar 114)‖ . This is reflected in the stories of —Flesh‖ and —Sanki‖ , which represent the _Bonda' culture of the state. The lady protagonists are shown to be embodiments of womanhood, which is achieved by their desired and hopeful motherhood, in terms of nurturing their husbands. Both Sanki and Budei struggle to satisfy their husbands with food, shelter and hardwork. It is a convention that a Bonda wife has to be older than her husband. Pramod Das observes: —Usually this [twelve- thirteen years] was the age gap which exists among allthe couples of the Bonda community‖ (80).

Though this age gap is derived from a patriarchal purpose of benefitting the husband, but it enables the woman to exercise her freedom and self-welfare (making her the head of the family), because —only then in her old age, would her husband give her shelter, food and take care of her till her last breath‖ (82). A Bonda woman always caters to the motherly feeling, through her marriage, even though she may not have borne children, for she treats her husband as a child. This can be witnessed in the story —Flesh‖ , in which Budei suffices to the needs of Soma, her husband as follows:

At the time of marriage Soma (ten/twelve years old) was lean and thin. Budei was young. She fed him well though she had to go hungry sometimes. Right from cultivating and cutting trees for firewood, Budei did everything. Soma was a boy. He could not manage hard work (57).

This evinces that though they are culturally bound as husbands, they are nurtured as sons, which is an insight into the motherly nature of the women which is always characterized by ‚love' and ‚forgiveness', like Kristeva emphasizes it as an ‚ontological condition of human life', especially for women. This qualifies as the fundamental ground of their singularity. In this context Viola Klein maintains: ―Women represent theinterests of the family and sexual life… Woman finds herself forced into the background by the claims of culture and she adopts an inimical attitude towards it‖ (The Feminine Character 78).

Another instance of love, forgiveness and courage can be witnessed in the character of Rani from the story ―Beeja-mantra‖ . She is an epitome of forgiveness, for not only those who speak against her, but also the women who sin by conceiving illegitimate children. She considers this sin not of the children or the women butof the men, who are responsible of their guilty acts. She goes to the household of these daughters and daughter-in-laws and washes off their womb carrying the unwanted child. She is condemned, though her profession of midwifery saves the lives of many women in the village. She is courageous to be alone in the village, as her husband and son have left for Calcutta. She believes that the division of gender is a man-made action: ―God has let her born as a human being. Human tree has two branches—man and woman. . . Beeja (seed) is the root of everything. Beeja is God‖ (22-23). Beauvoir has rightly observed: ―One is not born a woman; but one becomes one‖ (273).

Greer writes: ―From time immemorial the womb has been associated with trouble‖ and ―the womb is a part of every illness of the female sex‖ (The Female Eunuch 53). But Rani refutes this idea and dismisses the gender bias: ―… mothers who give birth after carrying them in their wombs for nine months are branded as prostitutes. What about the fathers, the cause of these sins?‖ (23). She draws a parallel from the Hindu mythology:

If princess Gandhari could live after giving birth to hundred children, then why should the women in the midst of poverty, illiteracy, want and famine die of child birth? (25)

She turns the tables of patriarchy saying that ―if a woman has conceived illegitimately, it is the shame to the masculinity of her husband‖ (35). She alters the concept of (illegitimate) motherhood into a gift of God that has been bestowed on the entire womanhood. She avers that motherhood doesn't bind a woman but also liberates her when it is cherished by her own choice.

Feminist consciousness is the conscious of victimization. It is a struggle against all forms of patriarchal and sexist oppression. It is piebald and kaleidoscopic, an emancipatory concept theory.

All the narrations that have been presented through the stories provide a perception to the concept of motherhood, which is a subversion of womanhood. Every character has her own ideology of motherhood which is a subjective affair rather than a social stigma. The capacity of giving birth is a matter of freedom and choice that is hidden behind the conventional and unconscious thought—that motherhood is a prison; a bondage. Beauvoir aptly says: ―The situation of woman is that she—a free and autonomous being, like all creatures—nevertheless finds living in a world where men compel her to assume the status of the other‖ (29).

Motherhood can be seen as an alternate identity which concretizes the idea of self. In this context, ―De Beauvoir proposed that women must take charge of their own choice. Instead of being negative, the inferior Other, they must become Subjects in their own right. They need not be restricted by or to the roles and identities fostered or imposed on them by patriarchy… when women choose for themselves they choose for entire society. Thus, the woman's choice is about social transformation‖ (Nayar 88).

Kristeva, also puts forth the concept of freedom, as a ‚psychoanalytic considerations', encompassing ‚philosophical, ideological, and geopolitical dimensions', which are all a subjective affair that varies according to every woman. This in turn gives rise to an identity formed by the individual woman rather than using an

identity that has been thrust upon her. In this regard, Judith Butler, focuses on the ―personhood‖ , which takes into account: ―internal feature of the person [establishing] the continuity or self-identity of the person through time… Inasmuch as ―identity‖ is assured through the stabilizing concept of sex, gender and sexuality‖ (The Psychic Life of Power 87).

Greer lays the dictates of womanpower as a ―self determination of women, and that means that all the baggage of patriarchal society will have to be thrown overboard. Woman must have room and scope to devise a mortality which does not disqualify her from excellence, and a psychology which does not condemn her to the status of a spiritual cripple‖ (The Female Eunuch130-131). This can be applied to the concept of motherhood, which generates an alternate version of identity, because women allow their emotions to guide them and channelize their desire, making them much victorious than their counterpart males.This makes it more relatable to the Third world scenario, rather than the Western discourses, as women are granted more liberty because the concepts of motherhood and womanhood amalgamate together, leading to the birth of the individual.

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8.Interlacing Themes and Forms: Anand's Narrative Strategy onHuman Exploitation

Pradip Kumar Panda

Abstract

Anand integrates themes and forms as two sides of a coin to illustrate the various forms of exploitation woven from the thread of his narratives. Time, space and action vary to focus the kinds of exploitation at critical junctures of the protagonists' lives. The unity of place signifies harassment in confinement, unity of time indicates a tedious routine each day and unity of action symbolizes about persistent exploitation of the protagonist being mutilated from beginning to the end. The action is purged of playfulness. Joyfulness is rarely seen in Anand's novels as if once in a blue moon. The deliberate extenuation of inhuman exploitation moves the readers to retaliate and draws forth a sympathetic attention of the readers towards the underdogs and a hatred against the facilitated community of the exploiters. Anand pleads to have a bird's eye view of eachscene in his early novels Untouchable, Coolie, and Two Leaves and a Bud to find a way out from the unmitigated plights. They seek release from the permanent subjugation finally by death only. C. D. Narasimhaiah writes —it is life that is a threat and death is a release.‖ Despite all odds, the downtrodden by virtue of their —will to live‖ sustain the precarious predicaments of their lives and continue further believing the law of karma. The protagonists forego their wits as they fall into the grip of permanent slavery; bitter ways of torture putting a halt to their growth in the face of socio-economic hostility.

Key words: Exploitation; Caste; Class; Confinement; haves; have-nots; Unities of Structure

Anand juxtaposes Marxian socialism with Indian humanistic idealism and blends both the East and the West in his strategy of the narratives. The western realism and the eastern sense of morality coalesce to give vent to the tragic plights of Bakha, Munoo and Gangu. The Indian tradition is to edify aesthetically but the western tradition is a photographic reality of the downtrodden. An adult consciousness about the thorny ways of life characterizes the western approach but the Indian approach is acceptance of every situation, a resignation of the helpless before the greater force of exploitation believing in the law of fate. The European thought manifests the outward structure or the body where as Indian expressionism constitutes the sole. Anand's novelsincorporate both poetry and realism typifying —poetic realism‖ . Anand strikes a balance between the personaland the universal, the material and the spiritual. It is an illustration of the Indian underdogs on the advent of their inner journeys of redemption to transcend the barriers of exploitation explicated in western mode by continuous and face-to-face tussles with suffering.

Mulk Raj Anand expresses his scorn against the plight of the marginalized and reacts against the social injustice incurred upon the downtrodden. His instincts for fairness in society and a longing for pure morality make him a rebel. He shows the protagonists moving from one kind of exploitation to the other, that is, from feudal perversity to capitalistic hegemony of the haves. Anand causes changes in the forms and styles with the changing facets of exploitation, at times native and original, at others colonial. He is lucid and coherent to expose emotional repercussions within the protagonists' psyche and consciousness. He is the master craftsman

to portray exploitation that is inhuman, cruel, sinister and wretched throughout, creating a permanent hiatus between the privileged and the unprivileged, the haves and the have-nots. Anand is like a messenger of God to voice the claims of the lowest dregs of the society, the sweeper, the coolie and the plantation worker. Let him win laurels in his benign attempt of elimination of the discrepancy between the lower and the higher castes, the rich and the poor classes and the facilitated and neglected communities. Let his voice resonate pleading the case of the deprived.

Anand adopts different structural frameworks in his novels to portray different forms of exploitation. Time, space and persons change with the change in the focus on exploitation. A particular novel or a particular episode takes a specified shape and size in order to give effect to the expression of a particular kind of exploitation. It is this relationship between theme and form which is of central interest to a student of Anand's art.

The one day's experiences of the scavenger boy, Bakha in a small locality in Untouchable stands for the suffering of his whole life and of countless such other lives for generations. The action of the novel is confined to twelve hours. The novelist wants us to realize that each day is same as the other. The plight of the untouchables becomes heart-touching as everyday they have to accept themselves as dirt for they clear others' dirt. The Unities of time, place and action in the novel have thus a lot of significance. The three unities contribute to the bitter and harsh reality of Bakha's situation, its irredeemable finality and its tight frame. Each day goes as before. Bhaka is not going to experience any newness in his life. The romantic and nostalgic thoughts that occasionally come to his mind in course of those twelve hours are always short-lived. His periodic attempts at escaping from his hard and dull routine by playing hockey, walking with friends or just being alone with nature only draws upon his head the wrath of his father and the contempt of the society.

The Unity of place here symbolizes confinement. Bakha's duty to clear the three rows of public latrines everyday checks his wish to move about and explore the world; it curtails his freedom of living as a vital being. The infliction of pain becomes more acute when he receives constant nagging from the same people in the same place and yet has to remain obliged to perform the very same revolting task day in and day out.

The Unity of action is preserved as each small episode or each minor event remains connected to the main plot representing the tragic plight of Bakha. Singleness of action, organic connection and integral coherence among many small incidents are carefully maintained. The small moments of happiness are momentary and they only aggravate the unhappiness that follows routinely for none likes an untouchable to be happy, gay and playful.

In coolie, on the other hand, space and time are not concentrated and confined in the same manner. Munoo, as a coolie travels from place to place at different times. The exploitation, i.e. the hostility of the society towards a coolie remains unaltered through all the shifts in locale. The novel is picaresque and the varied episodes remain closely connected in respect of theme. It has multiple plots. The characters in each episode change though Munoo remains the common centre in each. Thus, in coolie, the novelist deliberately

abandons the three unities because here he wants to show how the fate of a coolie is the same everywhere. The entire society with all its various kinds of persons and passions shares an inhuman character.

Finally, in Two Leaves and a Bud, the place of exploitation is the Assam Tea plantation. It remains —an unbreakable jail‖ 1 for a group of coolies. The confinement of a group of coolies in a single place that has been carefully designed for ruthless exploitation creates the picture of a concentration camp. The coolies are transported to a far-off place widely separated from their native lands through the agency of the cunning Indian recruiting staff like Butaram who persuades the coolies into believing that they were going to a place which was a —paradise of plenty‖ 2. Thus the situation of the dispossessed here is equated with the wretched state of the slaves from Africa recruited by white men. The unity of place in Two Leaves and a Bud symbolizes a state of exile and incarceration. The bonded labourers have been isolated from their native lands which through all their misery imparted to them some warmth, joy, social participation and fellow-feeling. Unlike in coolie, the unities of place and action are carefully preserved here. The different episodes and characters remain inter- connected serving to highlight the finale of Gangu‘s tragic end. Formal unity of time is not emphasized here as the novelist tries to mirror the inhumanity of the colonial exploiters manifesting differently on different days but without a change in the diabolical intention of the colonizers.

All the three novels, however, maintain a certain unity of tone. The tone is one of sympathy and indignation. The intention and attitude of the writer on the issue of socio-economic exploitation remain unchanged. The sustained, passionate involvement in the fate of the exploited remains unaltered in each novel. The feeling of helplessness among the exploited and the cruel indifference of the exploiters remain the same in each novel. The uses of Indian proverbs and slangs are particularly significant in that context. On the one hand, it adds verisimilitude to the portrayal of the underdogs. And, on the other, it offers a dramatic key to the attitude of mind at work among the exploiters. They address the coolies and the untouchables often not by name but by uttering slangs such as —son of a bitch‖ , —seducer of your daughter‖ , and —lover of your mother‖ , etc. It brings home the contempt and ridicules the coolies and the untouchables are forced to bear. In Two Leaves and a Bud, we don‘t find a frequent use of such expressions for the British cannot handle them effectively and the Indian slangs do not all have their English equivalents. So, Anand literally translates themto preserve the Indianness in Untouchable and coolie. The exploiters use it mostly to express their anger and hatred towards the under-dogs but the latter use it among themselves both at times of happiness and irritation.

The novelist forces the readers to study his novels from two perspectives, i.e. the view of the downtrodden about themselves and the exploiters‘ view of the exploited. The authorial voice comments equally on the exploiters and the exploited; but at a certain stage in each novel, one gains ground over theother. In other words, each of the novels reaches a climax when the downtrodden are forced to accept themselves on terms laid down by the exploiters. That becomes the turning point in each novel.

Bakha in Untouchable becomes aware of the hatred of others towards him and all the untouchables when he is charged physically by a man for having unknowingly touched him. Bakha, feels then, the acute sense of humiliation and looks at himself through the eyes of others. Munoo in coolie attains a similar kind of awareness in each episode. Munoo never consigns himself to an irredeemable mood of fatalism though destiny forces him to roam from place to place in search of an identity. Gangu‘s belief that one had to accept the wayof life as designed by providence turned into practice only after the coolies were cruelly roughened up in answer to their humble mass protest. The coolies‘ inner spirit of rebellion against injustice lay crushed by the

might of the colonizers. They then learnt to fatalistically accept their misery and remained confined like helpless animals within the plantation.

Setting points to the theme and is in congruence with the action, time and place in each novel. In untouchable, the day is a single day and the place is a confined locality. So the action takes place within the same horizon from sunrise to sundown. In coolie, India is shown in its diversity. Thus the action takes place under the same sun and clouds but with changing horizons. In Two Leaves and a Bud, the place is like a prison, a single confined place situated far-away from the native lands of the coolies. So the setting is the same horizon in a foreign land.

In Untouchable, the description of the outcastes' habitats, their location and their surrounding suggests, the entire condition of their life. The opening paragraph hints at the wretched, unhygienic and marginalised life of the untouchables. Above all, the outcastes' colony is detached from the village. It indicates the hostile exclusiveness and contemptuous indifference of the privileged castes deliberately creating a gulf with the underprivileged.

In coolie, different episodes have different locations. Each place is coloured with imagery that offers a clue to the way of life of that place. Thus the reader can make out beforehand the kinds of exploitation and absurd conditions that Munoo has to meet in different episodes. In Shamnagar, the semi-urban way of life inflicts pain and humiliation on Munoo well-versed with the rustic way of life. In the feudal city of Daulatpur, Prabha, Munoo, Tulsi and others come to grief due to the long established supremacy and pride of the familyof Todar Mal. In the cosmopolitan city of Bombay, Munoo becomes a faceless creature. Simla, the summer capital of India, with its extraordinary beauty and soothing atmosphere makes men oblivious of the harsh realities of life. Similarly, the hypocritical and refined English manners of Mrs. Mainwaring makes Munoo forget to take care of his health. He overworks and passes away.

In Two Leaves and a Bud, the novelist presents two accounts of nature in order to contrast two ways of life. Life in the plantation is devoid of joy and security. So nature with its thick green foliage looks monstrous and poisonous. The nostalgic longing for the simplicity and innocence of their past village lives in their native land is suggested by the soothing aspect of nature. Gangu's daughter, Leila, falling accidentally into the grip of a python in the forest reinforces the drama of the deadly grip of Reggie Hunt later on.

The contemporary political situations and the novelist's partisanship in regard to certain causes result in the variation of the forms of the novels. Anand, having been limited by the ideologies of the Indian bourgeois revolution, could not adequately portray the struggle of the working classes. Indian bourgeois revolution led by the enlightened class aimed at the overthrow of the imperial and feudal system of production. It preceded the socialist revolution led by the working class, the ordinary people from the society to put an end to the monopoly of the capitalists in the system of production. When the bourgeois revolution had reached a decisive stage, the working class revolution was in its infancy. Anand belonged to the bourgeois humanists and he had his own class limitations. As a humanist, he could sense inhuman exploitation but as a member of the

bourgeois class, he could not contemplate the annihilation of the capitalistic control and seizing of the means of production by the working class.

The thirties movement in England developed a new outlook in Anand and his art gained a new shape and size. Prior to that, he was influenced by the inward looking artists such as Joyce, Forster and Lawrence who concentrated on the inner personality of man in novels and made the shared and social problemssecondary. Anand was trying to portray the Indian theme involving Gandhian and humanistic ideals in the plot less fictional pattern of the west, for example in Untouchable. But the socio-political revolution of the thirties influenced by Marx induced a change in the literary trend of Europe and consequently, Anand acquired a broader understanding of the contemporary world-wide political philosophy to be incorporated in the novels. He talks of —the thirties movement in Europe which began to see political, social and human causes as genuine impulses for the novel and poetry‖ . Besides, protest and revolution acquired a new depth in his writings only after 1932, i.e. after going through Marx‘s Letters on India. Anand says —And a whole new world was opened to me. All the threads of my past reading, which had got tied up into knots, seemed suddenlyto straighten out, and I began to see not only the history of India but the whole history of human society in some sort of interconnection‖ 4.

Anand‘s novels, written before 1932, lack a historical approach. The growth of the working class movement was then at its peak in India. Untouchable, coolie and Two leaves and a Bud, though published in the years, 1935, 1936 and 1937 respectively, had been written much before. They reveal Anand‘s awareness of the socialist revolution but not the success of the revolution. The hey-day of revolution in India around the thirties is conspicuous through the following incidence. The Communist party of India was formed at Kanpurin 1925. Militant strikes were launched by workers in industrial centres such as Bombay, Gorakhpur, Madras, Kanpur and Calcutta. Left radical politicians were imprisoned in the Meerut conspiracy case in 1933. CongressSocialist Party was formed in 1934. The organisations such as A.I.T.U.C., the Red T.U.C., the Congress Socialist Party and the National Trade Union Federation had in combination launched a movement.

Thus, the proletarian protagonists of Anand are passive and defeated figures in the novels being discussed here. The only technique with Anand, here, is to lead the protagonists to their tragic ends. However, Untouchable ends with the optimistic superimposition of well-conceived solutions distorting the progression of the narrative. It is so, as Anand is hopeful of the eradication of untouchability but is diffident of the redemption of the working classes. Anand does not realize artistically the characters fo the working class leaders such as Sauda and Mohan in Coolie. He keeps them in shadow and they are not coherently united with the development. Besides, his portrayal of the working class movement in Bombay episode in Coolie seems to be sketchy and incomplete. The Russian critic Y. Tupikova rightly comments that in Coolie, Anand —underrates the conscious factor in the workers‘ movement in 1928-29, often does not see where the struggle must lead andpresents his revolutionary characters in rather a sketchy manner ‖ 5

The endings in the novels differ from each other and in consequence he moulds the narratives and the arrangement of events in the novels. Coolie and Two Leaves and a Bud have close endings where asUntouchable is not in congruence with the development of the narrative. Artistically it fails but functions well as a means of propaganda. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar suggests that Untouchable should have ended in Bakha‘s

misery, i.e. exactly at Bakha being berated by his father after returning home. He wanted the continuation of the artistic tragic pattern till the end to indicate that —the problem of caste and poverty, squalor and backwardness, ignorance and superstition, admits of no easy solution‖ 6. However, Anand offers the optimistic moral solutions to the plight of the outcastes and they are in the form of choices eg. as Christian, Gandhian and modern alternatives. But there is no definite conclusion.

The ending in Coolie is a close one but it is extended. The novel seems to come to a halt at Laxmi's words to Munoo, —We belong to suffering! We belong to suffering! My love!‖ 7. But the incidents such as the Trade Union meeting, communal riot and the Simla episode postpone the ending. As a result, the structure of the novel becomes loose. Anand presents the rebellion of the working class to end in a fiasco and gives Munoo a new identity in Simla. Munoo's realisation of himself is again as a suffering individual, nothing but a coolie, exhausted in life and finally, meeting death. The critics like Jack Lindsay and C. D. Narsimhaiah take the last chapter of Coolie as an inorganic part of it. Pointing out the substantial difference between the forms of Untouchable and Coolie, Alastair Niven comments that Coolie —lacks the enclosed feeling, the maintained tension of the earlier novel‖ .

Anand forecasts at the closing of the novel, the emergence of the effective revolutionaries to uproot capitalism through the character, Mohan. Munoo dies clutching at Mohan's hand. This, according to S. C. Harrex, is —presumably regenerate future‖ 8. However, the hope for a better future does not emerge out of the protagonist, Munoo. And the pathos involved in Munoo's death dominates over the positive hint in the scene and brings the novel to an abrupt close.

In Two Leaves and a Bud, the ending is close, and it is tragic. The end is in sequence with the tragic developments of the narrative. The final incidents such as the lecherous attempts of Reggie to catch hold of Leila to satisfy his mad lust, killing of Gangu and getting discharged after the court trial without being accused are in line with the violence and bitterness of the foregoing incidents. And here, too, nothing changes in the system. There is no deliverance for the workers.

The close tragic endings in Coolie and Two Leaves and a Bud justify the theme concentrating on the irredeemable plight of the coolies. It is death that puts an end to the utter helplessness of the coolies. Death is a blessing for them to escape the inhuman class-based exploitation. Hari in Coolie mentions death as a ‗release'. Gangu pathetically remarks at the death of his wife that she has attained —happy death‖ . C. D. Narsimhaiah comments, —Death has ceased to frighten these poor – they are past all fright; it is life that is a threat and death is a release‖ 9. But the same critic points out the positive aspect in the protagonists, i.e. the will to live. Munoo and Gangu understand the inevitability of their helpless states. Their wits become meaningless and powerless in the face of the intricate machinery of economic and colonial exploitation. ‗In the circumstance' says C. D. Narasimhaiah,
—sheer survival must be looked upon as a triumph of the spirit, the very will to live must be reckoned as a strength‖ 10. In both the novels, Coolie and especially Two Leaves and a Bud, Anand builds up the inner strength and equipoise in Munoo and Gangu as the burdens and frustrations of life pile up day by day. Munoo learns to compromise with the adversities anywhere he goes. Gangu's philosophical approach to life fully developed with his age makes him a man of solid build remaining undisturbed by the trepidations,

turmoil and tortures of life. Thus the novels have the internal notes of happiness and self-satisfaction in the protagonists till the end.

When examined in the manner of the European tradition of realistic fiction, it is observed that the narrative in each novel develops through the interaction of the hero with the situation. The consciousness of the protagonists develops in course of this interaction with the socio-economic situations. They grow mature and become aware of their positions in the social order and of the opinions and impressions of the people towards them. The recognition of their social position and their psychological segregation from the society happen to take place simultaneously. Alastair Niven points out, ―Self revelation and isolation. seen as mutually complementary: in fully grasping their position as social outcastes. Bakha and Munoo accept the inevitability of consequent friendlessness‖ 11. The very awareness of others‘ contempt towards their position stirs a revolutionary urge in them. But Anand never allows the urge to attain a consummation resulting in a historical change. Rather the figures grow as isolated individuals and their gradual growth in the face of the hostility of the society is represented. The protagonist is shown as a ―historical man as he develops in the society of his time, through all the gamut of inner and outer conflict, a full blown character with all his strength and weaknesses‖ 12.

Anand always makes the protagonists subdued at the eleventh hour. He makes the slave in them dominate over the free spirit. The protagonists passively accept the inevitability of their miserable states, which serves as their social identity, that is, they accept themselves as degraded individuals who are destined to bear humiliations in the hands of the fortunate individuals from the upper strata of the society. But their quest for freedom, the urge to find out the meaning of existence, still continues. They try to redeem themselves from their plebeian abjectness and to see better days. In spite of knowing the hypocrisy and brutality of the caste- ridden and class-ridden society, they keep on going through a ceaseless passive struggle. This struggle ultimately results in some kind of a discovery of their religious identity. An inner inspiration propels them to continue to exist accepting the social exploitation. Munoo and Gangu acquire their religious identity only in death. They become one with the universe. They free themselves out of the exploitative society. One tries to understand his religious identity only when one begins to compromise with fate. In comparison with Gangu and Munoo, Bakha remains aggressive within and can never whole-heartedly compromise with the exploitation of the caste-based society.

Anand intermingles the East and the West both in his themes and forms. In the theme, the ambivalence is created by his attempt to bring together two ideologies, i.e. Marxian socialism and humanistic idealism of the Indian kind. In form, he wants to coalesce in the words of S. C. Harrex, ―the western realist tradition of the novel with the Indian tradition of the moral fable‖ 13.

Marxian socialism concerns itself with social uplifting where as humanistic ideals concentrate on the human potential in each individual and its full-fledged expression. Anand at the same time wants to reform man and society. In his Apology for Heroism, Anand refers to the supersession by the social problem the problem of the individual in literature. He adds that the old concept of ―Fate‖ , ―God‖ , ―Evil in man‖ and ―Nature‖ have been replaced by the new concept of ―Fate‖ , ―Economics‖ and ―Politics‖ affecting the ―Common man‖ 14. He wishes for a revival of the old imaginative element of humanism and seeks to maintain

its equilibrium with the intellectual, Marxian element in literature. The Indian habit of emphasizing the individual as the end of all socio-political arrangement, the concern for the individual often over-riding the concern for history is also evidenced in Anand's novels. Thus joining together Indian humanism and Marxian ideology was bound to produce some ambivalence.

This ambivalence of theme is reflected in form, too. The western realist tradition of the novels aims at presenting a photographic reality of the society through character – situation interaction. Anand draws upon that tradition, but also follows the Indian tradition of the moral fable, which is otherwise known as didactic aestheticism. In the Indian context, art and morality are inseparable. But the western tradition of art does not attempt at a synthesis of aesthetic and didactic aspects of art. The very attempt to keep the aesthetic element and the edifying one at separate compartments by representing the outer social reality only is to violate the rules of art. The representation of an image of social reality, however, cannot remain anti-didactic. It, instead preaches human values through fictional forms of literature. But the Indian tradition of fable deliberately involves morality to be preached in an allegorical manner. Thus, in the Indian tradition, morality remains part and parcel of art.

Anand's social themes and his intention to reawaken human values demanded that he must be a realist. But the reality he presents is essentially Indian. It involves the pathos and sufferings experienced by the sentimental Indian minds from the downtrodden class. They emotionally react from within and express the sense of loss and frustration.

The complexity of Indian reality needs a comprehensive treatment by the novelist. The European fictional form which builds upon the interaction of character and situation fails to represent the Indian reality. For example, the exploited Indians do not stoically accept the exploitation. They bear everything with a submission to the greater law of the universe, i.e. the law of Karma or fate. Here, too, the protagonists face various situations of life. To the same, a western critic would point at the maturing consciousness of the protagonists where as an Indian critic would emphasize the quiet acceptance of every situation. One points at the growing aggressiveness within the protagonists but the other points at the increasing resignation and serenity of the mind with increasing social burdens. In the Indian context, it is the quest for destiny that gradually is established more firmly with growing tranquillity of mind from day to day. Superficially, the form seems to be West European realism but at the deeper level, it may be called Indian Expressionism. The latter helps to express the inner search for human destiny or the operation of universal fate in man and deals with the inner approach to the external society. The European form acts as the body of his novels but the Indian form constitutes the soul. The form is both mundane and supra-mundane, that is, both real and poetic. So Anandcalls his form ―poetic realism‖ .

Finally, the humanist revolutionary in him impels him to express his romantic and optimistic solutions to every problem. It is designated by the critics as ―romantic will‖ or ―desired image‖ incorporated in the novels with a didactic intention. The three solutions in Untouchable, the characters of Ratan and Mohan in Coolie and de la Havre in Two Leaves and a Bud, thus differently give expression to Anand's desired intentions and speak out suggested possibilities for redemption of the downtrodden.

The concept of ―God‖ , ―tradition‖ and ―social order‖ differ from novel to novel and affect the forms of the novels differently. The concept of ―God‖ in Anand's novels includes both the western and eastern views. The Western mind rejects the psychological projections of God. In other words, they do notform an image of God psychologically. They take God as an objectified and personified being endowed with superhuman virtues, i.e. Christ. They are not polytheists and cannot imagine God manifesting Himself in innumerable forms. They maintain water-tight compartments between human affairs and divine affairs. Christis associated only with spiritual virtues. The material and spiritual aspects of God do not go together in the west. The Orientals, on the other hand, accept both the forms of God, the personal or individual and the universal; Akara and Nirakar, Atma, the individual soul and Paramatma, the all-encompassing soul. Besides,all deeds, both good and bad involve God.

In childhood, we take God as a superhuman individual and a pure being. So all of us, primarily share the western habit of conceiving God as a personified and a pure being. Bakha, though he rejects Christ, yet accepts Ram, a personified God. He has not yet developed a mature ideal of taking together simultaneously the individual and the universal. The young mind tends to draw a line between purity and impurity. That's why he instinctively reacts against injustice and hopes for the establishment of pure morality. An awareness of the social injustice makes him aggressive within as the young innocent mind cannot compromise with social corruption and exist like Munoo and Gangu. Bhaka's perception of God is one sided and he wants the same benign aspect of God to be established in God's world, i.e. the society. He has an inner quest for altering the partial, rough and cruel social order. Gandhi's words touch his heart as Gandhi suggests about a Brahmin doingthe work of a sweeper.

The end of Untouchable demands critical attention. Unlike Lakha, his father, Bakha is not ready to accept the tradition favouring social inequalities. Thus a happy, open ending becomes thematically appropriate as a close of the novel indicating a change in the social system. Untouchable does not involve complexities of class-consciousness. Thus, the incorporation of solutions is not far-fetched in the context of thematic development. But in the context of form, it appears unsuitable. Till the solutions remains distinct. But at the conclusion, the Indian tradition of moral fable appears to take over. Thus it looks more as juxtaposition than a synthesis of the two forms. Verghese complains about the ending involving the three solutions in Untouchable and says that they are ―result of Anand's desire to play the part of the social reformer at the expense of the novelist ‖ 15.

In the western tradition, humanistic and social morality dominates over Eastern spirituality. Social humanism attempts at eradicating evil from both man and society and completely replaces it by a virtuous social order. In reality it seems impossible to the Indians. In the Oriental tradition, good and evil act as two sides of a coin. An activity always involves both the aspects. For example, in E. M. Forster's Passage to India, Fielding, the western humanist represents cultural humanism as ―good will plus culture and intelligence‖ . But Godbole time and again, tries to exhibit both the aspects of human nature. However, Prof. Godbole is not an authentic picture of Eastern spirituality.

In the East, the transcendental self conquers over the modern and empirical ego of the west. The transcendental self accepts one's place in the social hierarchy. It endorses the struggle against injustice yet accepts the reality, i.e. the omnipresent injustice. One becomes transcendental or detached from the society, yet remaining within the society to become one with the Almighty only after going through both social justice and injustice. One accepts his place in the social order and yet tries to climb the ladder of the society by submitting to the law of Karma and seeking to rise higher through a series of births.

On the other hand, the western modern ego tries to alter the iniquity of the social order through historical intervention. But one form of social iniquity, if abolished through revolution, expresses itself very soon in other forms. So the hope to establish an ever-lasting just order is only an illusion. For example, the abolition of feudalism to abolish the monopoly of the feudal lords gave rise to the monopoly of the capitalists later on. So the oriental philosophy proves to be more valid, here by simultaneously accepting resistance and submission to the existing social order. Change in the social order is the law of nature. But the modern man's pride to establish a paradise-world through developed technology and new revolutions leads to chaos in the society and aggression in the individual mind.

Munoo in Coolie and Gangu in Two Leaves and a Bud accept themselves as they are. They become ready to bear the iniquitous social order. They prepare themselves for their tragic life. In the Shamnagar episode, Munoo has acknowledged his position as a servant. In the novel, it is said, ―And so thoroughly convinced of his inferiority, he accepted his position as a slave....... And he promised himself again that he would be a good servant, a perfect model of servant‖ 16.

Munoo no where tries to superimpose his ego of belonging to the higher castes either in class-based society in Bombay or in the urban and feudal societies of Shamnagar and Daulatpur. Besides, the ego to challenge the social order never works in him as he accepts his fate, his social position and the prevailing tradition. Unlike Bakha, he never grows aggressive within. Similarly, in Two Leaves and a Bud, Gangu is handicapped along with the other coolies to oppose the prevailing British colonial order of administration. Heis forced to bear passively the tragedy incurred on his life. Both Munoo and Gngu can sustain by relying upon the universal fate. Munoo being young does not express philosophically and psychologically, he is more matured. His age permits him to interpret things philosophically. They are able to transcend psychologically the misery of their degraded positions of belonging to lower classes by being able to understand the meaning oftheir existence. The self-gratifying ego of the capitalist system takes the coolies as sub-human creatures havingno sense or need of personal dignity. But the coolies develop an intuitive understanding of their place in the universe. They believe that the God that controls the universe also controls them. Gangu revered his subjectivism and had a subjective awareness of the immanent and transcendental God. They, in spite of facing starvation, misery of existence and brutal exploitation remain throughout organic individuals fully relying upon the Eastern idea of God. Ramakrishna's idea of Divinity is revealing in this context, an idea that seems to inform certain characters in Coolie and Two Leaves and a Bud. Ramarkrishna says:

―Who calls you Tara, compassionate to the poor

To some you give wealth, elephants and chariots;

While others are fated to work for wages,

Without enough of rice and sag

You have brought me to this world

And beaten me as Iron is beaten

I will still call to you, Kali

See how much courage I have‖ .

As being different from Bakha arriving at a kind of recovery at the end, Munoo and Gangu acquire a tragic dignity in death. The portrayal of the western modern ego in Untouchable to bring an alteration in the social order and the western faith in providence and God blessing the distressed, materially out of charity and sympathy accounts for the abrupt happy ending in the novel.

But in the Eastern concept of ―faith‖ and ―tradition‖ , death is not the end of life. In spite of unending distress in life, one keeps continuing his struggle in the face of death all the while. The fear of death and petty obstacles of life must not disturb the tranquillity of the mind. The exploitative tradition and social order are rejected through acceptance, i.e. opposed through passive resistance. Munoo and Gangu are not in hope to be blessed personally by God but become more self-confident to face further exploitations through passive resistance. They exist in life with a philosophical attitude. Hence, artistically, the novels are more successful and arouse ―Karuna‖ or ―Compassion‖ in the readers. They generate tragic joy and have a kind of cathartic effect on the readers.

Unlike in Untouchable, the synthesis of the Eastern and the Western forms of novel is organically satisfying in Coolie and Two Leaves and a Bud. The inner form is Indian Expressionism depicting the inner quest of the protagonists to transcend their personal tragic lives and be one with the cosmos. But the outer form is that of a West European reality dealing with the interplay of the protagonists and the situations designed to image the life of the downtrodden in the capitalist and in the colonial worlds.

Colonization makes its presence felt in each novel but its effect varies from novel to novel. Hence it accounts for the variation of the forms and styles in the novels. Colonialism is the central element in Two Leaves and a Bud. The colonizers transport the coolies from far-off places and keep them subdued under bureaucratic and military control. Besides, the coolies are made to learn the ways and means of the British to produce for the latter. In course of time, the coolies feel the loss of their native tradition, culture and outlook. The British colonial exploiters attempt at a deliberate suppression of the original values, attitudes, morality, habits and ways of life of the coolies. The deliberate attempt to obliterate the historical past of the coolies, to denaturalize them and de-culture them through rigorous brutal treatment everyday in the same place calls forth inner resistance from the coolies but remains unexpressed in action.

The plantation splits into two hostile groups. The coolies grow suspicious out of fear and the exploiters too experience fear; but they remain indifferent, harsh and hypocritical. There occurs a tragic clash of attitudes between two distinct groups of inhabitants in the Assam Tea plantation and the Macpherson Tea Estate turns into a prison for both the exploiters and the exploited. The neutral character, de la Havre becomes more and more authentic in his expression over the growing discontent among the coolies and moral degeneration aggravating the chaotic state of the plantation day by day. But he also maintains distance from the natives and his visit to Shashi Bhusan's house in the same manner as W. P. England's visit to Nathoo Ram's house in Coolie brings out the inherent indifference within him also. The East-West relationship is nothing but the ―Woeful ignorance of each other's ways on the part of the both‖ .

In order to portray the basic situation prevailing in the plantation, the novelist tries to create a collision of distinct voices not coming to terms with each other. Each voice is backed by separate cultural attitudes and instincts. The coolies' approach to the meaning and value of life obviously differs from that of the Britishers. Besides, the novelist presents his own intellectual assessment through de la Havre. In short, each voice expresses a separate consciousness. Thus, Two Leaves and a Bud becomes a multi-voiced novel. Even the coolies are gathered from different parts of India. All such factors account for the plurality of voices and the novel can be termed as a ―polyphonies' novel‖ , the term coined by Bakhtin while discussing Dostoevsky's poetics.

In coolie, colonialism has a marginal presence. Munoo experiences colonial exploitation as only one out of several kinds of exploitation in his life. The exploitation arises out of capitalistic domination rather than out of colonial control. Here, the British are not introduced as power-centres but as foreigners, owning and controlling Industrial estates in India. They are not yet in a position to subvert the native tradition, values and outlooks of the coolies. Here colonisation has not yet operated at a cultural, lingual, social and political level but it functions only at the economic level as presented in the Bombay episode.

As the impress of colonialism is not yet deeply rooted in the consciousness of the coolies, their socio-linguistic consciousness remains unaffected. In Two Leaves and a Bud, up to a certain extent, it has already been reshaped and remodelled. But in Coolie, we can find a distinct difference between the language of the coolies and that of the British capitalists. The bureaucratic lingos and professional jargons of the British in Sir George White Cotton Mills in Bombay are not compatible with the popular slangs of the coolies. Thus itreveals a multilingual situation assimilated into the epic structure of Coolie.

Two Leaves and a Bud is a form of dramatic novel where a kind of prospero-caliban relationship operates between the colonizers and the colonized, the masters and the servants. The rational minds of the colonizers and the myth-making minds of the coolies vary in their approach to the meaning and value of life. The rational mind examines everything with an objective and analytical manner. Besides, the rational minded colonizers interpret Indian matters in a distorted style. But the myth-making mind apprehends everything with a subjective awareness. In a foreign land, the coolies experience a sense of awe and amazement at the technological superiority and the organisational ability of the British and their ability to master nature. The coolies do not take objects as objects but invest them with a supernatural significance. Thus the British take

them as superstitious and sub-human creatures. The coolies develop an inferiority complex and it becomes easier for the Prospero-type British to dominate them and prove the superiority of their culture.

The British do not care to become familiar with the natives, remain reticent and scarcely bother to pay attention to the problems of the poor Indians. Remaining always at an arm's length from the coolies, the British never feel shy to control and punish the coolies. Thus it helps them to use the coolies as effective labour and man-power available in abundance. Cowasjee criticizes, —the rulers not only exploited the natural resources of the country but debased the Indian characters as well‖ 18. Finally, the form of the novel becomes dramatic as the two groups of inhabitants with widely separated cultures, geographies, traditions and status cannot have any meeting point.

Colonialism is a passing reference in coolie. The epical structure of coolie with its multi-faceted experiences and incidents from various arenas of life make the effect of colonisation scarcely felt. Here, the epic image of Munoo as an archetypal being enduring unending suffering and pain becomes more remarkable.

In Untouchable, colonialism has a distinct presence. But in contrast to the two other novels, the presence of the foreigners here offers signs of opening up tantalizing prospects for Bakha. Bakha has not yet experienced the aftermaths of colonialism and contemplates vague hopes of being benefitted from the British. The disaster of colonialism has not been realized in the novel. Colonisation opens up a new psychological prospect for Bakha to escape from the caste-based exploitation. Irrespective of whether Bakha accepts or rejects the offer, conversion to Christianity has not totally been condemned. It remains one among the many choices compensating Bakha's misery of existence. In other words, it is one of the possible finalities for Bakha. Here, the novelist is not firm in his opinion to determine an end or finality for Bakha.

The stream of thoughts in Bakha's mind expresses always his double opinions, both love and hatred for the English. He longs to be like an English sahib; he cherishes English dresses and habits but cannot compromise with them in matters of faith and religion. Thus the stream of thoughts expresses his multiple impressions at different points of time. So, the inconclusiveness and the stream of consciousness technique present in many stretches of the novel define the form of Untouchable as a novel of process than a novel of product. As a novel of process, it incorporates colonisation operating and present at an experimental stage, not in its consummation.

The styles in the novels are closely associated with the forms. The dramatic form of Two Leaves and a Bud becomes obvious and clear through the contrast produced by the two distinct languages: the Indian English spoken by the Indian characters and the perfect good English spoken by the English characters such as Croft-Cooke and others. Both the exploiters and the exploited in order to be intelligible and clear during conversation with each other try to follow the nuances of each other. For example, Reggie Hunt shouts angrily towards the coolies, —Hosh Karo! Hosh Karo! Have you no sense! Donkeys‖ ?19 The imitation of each other's languages produces a number of distorted languages. The novel becomes —multi-styled‖ . It symbolizes in a dramatic manner the disruption of organic human life and the growing spiritual deprivation in a colonial situation. Besides, in the novel, the description is ironical at a number of places; the sentences are short,

straightforward, quick and precise, and decided being more akin to a drama than to a prose fiction. The conversation among the members of the jury in the last chapter of Two Leaves and a Bud best exemplifies the sentence structures.

In coolie, the jargons of the characters of various professions and various strata of India society, the steady flow of Indian English, the sweeping and unlaborious style and finally, his intention to evoke the ―wisdom of the heart‖ , 20 i.e. the emotional approach to life remaining intact with the changing places, persons, moods, scenes and situations as a whole approximates its form with an epic.

In Untouchable, the presentation is neither dramatic nor narrative, it is lyrical. Instead of elaborating a situation, the novelist brings out the intensity of emotional repercussion occurring within Bakha's conscious mind after facing each situation. Besides, the aesthetic unities are designed to achieve concentration, compactness and sharpness in form as the theme is the one and the only one, that is, caste cruelty.

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Kalamkari Painting

9.Politics of Gender and Witchcraft in Odisha

Dr Priyadarshini Mishra

Abstract

Gender discrimination in tribal society of India in the name of witch craft and superstition has been a major challenge in the field of women empowerment. The dominance of male over the females using the alleged witchcraft and sorcery is the politics of gender which has deep rooted in the society and in the mind of the people. This has not been studied from an ethno-psychological view point. Therefore an attempt has been made in this article to discuss the causes and the rootedness of the psychosocial dynamics of gender. For the field work I have taken Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh, two tribal districts where the belief of witchcraft is acute, even in urban tribal population.

Gender discrimination is a socio-economic issue and geo-cultural issue that have created a disparity among the man and woman, thereby perpetuating the social inequality and exclusion resulting in social imbalance. Socially excluded people, especially woman, get inadequate support from public institutions. The caste,religion and power contribute the gender disparities in many ways. Women's opportunities are constrained because mechanisms and institutions exclude them. This exclusion is due to the role prescription of the female as child-bearer staying in the domestic domain and deprived of the social domain. Most women are entitled to domestic work like child-rearing, performing household chores, and strengthening the family bond, while males are bread earner who makes the female powerless and confined to the domestic domain and makes the male dominant in the social domain. This structure of role segregation is a severe handicap to women education.

Superstitions can perpetuate in the absence of literacy, mostly in tribal societies of India. Many folk beliefs like sorcery, black magic, and witch hunting and evil acts are practised in tribal and rural India considering the woman as a witch for several reasons. One is the superstition and assumption of believing woman as a witch and harmful, other is the conspiracy of male against the female to exploit them in the name of witch craft for wealth, sex, dominance and power. The witch craft is first of domestic and more particularly found among the women folk, for its esoteric act. Men are also witch, but they are superior to the female and they assert their power over the others. Most male witches re not protested due to their male superiority with a fear of being victimized with his evil power. But female are not safeguarded from such an allegation.

IN this paper I would justify how female are victim of witchcraft in tribal areas of north Odisha due to exploitation of males in one hand, and perpetuation of superstition in the society on the other. Before that I would discuss what witch is.

What was a witch?

A witch as a person who used hexes or magic to cause harm to enemies or society known for ambivalent, performing both good and bad magic. Known as —folk witches. —Accused by neighbors or associates of such typical evils as souring cows, blighting fields, and causing illnesses, accidents, death, and impotence. Although the witchcraft is known for both benevolent and malevolent in ancient time, the witch was ascribed to evil act only. Both male and female were accused of witch craft but in most of the cases women are accused and

prosecuted alleged with witchcraft. Witches were accused of worshiping the devil, having sex with him and acquire devil power to harm others. Witches were believed to worship in conspiratorial groups; they were forced, under torture, not just to confess, but to name co-conspirators. (Lipp: 2007, Deborah (The Study of Witch Craft: First published in 2007 by Red Wheel/Weiser, LLC With offices at: 500 Third Street, Suite 230 San Francisco, CA 94107)

According to Durant, Gender and witchcraft has been historically pervasive in the gender element of the witch-figure to be prominent, alongside old age, penury, widowhood and ugliness, in the attributes of the accomplices whom they denounced. (2007, 82) .He writes, It seems that because female witch suspects maintained more intimate relationships with their female neighbours, they accused more women than men as witch. (Ibid)

Witchcraft in north Odisha tribal is equally a psycho-social issue that is ingrained in the mindset of the people of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundargarh. It is the ghost of the mind in the tribal people, most of the illiterate society, and not surprisingly in an urban area like Baripada which is a district headquarters of Mayurbhanj district, and also in Rourkela the steel city of Odisha. Dr Adikanda Mohanta explained to me that there are 22 kinds of witches in the tribal regions of Mayurbhanj.

The invisible world of witchcraft

Mayurbhanj is a thickly tribal populated district and the tribal people in this land believe in life after death. On my field study, I inquired about the witchcraft and came across a tribal expert Dr Adikanda Mohanta, who explained that me that there are about 11-12 kinds of witches in the tribal regions. According to his version in tribal society, spirits intermingle with human beings endlessly, thus creating races whose genealogies are inseparable from the spirits who live in the earthly or watery nether-worlds. It is an invisible world where the boundaries between heaven earth and hell are ambiguously defined and are always porous.

Dr Mohanta said, it is a complex and secret tradition challenging to define. Black magic is the practice of tantra that draws on assumed malevolent powers. This type of magic is invoked when someone wishes to kill, steal, injure, cause misfortune or destruction, or for personal gain without regard to harmful consequences.

Due to jealousy, hate or some personal reason, the Tantrik use tantric devices to create the enemy in someone's life, which in turn ruins his/her life, known as bana mara-black magic. He also said that the witches have a close link with the invisible spirits. By a tantric practice, the women gain the favour of the invisible moving spirits. Once they attain the evil power, they start making mischief against their enemies, and this creates a terrible situation in the village. Dr Mohanta said, there are ten kinds of spirits (bhuta). They are 1. Pitasini, 2.sanyasini,3. Utchkia, 4. Gala dudia, 5.Puskura, 6.Thubda 7. Anthukuda , 8.dhan kudra and 9.kalia Kudra and 10.Krupan.The women folk died in a different occasion or accident use to become bhut nominated to the incident; e.g. if a woman has committed suicide with a rope or by eating poison she becomes Utchkia Bhut,and her spirit is not mingled so easily unless she takes revenge of her enemies. It is believed that the spirits taking help of the witches supposed to harass the living being and this belief creates suspicion among the victims of the family, and then they start torturing the women in the name of the witch.

News of witchcraft case is frequent in the television and newspapers, and the cases in the police stations is an ordinary case.

From the police record, It is found that about 50 women have been alleged as a witch hunter and murdered in Sundargarh for witchcraft by 2001 as revealed from the police record. Again 15 murders have been found inthe police record in Mayurbhanj district. There must be a number of cases which have not been lodged in the police station to avoid the litigations. In May 2011 two persons, including a woman, were killed as witches by

their relatives in Bisoi and Karanjia in Mayurbhanj district. In April 2011 members of two families in Deogarh district were paraded and forced- fed animal excreta after being accused witchcraft. (29.5.2011 Sunday Indian Express)

Government of Odisha in the Legislative Assembly passed the Odisha Prevention of Witch-Hunting Bill, 2013 with provisions of imprisonment up to seven years and the penalty for offenders.

The case study that is presented in this article is self-explanatory. The narratives are clear to imagine the realities of the events. However, the invisible part of the events is more often than not, are an individual threat and a social danger to allege any witch to anybody one likes, based on the superstitious assumption. If someone dies or falls ill, some woman connected to that family can be alleged as a witch, and the ultimate result may be a murder of that woman. The case study reveals some events that signify a terrible psychological state of mind which a psycho- Neurologist can speak the State of mind of the person in whom such doubts arise.

Witchcraft and sorcery is a traditional religious practice among the tribal belief which was not socially sanctioned. The evil spirits are considered as Adham – lowest spirits. The major supernatural spirits were the supreme God from whom the whole universe is originated, then comes the first progenitor of the first person of the community next comes the tutelary deities of the village. All these gods and goddesses promote human prosperity as their clan God and village gods. However, the fourth one evil spirits are wicked and malevolent spirits - believed to be the premature soul of the deceased man and woman use to survive in the ethereal region around the villages and try to satisfy their unfulfilled urges what they could not enjoy when they were alive. Dr Mohanta, an ethnographer, informed me how the evil spirits are originated from the tribal villages and how they harass the people living in the village. They also do not leave their relatives. The fight between the invisible evil spirits causing trouble to the living being is the cause of superstition, and witchcraft and sorceryis the outcome of that evil spirit that they try to operate through the persons who worship them. This belief is subject to examination if there are any psychological phenomena where people in their religio- cultural spaces do have such abnormal behaviour that imagined as witchcraft or sorcery. The irony is that some educated tribalpeople also believe in this witchcraft.

It is found that about 50 women have been alleged as a witch hunter and murdered in Sundargarh for witchcraft by 2001 as revealed from the police record. Again 15 murders have been found in the police record in Mayurbhanj district. There must be the number of cases which have not been lodged in the police station to avoid the litigations.

Exploitation of woman in socio-economic domain

Tribal couple killed under witchcraft suspicion August 2, 2014, Baripada August 2: In the latest witchcraft-related murder, an elderly tribal couple met a gory end in Odisha's Mayurbhanj district. A superstitious-bound man hacked to death the couple – Ankura Purty (65) and Mukta Purty (60) from Dhanusahi village suspecting them to be practitioners of witchcraft. The 24-year-old assailant Bira Singh Bari committed the cold-blooded murder of the couple and surrendered before the local police on Friday with the weapon used in the crime. While confessing to the crime, Bira was unrepentant. He was under the firm belief that couple cast evil spell ontwo of his younger brothers leading to their untimely death last year said an official.

Witchcraft has led to several killings and human torture in the human settlements predominantly inhabited by tribal people in Mayurbhanj district.

Thanks to lack of education, dogmatic belief in witches and evil spirits causing calamities from famine to flood is widespread among tribal communities in these areas. The recent rise in cases of witchcraft-related murder has become a significant cause of worry for law-enforcing agencies in Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh districts.

Rourkela: Witch-Hunts in Orissa Prafulla Das in Sundargarh

The torture of three women in an Orissa district accusing them of being witches draws attention to the way superstitions rule the lives of tribal people in the State.

ASHOKA CHAKRABARTY

Rani Birua and Jhala Bhengra, who were beaten up

because a quack accused them of casting an evil eye on a child.

IT was 11-30 p.m. on April 21 and the residents of Uttam Basti, an unauthorised colony on the outskirts of Rourkela city in Orissa's Sundargarh district, were about to retire for the day. A group of nearly 20 men had other ideas: they dragged three women - Munni Bandra, Jhala Bhengra and Rani Birua - all past 60, out of theirhomes and beat them up. Some of them also raped Munni. Rani Birua witnessed Munni's rape, while Jhala, whose eyesight is weak, heard her screams.

As the three women were tortured under cover of darkness, their families were beaten up and kept confined to their homes. When the attackers had had enough, they threw the women on the railway track nearby and poured kerosene on them, threatening to set them on fire if they moved. They did not, in the end, carry out this threat, but Munni did not survive the beating and the rape. She died the next morning.

What had Munni and the other two women done to deserve this? Someone in the tribal hinterland ofSundargarh had pronounced them to be witches.

A neighbour of Munni, Jaipal Purthy, led the attack. A local quack, Birsa Munda, had led him to believe that the three women cast an evil eye on his daughter. Purthy had taken his nine-year-old daughter Shanti, who rana high temperature and complained of stomach pain, to Munda. Unable to provide any cure, Munda blamed the three women.

Purthy then took his daughter to a nursing home in Rourkela town, but the girl did not recover. She breathed her last at the nursing home at around 10 p.m. on April 21. Purthy immediately returned to the colony to punish the women. While some of the attackers were local residents, others were called from the nearby settlements. Munni's small house is now locked. She was unmarried and had lived alone for nearly 30 years. Jhala and Rani are yet to come to terms with the horrifying experience. "Do we look like witches? We were tortured for no fault of ours. We know nothing about witchcraft," Rani told Frontline.

The Gandomunda police have arrested four men, including Purthy. Eight other accused, including Munda, are absconding.

The Uttam Basti incident is not an isolated one. The tribal-dominated Sundargarh district has recorded at least 50 deaths due to suspicion of witchcraft since 2001. The local word for witch, Dahani, has powerful repercussions for the tribal population and almost invariably it is the women who are at the receiving end.

Quacks seem to be the best bet in any illness for the tribal people living in the remote hamlets. When diseases such as malaria and diarrhoea claim live, they often blame a woman for it, accusing her of casting an evil spell. This makes villagers decide to get rid of the evil soul, and the woman is punished, sometimes with death.

The problem is not confined to Sundargarh. Tribal people in many parts of Orissa link their problems to sorcery and witchcraft. Many tribal communities also believe that death is the work of evil spirits, black magic and witchcraft.

Mayurbhanj, another tribal-dominated district, has recorded 15 deaths related to belief in witchcraft since 2003. The problem also exists in Keonjhar and Phulbani districts.

The police only come to know of harassments that follow the branding of a woman as a witch when a suspected witch is killed. However, there are hundreds of unreported incidents where "witches" are harassed, ostracised, banished from their villages, tonsured, physically tortured and even forced to eat human excreta. The assailants are usually relatives or neighbours of the suspected witch. There have been cases where the entire village or the panchayat ganged up against a suspected witch.

The reasons for the superstitious practice are not far to seek. The health care service in the interior districts is weak, and in many areas, tribal people have to walk miles to the nearest health centre. The problem is accentuated by illiteracy, poverty and lack of awareness. There is no road to thousands of villages in the State, and hundreds of schools do not have enough teachers.

Murders induced by belief in witches have left many families shattered. In Birwal village under Lathikata block of Sundargarh district, 14-year-old Sumati lives alone. Her mother, Budhuni Singh (50), was throttled to death by Samara Gauda, a 19-year-old from the village, on March 20. Samara believed that Budhuni practised witchcraft and was responsible for his brother's insanity and his father's death a few months ago. Samara is now in judicial custody. He was arrested by the Brahmani Tarang police the day after the murder when some people informed the police that they had seen him killing Budhuni.

The story of Noni Ekka (40) of Tainsar village of Lathikata block is equally pathetic. She was branded a witch in May last year. The villagers tonsured her head and made her eat cow-dung and cow bone. She was beaten up, paraded naked, asked to cross the Brahmani River and not return to the village.

Noni's troubles started after she accidentally touched a girl in the neighbourhood, Sukhi Ekka, while looking for her son Manoj. It was around 11 p.m., and the girl was sleeping. Noni's touch gave her a start, and she fainted, presumably out of fright. However, her parents blamed Noni's "witchcraft" for it.

A case was registered on May 28 after Noni reported the incident to the court of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Rourkela. The 13 people arrested for torturing her are now out on bail, and the matter is pending before the court. Deserted by her husband, Noni leads a life full of uncertainty, struggling to feed her four children.

In another case, Bisaka Munda of Kurga village had a high fever, which gave her fits of shivering. The quack whom her family consulted, pronounced her to be possessed by evil spirits. They kicked and punched the girl through the night to drive the evil spirits away. She died in the process, and seven members of her family have been charge-sheeted.

Though women are traditionally the victims of such witch-hunts, men too find themselves at the receiving end sometimes. In January 2003, Dhuleswar Barik of Alapaka village in Sundargarh district hacked to death six men because he suspected one of them of practising witchcraft. He was awarded the death sentence by the trial court last year. The matter is pending before the High Court.

There have been many cases where people, trying to propitiate the gods, have killed young boys and given their blood as an offering. Quacks are sometimes killed when their cures fail.

"The problem is a combination of poverty, superstition, lack of medical care and illiteracy. It makes a deadly mix," said Narendra Nayak, a Professor of Biochemistry in the Kasturba Medical College at Manipal in Karnataka and the president of the Federation of Indian Rationalist Associations. "The solution to the problem lies in improving the levels of literacy, creating a scientific temper and improving the medical infrastructure," said Nayak, who has been making visits to tribal pockets of the State to organise demonstrations of tricks that the tribal people believed could only be performed by those claiming to possess supernatural powers.

Witch-hunts have also been reported from the coastal districts of Orissa. Two years ago, in Krushna Prasad block of Puri district, a woman branded as a witch was tied upside down, and four of her teeth were removed after the local panchayat decided to punish her. The incident drew the attention of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC).

"It is a serious problem when people take the law into their own hands and kill people in the name of witchcraft and sorcery. It is even more unfortunate that belief in witchcraft continues to prevail in the coastal region of Orissa despite the spread of education," said A.B. Tripathy, NHRC Rapporteur for Orissa and Jharkhand who investigated the Puri incident. "The government should undertake a State-wide study and find out the dimensions of the problem. The authorities should take necessary action, and the civil society should be organised to fight superstition," Tripathy said. "The women's self-help groups (SHGs) should be activated through various government agencies and banks to motivate people."

Nayak said that belief in witchcraft is not unique to Orissa. "The problem is very strong in the tribal heartlands of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh," he said. "Even in a city like New Delhi people have superstitions, but they usually don't go to the extent of killing people. According to Nayak, the Federation of Indian Rationalist Associations, a body of 65 rationalist organisations from different parts of the country, has been demanding a law to ensure the separation of religion from politics, administration and education. The new law should ban state-sponsored religious activities, he said.

"The country will never progress unless superstitions are removed. We cannot afford to have quacks making a fool of everybody, including Central Ministers," Nayak said.

The reason why the old woman/widows are only are alleged as a witch and are humiliated, raped and murdered, and mostly the allegation comes from the menfolk. The hidden agenda behind blaming the older woman as a witch is to grab the landed property of the old woman/ widows. Another is entirely blind belief andsuperstitions. The third reason is to take personal revenge against somebody people use the witch, and the conflict arises. Finally, the witches are also sexually abused, and even tortured, beaten and polluted them with human excreta, assuming that their mantra power will vanish if they are tortured or raped. After making them physically impure, their spiritual power is seized, and they are no more able to harm anybody. However, these beliefs are assumptions, and there is no scientific reason behind this.

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Language

Siddham, 5th century Sanskrit script, Gokokuji, Tokyo. On Japanese tombs you find the Sanskrit alphabet. The Japanese cannot read this alphabet but still use it to respect the dead. The 5th century Siddham script, which has disappeared in India, is still in use in Japan. At Koyasan, they still have a school where Sanskrit is taught with Siddham. Photo: Benoy K. Behl

10.Linguistic Landscape and Language policies with reference toFederal Democratic Republic of Nepal: a Sociolinguistic study

Rambandhu Subedi

Hemanga Dutta

Abstract

This paper seeks to explore the discrepancies between the current language policies of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal and everyday practices revealed in sign in linguistic landscape. It further analyzes the governmental practices of languages in terms of public signs and uses of languages in Nepal. In Nepal, one language policy was in practice for a long period before 1990 but then two language and tri-language policies were introduced respectively. Multilingual policy came into action for the first time only after 2006 (Yadava, 2007). However, more strong multilingual policy was specially provisioned in the constitution during 2015.The current constitution of Nepal, 2015 recognizes Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal as a multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual, multi religious and secular nation and has incorporated a lot of provisions to promote multilingual policy (Constitution of Nepal, 2015). The essence of this policy lies in the fact that it upholds diversities as a component of rich cultural heritages and foster a spirit of inquiry to develop tolerance and harmony in the development of a plural society. Following the constitutional provisions, multilingual education policy, curriculums, teacher trainings and other supporting provisions are made in educational plans and programs(SSDP, 2016). Although the government introduced comprehensive policies pertaining to multilingualism still the real practices in the linguistic landscape is out of the reporting system and there is a gap between policy and real practices.

Key words: Linguistic landscapes, Bottom-up and Top-down signs, Multilingualism

1. Introduction

Language is often been a major political agenda in Nepal as a result the languages priorities have been changing along with political changes. Before 1990 the major focus of state was on one language for national unity and integration. But in contrast, after 1990's constitution, trilingual policy has been introduced and the constitution has made the provision for the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction and subject itself at the primary level. According to Awasthi, L, (2004) such provisions allowed the schools in Nepal to choose any mother tongues as an optional subject. However, no financial supports were provided for making this scheme successful one. In 2003, the Ministry of Education (MOE) introduced English as a foreign language from grade 1 in all public schools (SSDP, 2016). After the establishments of republic, more voices of rights, representations, recognition and languages were addressed through constitutional means and other institutional provisions. For instance, provisions of multilingual language policy, formation of language commission,provision of mother tongue language up to grade 8th ensured autonomy to the provinces to choose their officiallanguage representing the majority of the populations based on the recommendations made by the language commission, allocating more resources and materials for multilingual classrooms etc.

There are two contrasting views about the language policies in Nepal. On one hand Politicians argue that multilingual language policy enhances the quality of education and contributes to economic development through social integration, helps to mainstreaming the minorities in development and assures their dignity. These arguments are supported by some researchers too, for instance (Giri, 2010) argues that Languages of Nepal have been conspiratorially manipulated to serve the interest of the dominant groups of the society since the very formation of the state in the eighteen century. On the other side, peoples often argue that focusing on local languages may confine the tremendous global opportunities and competitive competences. In this line, Chudamani, Bandhu (1989) argues that there is a strong positive role of Nepali language in establishing the national identity and unity of the country. This can be observed through the attraction towards English medium schools and inclination to English language in every linguistic society. Among these opposite ideas, the study is focused to find the public priorities of language from rural to urban areas in terms of sign language.

Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal is a multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual, multi religious secular nation that assumed to the symbol of unity, recognition and progress. The main reflection of such diversities can be felt through its linguistic and cultural outputs. There are 123 languages spoken as a mother tongues, most of them belongs to Indo-aryan and Sino-tibetan language families(CBS, 2014). Furthermore, there are 59 different ethnic variations along with their distinguished cultural identities. However, Nepali is the official language which is spoken by 44.6 percent of the population as their mother tongue(CBS, 2014). Constitution of Nepal 2015 provisioned for multilingual policy and ensured the fundamental rights of basic education through mother tongue and majority language can be used as official language in provinces. These provisions are considered as a great political achievements in political sector, however in the linguistic landscapes how the public interact with the language policies, or what is their response in terms of public usages of language has not been defined yet. The policies are generally based on top down approach evolved as political agendas.

The discussion of this paper is confined to the public signs displayed by the peoples, private institutions, and public organizations. The samples were chosen from the province no. three, where we can see the density of mother tongues. In other words, the population is from the province where the capital city is located. The unit of analysis are individual photos in terms of lingual degrees and comparison between rural, urban, top-down, bottom-up signs. It further seeks the public choices expressed in the form of order and accuracy of languages. Section I deals with the brief summary of linguistic landscapes in Nepal, Languages policies from past to present and current constitutional provisions. Section II is focused on the presentation and analysis of the samples and section III discusses about the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

2 Linguistic landscapes in Nepal, Languages policies from past to present and current constitutional provisions

2.1 Defining linguistic landscapes

The linguistic landscape is a physical domain or content where visual images are displayed as read by passers-by(Nunna, 2017). linguistic landscape is defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997:25) ― the language of public road signs, advertisements, billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration‖ . Similarly, linguistic research implies different purposes behind decisions to display signs in public sphere. These are grounded in various theories such as language choice, representation, individual and collective identities, prestige, power (Boudon, 2003, Bourdieu, 1993) cited in (Nunna, 2017). On the basis of the abovementioned definitions, linguistic landscape is considered as a trend of languages that are used by people in public arena. It assessed on the basis of priorities, conveniences, target of communication and identity.

2.2. Linguistic landscape in Nepal

Since Nepal is a linguistically very diverse nation within small geographical boundary of 147181 sq.km area. There are 123 languages from four different language families, which are rooted with their ethnic, cultural and regional origination(CBS, 2014). These languages are associated with four language families, which are Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic accordingly from the largest to smaller number. Nepali is used as official language and spoken by 44.6% of the population as their mother tongue(CBS, 2014). Nepali is set up as official language since last 18th century, while in 1768, Prithvi Narayan Shah, A king of then ―Gorkha state‖ led a successful two year campaign(Yadava, 2007), which ended in the unification of Nepal with land borders similar to those of today. After then, with the gradual implementation of state institutions and process of acculturation which involved the imposition of a caste based Hindu social hierarchical order, Nepal became the major language of communication among various languages. It was originated from Jumla district nowadays, which was called ―khas‖ in that time. Nowadays, Nepali is the language of governance, law, courts, trade, literatures, and security agencies. During the last three centuries, it was widespread from Nepal to eastern states of India up to Myanmar and Thailand.

2.3. Distribution of mother tongues in Nepal

Source: Central bureau of Statistics 2011

According to the national census 2011, Nepal‗s languages are mostly either Indo-European or Sino-Tibetan, while only a few of them are Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. The 48 Indo-European languages which are of the Indo-Aryan subfamily (excluding English), constitute the largest group in terms of the numeric strength of their speakers, nearly 82.1%.The Sino-Tibetan family of Nepal‗s languages forms a part of its Tibeto-Burman group. Though spoken by relatively less number of people than the Indo-European family (17.3%), it includes a greater number of languages, about 63 languages .Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages rank third at 0.19% and fourth at 0.13%, respectively, while only about 28 people speak Kusunda.

 2.4. Language Policies of Nepal from Past to Present

The level of inclusion and acceptance of languages by the state has been increasing in Nepal from the unification of the country. In the past, the state was unitary and emphasized on one language, one identity policies. Since the inception of first constitutional development in 1947, various constitutions provisioned Nepali as the major language of the state and role of others were ignored in the national life of the country. It isabundantly clear that the policies of then governments were to promote only the use of Nepali in education, administration, publication, information and media. Among these various 123 languages, only Maithili and Newari were introduced as an optional subjects in the schools and higher education curricula(Yadava, 2007). For the first time, the 1990‗s constitution recognized all indigenous languages of Nepal as ―national languages and guaranteed each communities the right to preserve and promote languages. Furthermore, the constitution provisioned the fundamental rights of each community to operate schools up to the primary levelin their mother tongue for imparting education to their children. However, the remote schools had very poor physical facilities, lack of such local language teachers, functional scripts and written literatures. In spite of these adversities, the constitutional provisions provide grounds for hope and encouragements among various ethnic groups to work towards the preservation and promotion of their languages, cultures and educational opportunities in their mother tongue.

In 1993, the government formed a national language policy recommendation commission which submitted 58 recommendations made under various headings. The recommendations were more progressive than existing practices. Unfortunately, the government didn‗t implement the recommendations properly(Toba & Rai, 2005).

Later in 2000, the government introduced curriculum up to primary level, also developed curriculum, teachers guide, text books and other teaching learning materials. This allowed the school to design local curriculum based on the local knowledge, skills, cultures and languages.

Non formal education policy 2007, emphasized on literacy programs with income generation for those hard core groups who are living in poverty and are from remote areas based on their local languages and indigenous skills and knowledge. To implement such programs effectively, the policy envisioned that the materials for those targeted programs should be appropriate from gender, caste, ethnic and language perspectives.

School Sector Reform Plan (2008-2015) of Ministry of Education also ensured various mother-tongues based bilingual education programs to implement the provisions made by constitution which were designed for primary levels.

Similarly multilingual education implementation directives were introduced in 2009, which provisioned definitions, legal arrangements, implementation process, managing teachers, producing resources in mother tongues in schools based on demand approach. In addition, it envisioned to create a diversified classroom, where teachers use their language skills to manage the multilingual, environment. It defined multilingual classroom as an apex part of education system. Furthermore, this directive ensured mother tongue as a mediumof instruction in grade 1-8 and as a subject.

Likewise, School Sector Development Plan (2016-2022), a comprehensive sectorial plan of ministry of education Nepal, includes remarkable provisions regarding to local language and curriculum that are listed below;

•   Developing teaching learning materials in mother tongues.

•   Expansion of national early grade reading program with developing children's reading resources in their languages.

•   Improving teaching of English as a subject.

•   Conducting trainings for professional development of language teachers.

•   Provisions are made for schools to engage bilingual teachers.

•   Providing assistance to ensure that students who speak only limited Nepali language upon entry to school receive necessary language support in their mother tongue.

•   Ensuring assessment and monitoring system of languages of education.

However, this plan accepted the importance of English language that is demanding from parents. The government has a clear policy of supporting mother tongue-based multilingual education up to grade 3, on the other hand, almost all private schools use English as the medium of instruction. The attraction of parents is increasing towards such schools. Likewise many community schools began using English as the medium of instruction to retain the students. There is a general demand for English from parents to communities, nevertheless, most schools are not resourced in terms of teaching learning materials to deliver the curriculum effectively in English medium. The same is true for schools in terms of teaching in mothers tongues.

Existing constitution of Nepal (Constitution of Nepal, 2015) is the most progressive among previous constitutions. It included various recommendations made by the former national language policy recommendation commission in 1993. Since a decade long civil war and other regional political movements

were raising the language as a critical political issue in terms of rights, identity and inclusion. So the new constitution accepted all demands and made very progressive provisions.

Constitutional (current) provisions regarding to language in Nepal

Preamble: Protecting and promoting social and cultural solidarity, tolerance and harmony, and unity in diversity by recognizing the multiethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural and diverse regional characteristics, resolving to build an egalitarian society founded on the proportional inclusive and participatory principles in order to ensure economic equality, prosperity and social justice, by eliminating discrimination based on class, caste, region, language, religion and gender and all forms of caste-based untouchability,

Defining Nation: All the Nepalese people, with multiethnic, multilingual, multireligious, multicultural characteristics and in geographical diversities,

Languages of the nation: All languages spoken as the mother tongues in Nepal are the languages of the nation (Article 6). The Nepali language in the Devnagari script shall be the official language of Nepal (Article 7:1).

A State may, by State law, determine one or more than one languages of the nation spoken by a majority of people within the State as its official language(s), in addition to the Nepali language(Article 7:2).Other matters relating to language shall be as decided by the Government of Nepal, on recommendation of the Language Commission (Article 7:3).

Rights to education

Every Nepalese community residing in Nepal shall have the right to get education in its mother tongue and, for that purpose, to open and operate schools and educational institutes, in accordance with law (Article 31:5).

Right to language and culture

Every person and community shall have the right to use their languages (Article 32:1).Every person and community shall have the right to participate in the cultural life of their communities (Article 32:2). Every Nepalese community residing in Nepal shall have the right to preserve and promote its language, script,culture, cultural civilization and heritage (Article 32:3).

National policies regarding to language and culture

Such policies target to protect culture, literature, arts, motion pictures and heritages of various castes, tribes, and communities on the basis of equality and co-existence, while maintaining the cultural diversity of the country, pursuing a multi-lingual policy (Article 51).

Language commission (Article 287:6).

The provision of Language Commission was incorporated in the constitution after some political forces demanded in the erstwhile Constituent Assembly that Nepal, being a multi-lingual country, should also reflect its diversity in the language policy by having more languages for official communication on the functions, duties and powers of the Language Commission shall be as followings.

(a) To determine the criteria to be fulfilled for the recognition of the official language and make recommendations on languages to the Government of Nepal,

(b)To make recommendations to the Government of Nepal, on the measures to be adopted for the protection, promotion and development of languages,

(c) To measure the levels of development of mother tongues and make suggestions to the Government of Nepal, on the potentiality of their use in education,

(d) To study, research and monitor languages.

Recently Nepal language commission submitted report to the government. The report recommends implementing language-related provision enshrined in the new constitution, clarifying the language used as government official language, preserving and developing language, and expanding the script of language, dictionary, grammar, and the use of mother tongue. ―Of the total 123 languages existential at present, many are on the verge of disappearance. So the government must take initiatives towards preserving these languages,‖ the report mentioned.

In conclusion, Language is one of the political and development issues in Nepal. The state from the very beginning initiated one language policy; then introduced bilingual, trilingual and now standing at multilingual policy. Furthermore, the provinces and local governments may introduce their languages as an official language. The seriousness of the issue can be accessed through the formation of language commission and sufficient provisions to promote multilingual education. Learning in mother tongue is well established as a fundamental educational right of children. Political movements and their demand were behind on all of the above provisions.

3. Data/Information Collection, Analysis and Interpretation

This paper aimed to explore the discrepancies between language policies of government and their application in the linguistic landscapes in terms of public choices. To identify linguistic practices the attitude and real practice of the people along with signs are the most important aspects, however, it was not feasible to collect such information for this study due to time and geographical constraints. So only the pictures could be collected for the study. Since sign language are also a very strong expression of public priorities, choices and their attitudes. In this regard, it is expected that the study could reveal the discrepancies between language policy and linguistic landscape practices.

   3.1 Population and sample

The population of this study was 4thprovince of Nepal where the capital city lies. Samples were selected randomly representing rural and urban, public and private, profit making and nonprofit making sectors, school, college, hotels, restaurants, highway signs etc.

3.2 Primary data

Various pictures from diverse field of society were collected either from websites or capturing directly. I asked to my friend to capture the required pictures.

3.3 Secondary data

Government publications from websites were taken as secondary data. Related researches about linguistic landscapes are considered as references.

3.4 Data analysis and interpretation

Study is qualitative and descriptive in nature. Policy provisions of governments of Nepal and real priorities and use of language is assessed after then compatibility analysis is used to make conclusions.

In this study, top down signage includes public signs used by national, federal or local governments, governmental bodies, departments, public institutions, road signs, traffic signs, street names etc. that are concerned to public welfare. But in contrast, bottom up signage refers to commercial signs displayed by business owners, commercial enterprises, hotels, restaurants, shops, shopping malls, private hospitals, private schools, airlines etc.

Figure:1   Figure:2

For instances the above two examples are considered as top down because these are originated by public organizations for public purpose and the public sector is abided by constitutions and public policies. Such top down communication medium may be political or social issue.

Figure: 3   Figure:4

The figures 3 and 4 are considered as bottom up because these were based on the intention of their owner. Since Private sectors are free to choose their languages whatever they think more profitable and communicable. The first one is private hospital and the second one is about advertisement of drama theatre. Unit of analysis in the study are urban, rural, public, private, prominence of languages, monolingual, bilingual, multilingual. Every picture is the matter of analysis.

3.4.1   Distribution of signs

This study is focused on sample of 200 signs collected in the linguistic landscape of Kathmandu City, other cities and rural areas where multilingualism exists. The signs consists of linguistic text language combinedwith symbols, signs and pictures. The languages identified in the data are Nepali, English, Newari, Tibetan, and others either in monolingual, bilingual or multilingual.

Types of signs	No. of instances	Percentage
Top down	90	45%
Bottom up	110	55%
Total	200	100%

Table:1

Since the data are photographic the visual contain both linguistic and non-linguistic features which appear to be useful for linguistic landscape analysis. These pictures revealed valuable socio - linguistic patterns that are occurring in the linguistic landscape in Nepal. From the table above it's clear that 45% of the total samples were from top-down sector where as rest of the others were from bottom-up sectors. Since it is assumed that the number of bottom –up signs appear more in linguistic landscapes than top-down ones, so the samples were also adjusted accordingly.

3.4.2 Degree of monolinguals, bilingualism and multilingualism

Types of signs	Number of Instances	Percentages
Monolingual	100	50%
Bilingual	95	47.5%
Multilingual	5	2.5%
Total	200	100%

Table:4

The above table revealed that among the total samples, monolingualistic signs are more in number than than of others ategories. Since the samples were taken from a diverse societies where people use their mother tongues,however the figures shows that the preferences for the language in signs are appearing different from their mother tongues. The constitution envisioned multilingual societies but the real signs practices shows that either monolingual or bilonual. Only 2.5% of the samples are written in three languages. Most interestingly, those schools imparting multilingual education were not following either nepali or english on their sign booard.

3.4.3 Languages visible on monolingual signs

	Nepali		English		Newari		Tibetan	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Top-down	10	10%	18	18%	4	4%	NA	
Bottom-up	30	30%	35	35%	3	3%	NA	
	40		53		7			

Table: 5

From the table above it can be inferred that most of the signs are with either in Nepali or English. Out of 200 photos,100 are written in one single language, furthermore, rest of the 95 photos are written in two language, English and Neapli. English is being familiar means of communication everywhere, because both the public entities and the private or commercial prefer English on their sign boards, advertisements and other passive communication means. It means that people can understand and communicate in either Nepali or English. Since the sample areas are dense with mother tongues like Newari, Tamang and Tharu. But most of these

mother tongues have incomplete and less developed written scrip, consequently, people can speak these languages but can't be communicable to other peoples. More specifically, the table reveals that the percentage of Newari signs appears only 7%, whereas the Kathmandu city is dense of Newar community, which has well developed ―Ranjana‖ script which is also called as Newari. But the peoples are putting more priorities on English and Neapli. It may be due to business perspectives, because on the one hand, if they choose only their languages then other native speakers can't understand and may not feel that warmth. On the other hand, English is used more among the educated people as a medium of communication.

3.4.4   Languages appearing on bilingual signs

	Nepali+ English English+ Tibetan		Nepali + Newari		Nepali + Tibetan		English+		Newari	
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Top-down	37	39.94%	4	4.21%	1	1.05%	1	1.05%	NA	
Bottom-up	43	45.26%	5	5.26%	2	2.01%	1	1.05%	1	1.05%
Total	80	84.21%	9	9.47%	3	3.05%	2	2.05%	1	1.05%

Table:6

The above table: 6 reveals that Nepali and English happen to be the most preferred languages which is about 85 percent of the total bilingual accounts. Among them, most of the private sectors entrepreneurs and institutions choose English and Nepali at the same time.Likewise a significant number of signs of government institutions were seem to be on English as well as in Nepali. A combination of Nepali and Newari appears as the second priority language. About 9.47percent of the total bilingual signs are displayed in Nepali and Newari together which, compared to English and Nepali, is quite lower. Similarly, the combination of Nepali with Tibetan or English with Tibetan and Newari appears in a few numbers. Almost all of the central governmental institutions make signs only in English and Nepali. The small number of Newari and Tibetan with English and Nepali comes from local autonomous governmental bodies like municipalities and Village municipalities. Moreover, the Bilingual signs mixing with Nepali and English with mother tongues are appearing mainly from touristic areas where there is cultural tourism is being promoted. They're using these sign to sell their traditional products and service.

3.4.5   Languages appearing on multilingual signs

	Nepali+ English +Newari Other kind of combinations		Nepali + English + Tibetan		English+Tibetan+Newari			
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
Top-down	1	20%	NA		NA		1	20%
Bottom-up	1	20%	1	20%	NA		1	20%
Total	2	40%	1	20%			2	40%

Table:7

From table:7, it can be conclude the multilingual sigs are in a small amounts. The Nepali, English and Newari combinations holds 40% of the total signs and other combinations also have the similar percentage, whereas the combinations of Nepali, English and Tibetan holds 20 percent whereas the English, Tibetan and Newari combination have no any signs found.

3.4.6 Rural and urban areas language priorities

	Nepali	English	Newari	Tibetan or other mother tongue	Bilingual (Nepali +English)	Multilingual
Rural areas	25	10	3	NA	20	3
Urban areas	15	43	4	NA	75	2
	40	53	7		95	5

Table: 8

Above table represents the distribution of signs in rural and urban areas. The figure reveals a interesting trend about the distribution. The rural signs preferred more for Neapli language and urban signs make preferences on English. Furthermore, most the urban areas signs, (75%) are bilingual in Nepali plus English which is more than 3 times than that of the rural areas in the same category. Likewise Newari appears as a third most prioritized language in both areas; however the number is significantly lower comparing to English and Nepali.In addition, multilingual signs also appear in both areas, but the number is slightly lower than Newari. In conclusion, in rural areas more priority appears for Nepali, whereas in rural English appears in priority, Nevertheless, both areas still put bilingual priorities in English and Nepali.

3.4.7   Prominence of languages in bilingual and multilingual signs

Linguistic prominence of the bilingual and multilingual signs in the present study refers to the visibility and salience of languages in the linguistic landscape (Landry &Bourhis, 1997) cited in(Nunna, 2017). The study shows visibility in terms of language order, font size and the space, i.e. the text occupies. The visibility and size of font is important to determine whether the use of signage on bottom-up practices is in line with official language policies. It also helps to determine the choices of language, which made reveal the discrepancies or differences in the displayed languages.

3.4.8 Order of languages on bottom-up multilingual signs

Order of languages on sign means the priorities of the creator to the targeted audiences. It is assumed that the first order represents first priority.

Figure:5 A village youth club   Fig.6 Information about welcomming to visitors

location

The above samples from figure:5 and 6 reveal how the multilingual bottom-up signs are written. Figure 5 is from and. Almost all bottom-up multilingual sign bords are following the similar trend. On both instances, the target groups'mother language is wrritten first then following English on the first one and following Neapli on the second. From this trend, sensitiveness in choosing language and it's priority can be observed.

3.4.9 Order of languages on top-down Multilingual signs

The following picture is from a local government. Where three languages are displayed.

Figure:7, Kathmandu Metropolital city signboard

The above instance from figure:7 shows the language priorities on top-down multilingual signs. On which Nepali is wrritten first then Newari and English accordingly. It is written with sense of targetted audience. Because larger portion of this metropolitian city speak Neapli,then Newari and English.

3.4.10 Order of languages on bottom up bilingual signs

 Figure:8 A restaurant on trekking route   Figure:9, Urban roadside shops

The above two figures 8 and 9 are representation from bottom-up bilingual sign posts exerts that the targeted audiences are carefully prioritized, which is true, because the first tea shop is from rural trekking route and second is from a street of urban area. In the second instance, there are many signs, like fashion house, cyber café and photo studio. The customers of cloth shop are only Nepali. But for bank and cyber café foreigners andliterate people go there, so the language order is maintained according to their priorities to the customers.

3.4.11. Order of languages on top -down bilingual signs

Figure: 10, Central Government Office   Figure: 11, Central health ministry

The above two figures 10 and 11are from governmental bodies, in both of them Neapli is in first order then English appears. Here also, the targeted audiences are supposed to be Nepali and foreign development partners, investors etc. However these signs doesn't follow multilingualism because many clients of the second instances come from different linguistic and ethnic communities.

3.4.12.Accuracy of language and Expressing English in Nepali script

Figure 12: A Restaurant in Kathmandu   Figure: 13: Beauty parlor

Figure: 14, information in village   Figure: 15, commercial advertisement

The above Four samples exert that there are some inaccuracies in spelling as well as meaning. On the figure 12, the translation must be ―Red cock Restaurant‖ but ―RESTORAN RATO BHALE‖ is displayed. First word has spelling error whereas second and third word is written in roman. On the figure13, all words are written in Roman Nepali translation of following English words ―Forever Beauty Parlour and Training Centre‖ and ―Cap House‖ . On figure14, spelling as well context of the subject are looking deviated. On the figure15, ―RARA‖ is interpreted creatively using Nepal meaningful sentence mixing with roman pronunciation.

3.4.13. Signboard languages on schools

Figure: 16, bilingual community school   Figure: 17 private school

For the purpose of the study some schools including both public and private schools were chosen. It's obvious that every private schools without English can't survive. So their medium of instruction is English. As a result their sign boards prefer English first than Neapli. The figure: 17, is of private school. But some of the community schools are introducing multilingual teaching learning practices following the government policies.The figure: 16, above represents that type of school. It is found that most of the multi or bilingual schools were following Nepali and English to display their name, information etc.

3.4.14 Signboards on Hospitals

Figure: 18,Private hospital   Figure:19,Medical counclil

Figure: 20 Public hospital   Figure: 21, Public hospital

The above are some samples from hospitals of Nepal. The figure 18 is from a private hospital, figure:19 is of the regulatory body of health professionals and rest are(20 and 21) from two public hospitals. It is clear that private hospitals are using English on first order, but for public English and then Nepali is written, except the civil hospital, which is written in English only. Nevertheless, these Hospitals are followed by most of the low income and diverse linguistic peoples. It also contradicts with the language policy of the nation.

3.4.14. Languages on currency notes

Figure: 22,Currency notes

Above pictures are the samples of denominations of Nepalese currency. Here we can see only English and Nepali.multilingual Language policy can't be reflected here too.

3.4.15. Media, languages and policy

There are forty three newspapers officially registered and publishing newspapers mainly in three languages, namely, Nepali, English and Newari. Among them thirty three are published in Nepali, nine are published in English and only one is published in Newari. However, The government owned daily newspaper ―Gorkhapatra daily‖ allocates two pages every day in variety of national languages. It can be concluded that,

there is no market for other mother tongue languages newspapers, whereas the number of English newspapers are on increasing mode. The demand of society and readers towards Nepali and English is in increasing order. It also contradicts to the national language policy, political assumptions and provisions.

3.4.16. Relations between policies and public priorities expressed in the form of signs

Figure:23,driving licence   Figure:24 The oldest public hospital of Nepal

Figure: 25 , Public website   Figure: 26,Office of the Primeminister

The above pictures are taken from central government organizations. The first one is new smart driving license which is written in complete English. However, most of the drivers are less educated. Second instance, is the largest and oldest public hospital, where almost all patients come from poor, marginalized and illiterate communities, but its signboard is written in English. The third one, is information display of central department of transport, which uses English to cater important information. The fourth instance is from office of the prime ministers of Nepal, which has bilingual signboard.

None of the central ministries, offices, departments are following the multilingual policy. Only English and Nepali bilingual signboards can be seen. Multilingualism is seemed to be like a decorative and a matter of unity and belongingness purpose only. Institutionally it is accepted, however in practice only some local government offices, for the languages diversity, are using multilingual signboards. But for bottom up, they are free to choose their language independently. Their priorities also seem to be English first and then Neapli.

4. Main Findings and further implications:

Based on the analysis of the total sample signs, the study found that 50% of them were monolingual whereas 47.5% were bilingual and 2.5% were multilingual. Among monolinguals, 53% were written in English, 40% in Nepali and only 7% in Newari. Furthermore, bottom-up preferences were more seen in favor of English than others but the top-down preference was given to the Nepali language. Samples on Urban-Rural divide shows that Nepali language is given priority in rural areas whilst English is dominant over others in urban divide. Furthermore, English and Nepali both appear to be dominant over other mother tongues and only the signs of Newari language were used among all local languages.

In bilingual signs, the combination of English and Nepali stood at first position with 84.2% and then appeared Nepali with Newari, Nepali with Tibetan and English with Tibetan in descending order. In multilingual signs, the combination of Nepali, English and Newari came in first order with 40% and then came the others.

Various linguistic landscapes showed that there are discrepancies between government's multilingual policies and real practices and priorities. None of the central ministries, offices, departments were following the multilingual policy. However the local governments were following them to some extent. Local governments were also found to be sensitive in choosing the order of languages in bilingual and multilingual signs. Moreover, only English and Nepali languages were seen in national currency. In terms of language priorities,

English came in first order for private sectors as well as for bottom-up signs whereas Nepali came first for the public organizations and top-down signs as well.

Some misspellings and inaccuracies in language also could be observed. It was found that most of the multi or bilingual schools were following Nepali and English to display their names, information etc. Private school had totally used English languages as medium of instruction and Nepali and English on their signboards. Similarly, Private hospitals were using English on first order, but the boards of public hospitals were written in English and then in Nepali except the civil hospital, which was written in English only. Public hospitals were temptedto use English rather than Nepali, where most of the patients are from diverse ethnic and multilingualbackgrounds. No newspapers were found published other than in English, Nepali and Newari. However, only one government news publication agency (The Gorkhapatra) had provided some pages for different languages in rotation.

Multilingualism can't be observed in public space including top-down and bottom up spaces. Most of the signs are appeared on either English or Nepali. In addition, Nepali is preferred in rural areas whereas English is most preferred in urban areas. Similarly, Influence of other local languages neither on top-down nor on bottom-up signs could be seen. Furthermore, on all bilingual and multilingual signs either English or Nepali or both appeared. It implies that almost all signs carry English and Nepali. Every sector such as hospitals, schools, media, commercial sectors, governmental bodies put English and then Nepali on higher priority. Nevertheless, the organizations which are targeted to special linguistic community, give priority to their mother tongues specially the local governments and traditional and cultural shops.

In a nutshell, following conclusions are made

- There is contradiction between language policy and actual practices and priorities in public spaces.
- The Governmental institutions are not supposed to be serious about the implications of multilingual policies.
- Despite of distinct policies regarding multilingual classrooms in schools, real practices are not found as expected.
- Currencies also follow bilingualism, English and Nepali only.
- Newspapers are not published in other languages except in Nepali, Newari and English.
- Bottom- up practices has shown that people are interested towards Nepali and English languages.
- Public organizations also have inclination more towards English and then to Nepali.
- But Local Governments and bodies are giving more priorities on putting their signboards in local languages.

Based on the findings and conclusions on lingual practices, following recommendations are made.

a. The government should conduct an in-depth research about language practice, public interest and priorities based on the perception of the public people with representative samples of the country. Existing constitutional language commission can do researches regarding such issue. b. Mandatory language codes should be derived since selection of Languages should be based on the interest and demand of the people in democratic societies.

c. The government should preserve and enhance the cultural heritages and linguistic treasures which are the identities of every civilization.

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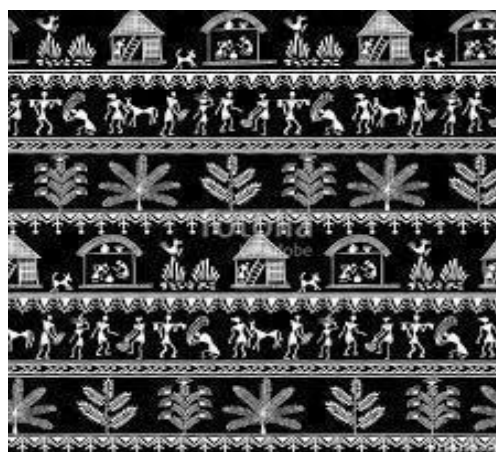
11. A Sociological Landscape of the Maram Tribe

Neelam Singh

Abstract

This paper proposes to introduce one of the most primitive tribe _Maram', north-east India. According to the UNESCO survey, there are approximately 1635 native languages spoken by the indigenous people in India, of which 196 are considered as endangered languages. The term _Maram' refers to the language and to the ethnic tribe in the Maram region of Manipur, north-east India. Maram is also one of the endangered languages as the survey lists. The paper attempts to present a brief overview of this ethnic community in terms of their socio-cultural practices as this race is fast vanishing and most of the cultural practices are not recorded. Some of the well-known practices exercised by this community are kanghi, mangkhang and ponghi etc. The history of this ethnic group is rich but not historiography as all details are handed down through oral traditions in the form of folktales, folklores and legends. Hence the origin of the Marams is based on the folklorist tradition. This work is a modest attempt to keep on record the rich socio-cultural heritage of this ethnic race.

Key words: maram, endangered, folklore, socio-cultural.

1.0 Introduction

First and foremost, I owe my sincere gratitude to Monica Taruba, a native of Maram who helped me to compile socio-linguistics background of this ethnic race and most importantly in providing me first hand information about her language, people and the community. This paper has evolved out of many discussions and conversations with the natives themselves too. The Maram Nagas thus are tribes of Manipur inhabiting Senapati district. In our investigation of the study and their geographical habitat, it has been found that they areone of the most primitive tribes and are not so widely known. Therefore, the paper addresses in brief their day- to-day socio-cultural aspects. The rich socio-cultural practices exercised by this ethnic tribe are vast but vanishing. Not a single record is maintained about their socio- cultural landscape as they follow the oral tradition. Each and every detail from history to the present civilization is handed down orally through the medium of folklores and folktales. To add to this, they do not have a script and they use the roman script to represent in texts and in Holy Scriptures.

The Maram natives have their domicile in Manipur, a state lying in the north-east regions of India. Manipur became a full-fledged state of the Indian Union on 21st January, 1972. At present, the Maram area and its habitat fall under the Senapati district of Manipur state of north-eastern part of India. Dr. Horam, cited in Atickal (1992), in his foreword to _Maram Nagas' states: —The rich heritage of the Marams is fast vanishing and most of the good cultural practices are not recorded. Ironically with their intelligence, shrewdness and imaginative nature, the local educated men have not done any major research work on their people. There is urgent need for serious and major work on the people and land of the Marams.‖

The main Maram area falls under Tadubi sub-division and the rest under Kangpokpi. Most villages are practically on the hills, though new villages have been established along the National Highway No. 39 forbetter communication and livelihood. Maram area, being on the hill, has a cool climate. Maram is a Tibeto- Burman language spoken chiefly in Maram and its neighboring villages namely, Maram Khullen, Willong, Tumuyon Khullen and Ngatan villages. The Maram Nagas are the tribes of north- east India, inhabiting

Senapati district of the state of Manipur. There are more than thirty Maram villages scattered in the geographical expanse generally known as the Maram area. In our investigations of the study and their geographical habitat, we found that they are not so widely known like other Naga tribes today. At present, the most populous villages of the Marams are Maram Khullen and Willong perched on hill tops at altitudes of 6000 feet and 5800 feet, respectively.

According to 2001 census, the Maram Nagas figure to 37,340 approximately of the total population. The Maram Nagas are surrounded by other Naga tribes: to the North are the Mao Nagas; to the East are Poumai Nagas; to the South are the Thangal Nagas; to the South-West are the Zeliangrong Nagas (also calledLiangmais). Among the villages of the Maram tribes, the oldest and the largest is Maram Khullen, also known as Maramei Nandi. It is believed to be the preserver of the tribes' culture, social norms and ethos and thus guards the many customs and traditions of the Maram tribe. The inhabitants of Maram Khullen follow the

―LUNAR‖ calendar for its customs and traditions. The Maram Nagas do not have a script and they follow the Roman script, as is evident in the hymn books where the language is represented in Roman.

2.0 History and Background

The legend of the origin of Maram presents several features of interest. It is believed that the ancestors of the village came from the west. They were a couple named Medungasi and Simoting. It is believed that the couple were the sole survivors when the great flood destroyed all mankind but the two. They survived on the pretext that none of their descendants should consume pork meat. Thus it is to this day that still some old folks have maintained and follow the legendary practice especially in the Maram Khullen region of not consuming pork in any form. Thus from the couple to whose union divine consent had thus been obtained-sprang two brothers known as Kela Sangmuk and Maram Pungsa. The elder went to kachar and the younger, as his namerepresents-founded the village of Maram. Then from him sprang four sons – who gave their names to the four clans of Maram.

In considering the historical account of the Maram tribes, we take into account two different tribes; Mao Nagas and the Maram Nagas, respectively. The Maram Nagas and Mao Nagas derive their name from the two most important villages in their area. While they are often associated, they are in all probability as different inter se as any two Naga tribes in such proximity can be. The peak Kompamedza marks the centre of the maximum density of the Mao group. The Barak river rises in the folds of Kopamedza, flows southward, bends north at Karong and below Maram takes a second bend to the south right through the hills, (Hodson, 2013).

2.1 Languages spoken in Manipur

The study on Tibeto-Burman languages and its classifications poses a great challenge to linguistics due to lack of linguistic data stemming from all the languages in the Tibeto-Burman family. For instance, Shafer (1955) classifies Sino-Tibetan language family into six parts: Sinitic (Chinese), Daic (Thai), Bodic (Tibetan and other languages related), Burmic (Burmese and other languages related), Baric (Bodo) and Karenic (Karen). On the other hand, Bradley (1997) classifies the Tibeto-Burman language family into four major groups: North- Eastern India (Sal group); Western (Bodic Group); South Eastern inclusive of North-Eastern group, Kuki- Chin-Naga and Burmic.

As rightly put by Talukdar (1982): ―the language problem in the north-east is no doubt baffling and complex.According to him, the number of estimated tribes is over 130. Each tribe speaks their own language which is not intelligible even to neighbouring languages. To sum up, the Naga tribes in Manipur are Maram, Mao,Tangkhuls, Poumai, Zemei, Liangmei, Rongmei, Maring, Anal, Mayon, Monsang, Lamhling, Chothe, Thangal and Koreing, inhabiting across the hill districts except Churachandpur district.

2.2 Social Organization

Maram is a classless/casteless society characterized by customs and traditions, and people rich or poor, literate or illiterate are treated alike. Each village is self-sufficient in forest wealth and land is owned by individual household, clan or the village. Kinship is the binding force of the Maram society. Though a patriarchal society, a Maram woman doesn't occupy an inferior position. She is the backbone of the family. She stands by her freedom and may seek divorce if her rights are curtailed and remarry any man of her choice.

2.2.1 The People

Often described as the ―Great Maram‖ because in olden days the Marams were very superior to many other tribes of Manipur and were fierce warriors but today sadly one cannot say so. The greatness started to decline towards the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Athickal (1992) records that the decline of Maram began with the British burning down the village of Maram Khullen in 1891 as a punitive measure and probably many might have migrated to other places thus reducing their numerical superiority. Villagers of Willong speak of a great fire in their village in the close of the 19th century and one as late as in the 1950s.

In the midst of these circumstances, Christianity came together with its education. The head hunting which was the badge of superiority was gradually replaced by education. Christianity came rather late to Maram and this is the reason why the Maram people lag behind many other communities in the present context. Lack of education coupled with many famines in the Maram villages in the 20th century depleted the economic resources of the people. Athickal (1992) accounts for the fact that, this sudden decline in their struggle to keep up with the primacy among the tribes was so enigmatic that the Government of India was compelled to labelthe Marams as a ―Primitive Tribe‖ in need of Government succour and assistance. The dispersal of the Marams to different places, during their migration which took place even after the Second World War, meant that the lands they once cultivated were left fallow, and neighbouring tribes and the Kukis were able to occupy these lands, perhaps at concessional terms or perhaps for free.

As the migration took place, the Marams spread far and wide. History records not much about the Marams except about wars that were fought with the Meiteis during the time of King Khagemba (1596-1652). Legends have it that the influence of the Marams was felt in Khonoma (in Nagaland).

2.2.2 Cultural Life

The Maram festivals are celebrated following the phases of the moon/lunar calendar. There are separate festivals for both men and women and also festivals after the planting season. Each festival is celebrated with much vibrancy and enthusiasm. During celebrations, the people in the neighbourhood gather in a particular place and feast in wine and meat. Often the community, butcher a cow for the celebrations, if not people bring food and wine from their own houses and feast together. Any festival is unthinkable without men and women with wine cups in their hands, seated around the fire and singing folk songs. Celebrations do often go on for days but there is always a main day, and on that day people party the whole day and taking breaks only to go and take more food from their respective homes.

2.3.3 Mangkhang

Mangkhang is a festival of women folk which falls roughly in the month of April. This festival marks a formal farewell to girlhood for the newly wedded wenches. On this day all the women gather at Psiihapung (dancing ground) of the village and girls in different age groups or locality take their turn to showcase their talent

(singing and dancing) though it is never a competition. For the young men in particular, this occasion serves as a chance to see all the beautiful damsels in the village. Besides this, there is a lot of feasting with wine and meat.

2.4.4 Ponghi

This is a festival celebrated after the planting of paddy is done. It goes on for three days. On this day, a spotless cow is sacrificed which is often given by the king. Water is brought and sprinkled on the cow before killing it. The sacrifice is done to invoke for a good harvest and blessing on the newly married couples. It is also a day when the newly married couples are showered with gifts and on this day the bride prize is given by the bridegroom's family. This falls roughly in the month of July.

2.5.5 Kanghi

If Mangkhang is a festival of the girls, Kanghi is celebrated predominantly by men though it is festival for women and children who are finishing lactation. It falls roughly in the month of December. The festival goeson for seven days. On the fifth day all the people gather in front of the king's house and watch the wrestling match of men. The wrestlers go into the field naked for people believe that even the devils will leave laughing at them without doing any harm. After the wrestling matches, men run around the wrestling field, holding sticks in their hands prepared by the king, shouting and making sounds of celebration. After this, a long jump competition is held. The one who wins the competition becomes the man of the year. In most of the important celebrations, new rice beer is made in each household and given to the old people in the village to seek blessings on the children and grandchildren.

2.6.6 Dances

Dances are part and parcel of the lives of Maram people. The dances, graceful and poetic to behold, are often accompanied by songs. For most dances there is always a leader who signals the troupe when to change steps. The dances depict the movement of birds, animals, different phase of cultivation, hunting, war etc. These dances have uniform rhythm and order in tune with colorful dance attire.

2.7.7 Songs

The Maram people are by nature lively, vibrant and full of music and dance. Each activity is often followed by a song. People sing while they work in the field, in the house, while weaving, building house and even on the way to fields. There are different songs for different occasions. No celebration ever passes without people sitting around the fire and singing their hearts out. The folksongs cover huge historical details. They record the life of legendary heroes, war, romance and even the plight of certain people who lived in misery. The folksongs are sung in groups in four voices: soprano, alto, tenor and base in perfect harmony or by a solo singer.

3.0. Conclusion

There are numerous work established on the study and investigations of some of the major dominant languages of Manipur. As a result, such privileged languages gain dominance over the lesser known or weaker ethnic tribes not only in terms of language and literature but also in other domains: social, cultural and political. It is hoped that further study and investigations on such lesser known languages and ethnic tribes will yield some status and recognition in the future.

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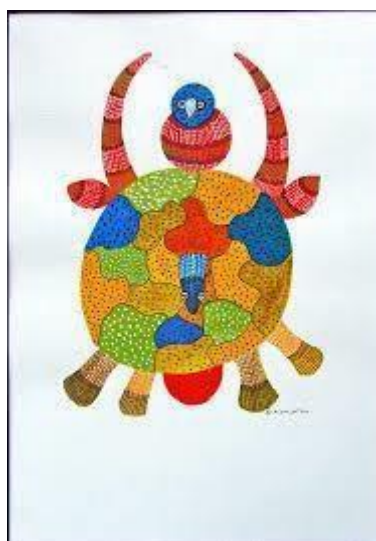
12.Needs of digital sign board in India: A case study of central Kolkata

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Abstract

Digital sign board is a part of the Linguistic landscape. Linguistic landscape is the basic characteristics of language use on signs. Exploring the semiotic background to written language in public space, it will be held that language on signs is a specific type of language use which is distinct from most other forms of written and spoken communication in everyday of life. The visibility and silence of language on signs constitutes what has now come to be referred to as the linguistic landscape of a place. LL research can take more than one approach. The development of technology may influence its future direction. Multidisciplinary approaches from Linguistic, sociological or sociolinguistic perspective are also relevant for a better understanding of the linguistic landscape. Digitalization is an important Approach in Multidisciplinary. Digital India is a dream project of the Indian Prime Minister. This will save time and labor and also the entire government can run on a mobile. If we talk about digitization, then the language must be preserved first, which is the need of the present time. Digitization is not just a promotion of English but also it is encouraging all those local dialects and languages of India. The present work will focus on why digitalization is necessary in the context of language use in the present time? We are talking about digital, but how successful is it? How digitization could be useful and helpful in the time of globalization? Our study area is Central Kolkata, in which we have collected around 250 pictures. In this paper the following questions would be discuss such as, how many are normal signboard and digital signboard? How many multi-lingual, bilingual and monolingual are used, is there any private digital sign board besides the digital sign boards of state and central government? Where are the digital sign boards coming in use at the present time, in what places they normally need them? In central Kolkata we found that the number of digital sign board is less than normal signboards. However the need of digital signboards is more public places, hospitals, institutes etc.

Key words: Linguistic Landscape, Digital, Digitalization, Globalization, Multidisciplinary.

Introduction

If the linguistic and cultural influence of Kolkata is seen, Bengali culture is found to be more dominant. Despite having multi-cultural heritage, there is more influence of Bangla over language and culture. Unlike other metropolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai a pool of multi-cultural blending is observed Bengali culture doesn't pressure as much as it is observed in Kolkata. In other metros, the effect of mix culture is visible, even if it is under political reasons. If the language and culture dominances is considered, then Chennai is not far behind. Even though their language and culture dominates, the technology has broken the boundaries of the entire region. The technology has well developed in other metros, but in Kolkata it is still behind somewhere. The world is changing very fast. The growth of technology is faster in other metro cities like Mumbai, Delhi, and Chennai, however, in Calcutta it is still slow. People in Kolkata do not visit as much as they visit other cities. Many emigrants still live in Kolkata who were already there from before. This city doesn't provide enough opportunity that people from all over India could come here for employment, unlike

other cities where people used to go in search of employment. Private Companies are also very few in Kolkata if compared with other metropolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Bangalore. Whatever ongoing progressive changes in Kolkata is mainly because of government endeavor. One of the main reason behind all these is that Calcutta is also known as a Marxist city because for many years Marcus were ruling here. After the country's independence, the development of metropolitan cities is considered, Delhi became the capital, and Mumbai became the economic capital of the country. Chennai was named as India Detroit but Kolkata, despite being once the main city of India, faced the unforeseen economic collapse in some early years after independence. The main reason for all these were the rise of political instability and business unions. From 1960s till the mid-1990s the progress of the city were decreasing, which ultimately led to closer of factories and trades. As a consequence, the capital investment and resources, proved to be main factor in sinking economic situation. With the liberalization process of Indian economic policy it gave new direction to the city'sdestiny in the 1990's. After this the production was increased and the unemployed workers also got the employment. Information Technology services have been a major contributor to the revival of the financial condition of the city. The information technology sector is progressing around 70% annually, which is twicethe national average. Digitalization has been a major contributor to all of these development. As more the digitalization needs to be made in the composition of Make in India, it must be necessary to apply itsimultaneously in Indian languages as well. In the submitted paper, we will discuss what is the status of linguistic landscape in Indian metros especially in Central Kolkata? And what is the role of digitalization in linguistic scenario? And in the linguistic scenario, the result of digitization was achieved, what we can see in this paper.

What is Linguistic Landscape?

Linguistic Landscape (LL), in a specific sociolinguistic context, is the position of relative strength of linguistic objects in the public space. Linguistic Landscape studies the bilingual and multilingual contexts including the use of languages in the sociolinguistic context. In the sociolinguistic survey, LL gives information about the use of different languages and it also helps in comparing the use of language and the public policy. LL refers toall linguistic objects which mark the public sphere: road signs, name of sites, streets, buildings, places and institutions as well as advertising, billboards, commercials and even personal visit cards. Landry and Bourhis (1997) view Linguistic Landscape as: —the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combined to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration‖ . Landry and Bourhis (1997:25) —LL is the study of display of writing signs in the public sphere. LL research typically focuses on urban environments. Harris (1986) and Coulmas (2003) claim that LL is as old as writing. Writing is communicative rather than private form since its inception and some of its earliest functions were bound to public display. Sometimes LL refers to the system of just one language; in other case it indicates the spread and boundaries of dialects‖ . (Labov et al. 1997; Cenoz & Gorter: 2006).

Background Information of the study Area

Linguistic landscape as an approach to the study of multilingualism is rooted in the historically contentious field of language planning and policy (Landry and Bourchis: 1997). For instance, Masai (1972) conducted a survey of the language on the shop signs in Tokyo. Rosenbaum et al. (1977:189) focused on the signs of commercial, public and private offices in Jerusalem. The survey pointed out the gap between official language policy and public tolerance towards foreign languages in general and English in particular.

Such studies have allowed LL research to also address issues on language conflicts. Landry and Bourhis (1997) and Backhaus (2006) identify some studies which refer to linguistic conflict. For instance, they cite the example of Belgium and Quebec official language planners and policy makers who identified languages that mark the boundaries of linguistic states and recognized the importance of public signage. Other such works on this particular area, that need to be mentioned here, are: Tulp (1978), Vardoot(1979), Wenzal (1996), Corbiel (1980), Lecure (1989), Monnier (1989), Ben-Rafael (2004), Reh (2004) Lanza and Woldemariam (2009).

Another area that has eventually sprung up from such studies of LL is the study on the formulation of language policies and language laws. Leclerc (1994) researched on recent language laws throughout the world and concluded that almost 30 countries and regional states have law regulating different aspects of the linguistic landscape. Works on this area that need to be mentioned here include Spolsky (2006), Shonamy (2006), and Blackwood (2008). These studies provide significantly current information about the actual language practice in a community.

As Sebba (2010: 73) points out _LL pattern has been developing rapidly and a number of key names associated with it, and it currently has no clear orthodoxy or theoretical core.'

Research Area

The present study of LL is done taking a sample of metro city of India, namely Kolkata. Kolkata is the capital city of West Bengal. It is located on the east bank of the Hooghly River. Bengali is the official language of the Kolkata city. North-Kolkata is the oldest part of the city. Kolkata is the main commercial and financial center of the North-East India. The metropolitan city of Kolkata presents a perfect picture of modern India along with traditional art and culture. According to 2011 Census, Kolkata has population of is 4,486,679; of which male and female were 2,362,662 and 2,124,017 respectively.

What is Digital Signage?

Digital Signage is a highly powerful and flexible communication method: a dynamic sign (screen) that displays digital media to signage software works over an Internet connection, delivering rich media content to digital screens. Digital displays are all around us and you have likely engaged with one in the past week. From videos at the gas pumpand programming in a waiting area to check-in kiosks at the airport and maps in hotels, digital signs entertain and inform customers in businesses of all shapes and sizes. —Electronic signage (also called electronic signs or electronic displays are illuminant advertising media in the signage industry. Major electronic signage include fluorescent signs, HID (high intensity displays), incandescent signs, LED signs, and neon signs. Besides, LED signs and HID are so called digital signage.‖

Where Can You Place Digital Signage?

Digital signs can appear at all possible customer touch points within a business. Those touch points will vary with each business, but they usually include the following locations.

• Single screen,

• Automated content – news, sports, weather, FIDS, etc.

- Menu boards

- Public facing boards in a corporation

- Wayfinding screens in a mall

- Video wall in a major retailer

- In Waiting Rooms

- In Exam Rooms

- At the Entrance of a Building

- Around Product Displays

- Near Service Counters

- Near Check-Out Lines

- Outside of a Business

- In Dining Areas

When identifying places where you could use digital signage in your business, consider all of the locations where your customers spend time. Think about how you could use digital information to improve their experience at those spots.

What are the benifits of Digital Signage?

The benefits of digital signage are also varied. Depending on the way you choose to use signage, you could experience one or more of the following benefits.

☐ Decreased Perceived Wait Time: When signage is placed in customer or clients waiting areas, it provides entertainment that decreases perceived wait times.

☐ Improved Communication with Customers and Employees: People absorb and remember information provided through visuals better than information delivered through text alone. Using digital media methods to deliver vital information helps both customers and employees remember messages longer.

☐ Increased Revenue: Sharing promotions and specials, highlighting products and services, and using extra signage space to show ads for non-competing businesses are all ways that digital signage can increase revenue at a business.

☐ Easy Sign Modifications and Revisions: For businesses that regularly change their services offerings or update their menu items, digital signage provides an affordable and simple way to immediately update information. This saves the cost of constantly ordering new signs.

☐ Professional, Modern Appearance: Businesses need to continually evolve to keep up with or supersede their competitors. With digital signage in a business, you put a modern foot forward and show customers that you care about keeping up with the latest technology and providing the best tools to serve them.

To get the most out of a digital sign, consider your goals (increase sales, Provide higher customer satisfaction, etc.) Then identify how digital signage can be used to reach those goals.

Research Questions:

1-   How many are normal signboard and digital signboard?

2-   We are talking about digital, but how successful is it?

3-   How digitization could be useful and helpful in the time of globalization?

4-   Why digitalization is necessary in the context of language use in the present time?

5- How many multilingual, bilingual and monolingual are used, is there any private digital sign board besides the digital sign boards of state and central government?

6- Where are the digital sign boards coming in use at the present time, in what places they normally need them?

7-   What importance of these signboards?

Methodology

The observation is made through quantitative data collection and the method of analysis is statistical. Graphical representations are used as actual samples. With the help of digital camera, the primary data were collected 240 pictures of language signs were taken from different locations with in Central Kolkata (New market, Park Street, Maidan, Dalhousie, Linen Street, Dharamtalla,) which helped in determining the numberof languages used in public space.

Finding

The purpose of the study is to examine the LL of Central Kolkata. Among the languages displayed in the public space, English has the maximum number of signs with 30%, followed by Bengali and English combination with 29%, Hindi and English combination with 2% and the others with 1% as given in table 1. Linguistic signs in the public space are used mostly with the help of English by local communities, state agencies, associations and individuals (as seen in pictures 1, 2, 3, and 4).It is tremendously clear that the majority of signs are in English with simplified English and different fonts. Signs in English serve performative indexing of utilitarian value and not necessarily linked to the issues of loyalty whereas signs in Bengali serve local performative indexing of subjective value as Bengali is linked to group identification.

Table 1: Language present in Public Space

Language used	Number of data	Percentage (%)
Bengali	21	28%

English   85   30%

Hindi   4   1%

Bengali and English   83   29%

Hindi and English   9   3%

Hindi, English and Bengali   27   9%

Other   -   -

Total   240   100%

Pie Chart: 1

Pic: 1, 2

Pic: 3, 4

Table 2: Bilingual and Multilingual signs (percentage)

Language used	Number of data	Percentage (%)
Bengali, English	83	70%
English, Hindi	9	7%
Hindi, English, Bengali	27	23%
Total	119	100%

Pie Chart: 2

In this sub-division, we will have a closer look at the comparison of bilingual and multilingual signs. Some example of bilingual and multilingual signs are seen in picture 3, 4…. And… The result of bilingual and multilingual signs present is given in table … and the distribution of bilingual and multilingual signs is given in graphical representation (pie-diagram 2).

Pic: 7, 8

Pie Diagram: 3

Table 3: Monolingual signs (percentage)

Language used	Number of data	Percentage (%)
Bengali	21	19%
English	85	77%
Hindi	4	4%
Total	110	100%

Pic: 9, 10

Monolingual (English) signs are often used in public space as well as in the private space. Moreover, Monolingual sign is present in English as seen in Table 1 and pie diagram 1. English dominate the LL of Central Kolkata. It also reflects that the people are not adverse to such geo semiotics of public space. In fact, people have a positive attitude towards English and it is the more important Component.

Table 4: Normal and Digital signs (percentage)

Language used	Number of data	Percentage (%)
Normal Sign	224	94%
Digital Sign	16	6%
Total	240	100%

In this study it was found that the digital sign board was only 6%, whereas the normal sign board was found to be 94%. As such, we can say that there is a need of digital sign board in India.

Pie Diagram: 4

Pic: 11

Pic: 12

• Official and Non-Official Signs

In linguistic landscaping, a basic qualitative distinction between official and non-official signs to be made as an official and non-official sign makes a great deal of contribute to the LL. In central Kolkata, all signs set up by the government organizations have been considered official signs (picture….), besides these, all other signs are considered as non-official signs. There is more no. of non-official signs compared to that of official signs. The quantitative outcomes of the data collection of both the official and non-official signs are given in table 2 and 3 along with their graphical representation2-3. Languages used for official signs are English, Bengali and Hindi. English is found more frequently in official as well as in non-official signs. English is used frequently as it attracts the majority of people.

Pie Diagram: 5

Table:5 Official Signs

Language used	Number of data	Percentage (%)
Bengali	7	11%
English	13	22%
Hindi	1	5%
Bengali and English	12	20%
Hindi and English	3	10%
Hindi, English and Bengali	19	32%
Total	55	100%

Most of the official signs are in Hindi, English and Bengali (32%), followed by Bilingual sign Bengali and English (20%), Hindi and English (10%). And monolingual sign are English 22%, Bengali 11% and Hindi (5%). (See table.5)

Pic: 13, 14

Pie Diagram: 6

Table 6: Non- official Signs

Language used	Number of data	Percentage (%)
Bengali	14	8%
English	72	43%
Hindi	1	0%
Hindi and English	3	2%
Bengali and English	71	42%
Bengali, English and Hindi	8	5%
Total	169	100%

English again dominates the non-official signs with 43%, , Bengali and English 42%, Bengali 8%, Hindi and English 2%, Bengali, English and Hindi 5% and Hindi 0%.

Pic: 15, 16

Talking about this study in Digital signs, most of the Non-official signs is in digital sign with 94% and official signs is only6%. Refer to pie diagram: 7.

Table 7: Official and non- official signs in Digital

Language used	Number of data	Percentage (%)
Official	1	6%
Non-official	15	94%

Total   16   100%

Pie Diagram: 7

Conclusion

Digital sign board is a part of the Linguistic landscape. Linguistic landscape is the basic characteristics of language use on signs. Exploring the semiotic background to written language in public space, it will be held that language on signs is a specific type of language use which is distinct from most other forms of written and spoken communication in everyday of life. The visibility and silence of language on signs constitutes what has now come to be referred to as the linguistic landscape of a place. LL research can take more than one approach. The development of technology may influence its future direction. Multidisciplinary approaches from Linguistic, sociological or sociolinguistic perspective are also relevant for a better understanding of the linguistic landscape. Digitalization is an important Approach in Multidisciplinary. Digital India is a dream project of the Indian Prime Minister. This will save time and labor and also the entire government can run on a mobile. When we talk about digitalization then the language must be preserved first, which is the need of the present time. Digitalization is not just a promotion of English but also it is encouraging all those local dialects and languages of India.

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13. Representation of Recalled Propositions in L1 by Secondary Level Learners

Kankan Das

Abstract

Ability to recall accurate propositions explains comprehension of reading text. But there are various constraints and bottlenecks to reading comprehension. Some of the factors are related to cognitive-linguistic aspect of reading text. Being able to build a coherent and logical representation of text in the mind guarantees accurate recall of propositions. Yet readers fail to produce. In this connection, we took to recalling propositions as a tool to understand reading comprehension. Assamese learners (n=9) of grade 7th between the age group of 11-13 participated in the study. Furthermore, they were divided into two groups- with help (n=5) and without help (n=4).Learners from each group were asked to read a narrative text in L2 and retell the story by recalling in L1. Results of the study yielded that event though learners did not show significant difference in the production of sentence types but their accuracy was compromised.

Key words: Propositions, Comprehension, Recall, Working Memory, Accuracy

Introduction

The main goal of this article is to describe the system of mental operations that underlie the processes involvedin text comprehension and in production of recall of events/ ideas. Accuracy in recalling events and ideas of the text in the form of summaries or gist provides evidence of text comprehension. Ability to readtexts depends on various factors and is mainly governed by two factors- linguistic and cognitive.The former involves word decoding, vocabulary knowledge, knowledge of syntax and semantics, and the later involvesrole of working memory, attention span and comprehension monitoring in text comprehension (Daneman& Carpenter, 1980; Just & Carpenter, 1992; Perfetti, 1999). Research in the area of psycholinguistics proved that lower level skills- word decoding and vocabulary knowledge- when becomes automatic, reading comprehension is established (Yuill& Oakhill, 1991). Apart from the linguistic resources, cognitive resources- working memory and comprehension monitoring skills also work parallel in whole text representation of the reader. Readers store information in a coherent and logical manner, discard the irrelevant information and thereby built links between the ideas with the incoming texts (Wagoner, 1983). When the stored information has a strong association between the previous information and the incoming information then recalling become easier(McClelland &Rumelhart, 1986; Rumelhart& McClelland, 1986). But in the context of second language learners, recalling frequencies of L2 narrative production does not show strong correlation (Zinar, 1990).

Narrative texts are built upon event structures which has a story grammar. The story grammar contains several episodes. Each episode has a setting, an initiating event, a goal, an attempt, an outcome and a reaction (Nippold, Ward-Lonergan, & Fanning, 2005).Depending on the existence of characters, there might be many parallel events and episodes. On comprehending such texts, if the reader is able to navigate through the elements of episodes and can make accurate connections, reading comprehension is expected to be achieved. But in the current study, findings are not analysed along the lines of story grammar structure. Post-hoc analysiscan be done taking into consideration the story grammar structure.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph that narrative texts are built upon event structures and each event is understood by an action verb/ verb. For example, Dr Sanath and Dr.Rupali treat patients who have eye problems. The italicized sentence has agents (Dr.Sanath, Dr.Rupali), predicate- verb (treat) and object (patients). The verb, being the main predicate builds a semantic relationship between the two arguments-agentsand object- as they are nominal NPs. This whole example of having agents who perform an action on somebody/something can be understood as a single idea or an idea unit. This single idea unit is labelled as proposition (Kintsch, 1974). A proposition is an idea unit which has a predicate and argument(s). Propositions with single predicate are easier to store and process, but propositions having multiple predicates become challenging to store and process. Therefore, recall frequencies of propositions with multiple predicates generally are low (Anderson & Kintsch, 1975).

Examples,

1.   The cat jumped on the butterfly.

2.   He and his wife together bought a new house and a car.

3.   He said that X had come to him one day and complained about the same thing again.

In the above examples, if we analysed the sentences into predicates and arguments, we have this

1.   (JUMP, A: THE CAT; O: THE BUTTERFLY, the cat and the butterfly are both the arguments of the predicate JUMP)

2.   (BUY, A: HE & HIS WIFE; O: NEW HOUSE & A CAR)

3.   (SAY, A: HE; O: THAT -clause)

3.1.   (COME, A:X; O: HIM) & (COMPLAIN, O: SAME THING)

If we carefully look at the analysis of these three sentences in relation to predicates and its arguments, we get this deduction. Proposition1 is simpler than proposition 2 and 3. Proposition 2 has double agents, a predicate and double objects. Proposition 3 is complex in structure as it occurs to be an embedded clause with multiple agents and multiple arguments. Therefore, assumption can be made that proposition 1 is easy to store and process than the other two propositions which have more number of arguments and predicates.

Working Memory and Propositions

Working memory has a greater role in linking ideas of text from beginning to the end. According to Miller (1956), human brain can store information upto 7±2. Therefore, technically, while reading text, a reader can store and process information up to 9-words length sentence (Sic). However, according to Fodor (1983), if the associations between the key words or ideas/ events are strong then storing and processing them becomes faster. This happens in speed reading with proper comprehension (Rayner, 1989).Daneman & Carpenter (1980) found that there is a trade-off between storage and processing of information. If maximum time is taken by readers to store information from a reading text, then the time taken to process is compromised. Henceforth, comprehension and recalling of information is lost which leads to restructuring of text information- addition of irrelevant text, modification, deletion and decay of content. Research in the area of working memory and reading has posited various bottlenecks in reading and recalling effect- embedding structures, subject and object relative clauses, unable to draw inference from text-based propositions (Stolz, 1967; Larking & Burns, 1977; Caplan & Waters, 1999; Chikalanga,1992).

The present study has elements of working memory and reading comprehension. These elements, which are both constraints and bottle-necks, may yield differential results.

The Study

The present study aims at ESL learners' understanding of L2 narrative reading text by evaluating learners' recall propositions. Ability to recall the episodes of the story in a sequential manner with the truth value of the propositions ensures us if learner's understanding of the L2 text is established. Based on the learners' reading of L2 text- propositions and their understanding, learners are expected to recall propositions. These lead us to formulate our hypotheses.

1.   Irrespective of facilitation from the researcher, the frequency of learners' production of different sentence types will not be different.

2.   Learners will produce more number of simple propositions than co-ordinate and complex ones.

3.   Facilitation from the researcher will have impact on the accurate production of propositions.

Method

Participants

9 subjects from grade VII between 11-13 years of age participated in the study. Assamese is their medium of instruction at school as well as their L1. English is L2 and was taught only as a subject like any other subject is taught at school.

Materials

We were interested in testing the comprehension of a text and hence, had focused on the accurate recall of propositions of the narrative text. A narrative text from Grade 8 Assamese language text book _NatunAdarsh Path' was chosen and translated into simple English text. The translated text consisted 5 small paragraphs of 367-word length.

Procedure

The test was administered in a silent room and was a face to face mode while recalling the summaries. All the 9 subjects were divided into two groups. The subjects read the narrative text in English (L2). Group I consists of 4 subjects who did not receive any help from the researcher but was given only some clue questions for better comprehension of the text. Group II consists of 5 subjects who received help from the researcher. The researcher read the text along with the 5 subjects, clarified their doubts in terms of meanings of particular words, and explained the plot of the story and the overall understanding of the text. After reading the text with and without help, each participant would recall the summaries of the narrative text. The recalled summaries were recorded. All the subjects' recalled summaries were inAssamese language (L1). The recorded summaries were transcribed and translated into English.

Analysis

The recalled summaries were analysed in terms of propositions. Each correct proposition gets a score of 1 and 0 for a wrong proposition.

Results

We wanted to see three strands of findings:

1.   Is there any significant difference across both the groups- with help and without help?

2.   Among the three types of propositions- simple, co-ordinate and complex, which proposition is found to be more frequentin production and why?

3.   What is the frequency of accurate recalled propositions against total learners' production of propositions and actual proposition in the original narrative text?

Table 1. Mean & SD scores on overall groups

Groups (n=9)	Total propositions	Mean (SD)
With help (n=5)	n =92	18.4 (6.10)
Without help (n=4)	n =75	18.75 (2.87)

Table 1 shows the overall performance of the participants across both groups in recalling propositions. A Mann Whitney U test confirmed that the performance across both the groups in terms of production of total propositions is found to be not significant (df=9, U=2, p<0.05). Furthermore, it can be said that the amount of

propositions both the groups have produced are similar as evident from the mean and standard deviation scores.

Table 2. Mean & SD scores on sentence types across both the groups

Propositions	With help group	Without help group
Simple	11.2 (4.43)	9.5 (3.31)
Co-ordinate	3.4 (1.14)	4.5 (1.29)
Complex	4 (3.16)	4.5 (3.41)

Table 2 shows the performance of participants across both groups in the production of sentence types.Participants could produce more of simple propositions when compared to co-ordinate and complex propositions. It is assumed that language production is limited to linguistic and cognitive resources- attention span and memory span (Just & Carpenter, 1992). Production of language with meaningful utterances is mostly seen in simple propositions and this is no exception to young learners also. Apart from the constraints of structural patterns, attention span and memory span can also store and process limited number of information (Daneman & Carpenter, 1980). As co-ordinate and complex propositions contain larger number of information,therefore, storing and processing them becomes difficult and hence less production of them is expected.

Table 3. Mean & SD scores of recalled propositions

Groups (n=9)	Accuracy
With help (n=185)	18 (6.04)
Without help (n=148)	9.6 (5.94)

Table 3 shows the accuracy rate of recalled propositions across both the groups. Statistics shows that thewith help group recalled more accurate propositions than the without help group. The original narrative text has 37 propositions and hence for the ‗with help' group the total propositions amounts to (37×5) and for the ‗without help' group it is (37×4). For the ‗with help' group the accuracy rate amounts to 48.6% of the total learners' production of propositions (n=92) which account to 49.19%. On the other hand, in the ‗without help' group the accuracy rate amounts to 32.43% as against 50% (n=74) of the total production of propositions. Instances of wrong information (additions, irrelevant) have been found to be produced by the without help group.

Table 4. Mean & SD scores of errors in propositions across both groups

Groups (n=9)	Errors

With help (n=92)   0.2 (0.44)

Without help (n=74)   5.2 (5.16))

Table 4 shows the errors produced by the participants across both groups while recalling propositions. Erroneous propositions are found to be much higher for the without help group which accounted to 35.13% in contrary to the other group which accounted only 1.08% (dropping of a subject/ Nominal NP). Without help group's erroneous propositions are mainly additional information, irrelevant information and deletion ofinformation.

Discussion

This study was designed to investigate accurate recall propositions across 9 ESL learners, which were further divided into- With help group and without help group. In order to find out performance, learners from each group were asked to read an L2 narrative text and report the comprehension of the text via retelling narratives (recall propositions). The results suggested that participants' production of different types of sentences did not show any significant difference across both the groups but was only seen in terms of recall of accurate propositions. Error analysis further showed that the maximum number of erroneous proposition was found in the case of participants who did not receive any help i.e., without help group.

Features comprising reading texts are ability to make sense of the vocabularies and the sentence structures and finally the meaning of the whole discourse. In doing so, readers also need to attend their cognitive load which differ from one individual reader to another. Factors such as working memory span and monitoring skills which facilitate in smooth navigation of text reading cannot be ignored. Findings of the current study yield thatlearners are proficient enough to produce simple, co-ordinate and complex propositions without any difference in the frequency count. Even the syntactic structures found in their utterances of propositions were grammatically correct. As a matter of fact, given the choice, the participants were asked to recall the propositions in their own L1, their accuracy was at ceiling.

Ability to produce different sentence structures- simple, co-ordinate and compound- depends on their growth of linguistic resources and also a high cognitive system. Across both the groups – with help & without help- learners' recall of simple propositions (55.67%) was better than co-ordinate (21.36%) and complex (21.54%) propositions. These findings provide evidence that capacity to store and process information and hencerecalling them is governed by the limited capacity constraint of working memory (Miller, 1956; Daneman& Carpenter, 1980). Propositions with singular predicates (simple)are recalled better than the ones with multiple predicates.

Accuracy rate of the recalled propositions was better scored by the _with help group' (97.82%) than the _without help group' (64.86%), which also explains that facilitation given to participants explaining the word meanings, events in the narrative text of the L2 narrative text increased their level of comprehension of the passage and thereby could produce accurate propositions unlike the _without help group' who lacked comprehension of the passage. Error analysis accounted to 35.13% of the _without help group'. Restructuring

of the narrative text- addition of information, irrelevant information, deletion of information and decay of information- was the major cause of erroneous propositions by the ‗without help group'.

Conclusion

A related area of research lies in investigating the story grammar elements of narrative text irrespective of any modality of production in L1 or in L2. Looking at the story grammar episodes which contain- setting, initiating event, goal, attempt, outcome and reaction- will be a systematic way of looking at learners' linguistic as well as cognitive resources(Heilmann, Miller, &Nockerts, 2010;Nippold, Ward-Lonergan, & Fanning, 2005)

Spoken discourse has lots implications in terms of testing and evaluation. Understanding of meaningful utterance which is related to fluency, accuracy and complexity can be well captured by taking measures like communicative units, idea units (Halleck 1995; Pietilä 1999; Larsen-Freeman 2006; Meyer, 1975). Linguistic analysis using such measures provides scope for objective evaluation without any bias.

The objective of this study was to see the recalled propositions in L1 by young learners. It would be interesting to look at the study with adult data sets on one hand and can also conduct a longitudinal study withintervention effect.

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14. Communicative Competence in Learning of English for Technical Students

M. Maheswaran

M. Rajaambedhkar

Abstract

Today's world is driven by innovation leading to constant change and success of an organization depends on communicative competence in technical aspects and also team work. English is the most popular language worldwide in the fields of business, technology and higher education. The elevated status of English is an established fact in India and in most other countries in this century as it has become a sort of lingua franca in all domains of interaction ,whether it is cyberspace, pedagogy, official protocol, inter and intra institutional communication, business activities, diplomatic dialogue, literature or intellectual conversations. on the whole, the importance of the communicative competence can be summed up in the following words,‖ if one language can play the role of a uniting agent in this world, in war and peace, in politics and economics, in strategies and moralities, there is only one on the globe to adorn this space i.e. communicative competence in learning the English language in all its multiple homogeneity. The present article explains different aspects and models of communicative competence and its implications at various levels. In an effort to meet the challenges and face the competition across the world, it has been examined that communication is an effective skill which has to be enhanced for technical students at various levels to prosper in their career. Finally, it studies about the language knowledge and various factors influencing observation and evaluation to the basic knowledge and abilities/skills for use in English.

Introduction

Today's world considers English as a global language because there has never been a language so widely spread or spoken by so many people a English. The growing demand for English has been sweeping in various fields like International Business, Travel and Tourism, Media, IT sector, education and industrial sector. Dueto advancement in science and technology and their use of new terminology have been showing an immediate impact on the language. These innovations came from English- speaking countries, those who to update the knowledge and learn about new inventions need to learn English well. There is more to language teaching than the psychology of learning languages. We have introduced the discussion of the different factors that learners bring to the activity of learning: age, cultural and economic background, aptitude, interest, motivation and exposure to target language. Throughout the nineteenth, the twentieth and the twenty first century, the importance of English in India has grown considerably. Its spread and popularity was assisted by English magazines and newspapers. Since it was equated with sophistication and awareness, the demands for its use grew with passage of time-the evidence can be seen in its compulsory inclusion on the school syllabi in severalstates of the country. The number of schools and colleges that impart education through English medium has taken a quantum leap with the growing realization that it is a language that not only links the different peopleof India together but also offers innumerable vistas of job and entrepreneurial opportunities.

What is Communicative Competence?

Communicative competence is basically having the ability to use language in a speech community. In order to understand ―communicative competence‖ we need to understand some of the important aspects of sociolinguistics. It is the study of the characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions, and the characteristics of their speakers as these three interact, change and change one another in their speech community (fish man, 1972)

Communicative competence is very important for technical students in this modern era which mainly involves the learning of language through various sources for enhancement of their career. Generally students learn a language through constant correction and repetition of forms and structures, listening and speaking in that language, possessing knowledge of vocabulary, reading various books, using the language in various speech events and using the language for different communicative purposes. Communicative competence also includes (Richards, Platt, and Weber, 1985);

A.   Knowledge of the grammar and vocabulary of the language.

B.   Knowledge of rules of speaking, e.g. Knowing how to begin and how to end conversations, knowing what topics may be talked about in different types of speech events, knowing which address forms should be used with different persons one speaks to and in different situations.

C.   Knowing how to use and respond to different types of speech acts, such as request, apologies, thanks and invitations.

D.   Knowing how to use language appropriately.

Aims and objectives

A.   Enhancement of language skills of the learner (LSRW).

B.   Imparting fluency in speaking.

C.   Increasing the ability of student in recognizing idiomatic usages of language.

D.   Improving communication skills in a comprehensive manner.

E.   Developing perception capabilities of the learner to understand native speakers of English

F.   Enlargement of conversational proficiency.

G.   Proficiency in usage of various modern gadgets such telephone, mikes, video cameras, LCD projector, etc.

H.   Teaching correct pronunciation.

I.   Acquaintance with simple and idiomatic expression of English language.

J.   Comprehension of different accents.

K.   Growth in oratorical proficiency.

L.   Competence in use of computers.

Scope for Developing Communicative Competence

The scope of developing communicative competence for students is to inculcate LSRW skills for interpersonal communication among the learners. It has been practiced for centuries by the teachers of languages all over the world. It mainly involves conducting various activities to motivate the students in learning process in a controlled environment. This process helps in developing critical thinking ability and in decision making. With the advent of global interactions in a multi-language business and office milieu, it has become imperative to achieve these skills in a systematic manner through intensive and extensive exposure to language etiquettes. All forms of communication are used to express our views, thoughts, needs, wants, ideas, facial expressions or gestures, use symbols or pictures, special aids such as electronic devices, are made available to help express themselves. With these activities social interaction, performance and sense of self- worth increases.

Factors Influencing the Learners

A.   The learner must acquire communicative competence along with linguistic competence.

B.   The learner must not be inhibited by his/her errors, but try to master fluency in English; consequently the teachers' attitude towards errors should change.

C.   The learner must be aware about the complexity of life in a multilingual society and the implications of multilingualism in the classroom.

Fluency Distinguished from Accuracy

Technological progress has produced a number of innovative ways to assist the learning process and the aspects of communicative competence is a latest creation used in modern language teaching to impart LSRW skills .it acts as a platform for practicing and producing language skills through communicative mode of teaching. An emphasis on language use usage, on meaning rather than on formal utterances, has led to the distinction made in ELT between the concepts of accuracy and fluency. This division may be of added value tothe teachers in decision making about the content of lessons and the distribution of time between various types of activity. Its value in communicative language teaching will be technological rather than theoretical in that it is a distinction which is being made with the intention of producing better teaching which is as close as possible to our understanding of the nature of language and of language acquisition.

Proportion of class time

Schematic representation of class time spent on accuracy and fluency activities as a function of development from year to year (adapted from brumfit, 1984)

In terms of our accuracy-fluency distinction, the syllabus is always accuracy based, for while the syllabus is uppermost in the mind of the teacher or learner, the emphasis will be on form or content as determined by an external specification of structure are being used for purposes accepted by the learner that they can be incorporated into the personal constructs of each learner, and simultaneously constrained by the conventional constructs that makes communication possible.

In day to day lives, we go through accuracy and fluency activities in the classroom. For example, ―extensive reading is aimed at fluency but much intensive reading work is aimed at accuracy ;free and some situational writing exercises are aimed at fluency but all controlled and much guided writing is aimed at accuracy; listening exercise are aimed at accuracy but casual listening in the classroom has a major role as a fluency activity‖ (brumfit,1984)

Fluency- Based Models of Language Teaching

It enables the learners to use the target language they have acquired for any purposes they wish, and to be able to extend as far as they wish. The focus here is on the capacity to perform, not a specified type of performance. The goal does not specify the form of language used at all. There should be a gradual shift from accuracy- based activities to fluency-based activities. The schools should encourage integrated projects in order to develop fluency and this requires a commitment, for any type of school system, for resources geater than those already provided. Yet it is feasible to develop projects out of materials which are available from local, commercial or diplomatic agencies. This model will enable a student to do anything fluently in the target language-reading, conversing, listening or writing, in a form which will progress from being markedly non- native towards an acceptable standard.

Implications of These Models in the Language Classroom

Language is used for self-expression, verbal thinking, problem solving and creative writing, but it is essentially used for communication. what makes it difficult to grasp the language user's system of representation for communication with others is the fact that the capability of the individuals to interact with others through language is a unique quality and at the same time a universal human quality. It has been mentioned that successful language use for communication presupposes the development of communicative competence in the users of that language, which is constrained by the socio-cultural norms of the society where the language is used. Communicative competence briefly summarizes English as an international language (eil) and communicative competence, especially socio-cultural competence, of eil speakers is to be different from that of native English speakers. Fluency based activities need to be introduced in the language classes. ―The first most central, and by now most generally acceptable implications of the nature of these processes, is that they can be practiced in a language teaching which is task-oriented‖ .

A second implication concerned with these tasks and activities is the concept of information. In case of large number of conversations, the purpose of interaction is to convey information. But in order to make a conversation interesting and communicative there should be an element of doubt and information-gap. The third implication relating to these activities concerns the concept of selection. In a second language classroom, students should be free to choose what they say within ―real time‖ . Just as concept of selection is basic to the concept of communication, the process of selection within real time is basic to the process of fluent communication.

The fourth implication is to match what happens outside the classroom with activities within the classroom. Who says what, in which language, in which channel, to whom, with what effect? We ask these questions when we try to describe social relationships, whether we are speaking in the first language or the second language. Outside the classroom, we are constantly interacting and we are doing so spontaneously.

Implications of Learning the Language

1.   Language is learnt only through use and practice. The more the learner is exposed to the use of language the better the chances of learning it.

2.   The production of language depends on the situation which makes its use necessary. Language cannot be taught divorced from situation; the teacher has to introduce each new pattern of language in a meaningful situation.

3.   Producing the correct linguistics response to a stimulus requires effort. If the learner is not called upon to make this effort there is no learning.

4.   Producing the correct response also requires attention.

5.   Learning takes place faster if the correct response to stimulus is immediately confirmed. The learner must know at once if the effort made is right or wrong.

6.   Every new item learnt must be reinforced by further practice before further learning

begins. Conclusion

With the globalization of human activities and societies world at large, communicative competence has spread to become one of the most widely used techniques which has transformed the lives of learners in various aspects and established a genuine status in this modern era. The communicative competence provides a facility for students to use modern techniques to learn better and evaluate themselves by proper assessment in learning the language process for effective communication. The communicative competence skills enhances the pace of the learning of a language which can be practiced through content based and task based instructions. These strategies present a tactile feel of the language to the students. Through proper guidance and monitoring onecan become an efficient and confident communicator in English. It also gives an opportunity for the students toelevate in their career and have confidence in their approach towards success. This familiarity is essential for a technical student to set him on the path of personal and professional progress communicative competence develops practical dexterity, analytical skills, problem-solving abilities, communication capability and integrates theory and practice.

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15 . A The influence of Naxal movement on   Odia and Hindi Novels

Swapna Singh

Generally Naxals movement is a social movement. This movement was started in the village of west Bengal named Naxalbari. Charu Majumdar was the master mind of this movement. Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal were also helped him in his work. By the help of these communist leaders in 23 may 1967 the villagers of Naxalbari started a movement in the nearer place 'FULKI.[1] After this step the movement was spread to its nearer states. Now there are 10 states and 106 districts affected by this Naxals movement. [2]

Now we found that the Indian literature is so much influenced by this Naxals movement. In Naxalbari by the influenced of farmers movement those literary organisation were established 'The Revolutionary Writers Association' was the first organisation. This organisation was established by sir Ravi Shastri, Khutua Rao, K.V Raman Reddy and Vijay Laxmi. [3] After that the writers of West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha were also influenced by this literary organisation. In the starting of 70th century there were so many poems, storeys and novels in Odia and Hindi literature written in the contents of Naxals movement. Hear we can catch eye in an important point and that is, in both Odia and Hindi literature in the comparison of storeys and poems we found a large number of novels. Which is written in the contents of Naxals movement? Hear we take a time period like 1980. Because the writing of Naxals literature was started in 1970. In between 1970-1980 we dint found any remarkable novels in both Odia and Hindi literature. So we take 1980 to till now as a time period to discuss in this topic.

After 1980 in both Odia and Hindi literature there were so many novels are written in the contents of Naxals movement. We divided all these novels in two group like-

1-   Realistic Naxals novels

2-   Mythical Naxals novels

1-Realistic Naxal Novels

There are so many novels in Odia and Hindi literature written in the real truth of Naxals movement. We divided this group in three sub group like –

A-   Real Incident And Area Based Naxal Novels

In this group the novels were written to take the real incident and area.

In the Odia novel 'Akashi Kusum'(2003) the writer bhuti Patnaik describe that in the name of private sector how the state government sales the Hindustan chemicals company to the international company for more benefits.[4] For this incident the poor tribal workers do movement with the help of nasality. In 'sankhe samudra' (2007-odia) novel the righter Nibaran jena describe the farmers movement of north Odishā and the role of Naxals in that movement. Hindi novelist Madhu kankariya in her novel 'Khule gagan ke lal sitare'(2015) describe how the administration atrociously killed the students in the name of naxal repress expedition.[5] vyasa mishra novel 'Aagin pathar'(2007-hindi) is basically based on babri masjid and ram mandir tragedy.[6] But it's also focus on naxalite movement. Ranendra Novel 'Global gaon ke devta'(2009-hindi) is the story and the disaster life of 'Asur' tribe of 'sakhu paat' village. Ashok bhaumik in his novel 'Shipra ek nadi ka naam hai'(2012-hindi) describe that why the 70th generation took mao lal kitab in their pocket. Mahua maji in his novel 'Marang goda neelkanth hua' (2012-hindi) try to describe the real truth which was happened with the descent tribe, in the name of development. In this novel the effect of naxal movement is also visible. also in this novel 'The doctor of stone' is a epitomize of future invisible problem which was wetting for the tribe.

B- Real Character Based Naxal Novels-

In this group those novels were written based on a real life of a naxal .

In odia literature chinapatra sadhucharana novel 'Naxal'(2008) is based on the real life story of odisha-Andhra jonal committee head 'sabyasachi panda'. In Hindi literature shubhranshu choudhary novel 'Uska naam vasu nahi'(2012) is also focused on the life style of some naxalite leader like 'Basu', 'Kosa' and 'Ganesh'.

 c-Real Incident, Area and Character Based Naxal Novel-

 in this group those novels were describe based on a real incident , area and character.

Anadi sahu 'Munda mekhala'(1982-odia) novel was Written on a real naxal incident which was happened by the real naxal leader 'vempatu satyam'. In a real naxal affected area 'koraput' .[7] Hridayesh joshi in his novel 'Lal lakeer'(2016-hindi) describe the painful life of the tribes of naxal affected area 'bastar'. In this novel the righter try to describe real truth

behind the 'Salwa Judum' movement.[8] Also in this novel the 'Lal lakeer' or the 'red line' is one sign witch describe the helplessness of the tribes.

2-Mythical naxal novel-

After 1980 there were some novel in odia and Hindi literature which was written on the violence and the ideology of naxal movement. But in this novel all the incident and character are mythical. We also divided this type of novels in two group.

A- Ideology in naxal movement-

In this group all the writers are accept the ideology of the naxalite movement but they oppose their violence

In 'Shakuntala'(1980-odia) novel the writer santanu kumar acharya examine the outside concept of India like Marxism and naxalism in the Indian contents. Laxmidhar nayak in his novel 'Rakta jhara bhor'(1980-odia) describe that how the young generation participated in naxal movement to help the exploited farmers. Sristidhar parida in his novel 'Naxal'(2005-odia) describe exploited politics and the politicians are one of the reason, for increasing naxalite activities in India. Satakadi hota in his novel 'Muktijudha'(2007-odia)describe why the young generation participated in naxal movement. Anada Prasad in his novel 'Balaya'(2009-odia) describe why the people participated in naxal movement. Alka saraogi in her novel 'Jankidas tejpal manson'(2015-hindi) Describe that, explode politics of India is mainly responsible for the naxal movement in india .in this novel jankidas tejpal menson is one house which is take as a sign of exploited politics of India.

B- No Ideology In Naxal Movement-

In this group all the writers are describe the naxal movement as a terror and oppose their ideology. In their view there is no ideology in naxal movement.

Srustidhar parida in his novel '2050'(2008-odia) take 2050 as a time period. He describe that after 2050 we see a big changes in our society and the changes comes with the help of gandhian theory non violence. Srustidhar parida in his another novel 'Atanka'(2009-odia) describe how the naxal are forcefully use the youth in their group to make violence. In 'sandikhyana'(2009-odia) novel the righter srustidhar parida describe how the politician and the naxalits helps each other for their benefits. Biyotprojna tripathy in her novel 'Mukhyamantri'(2016-odia) describe how much the democratic system of India is responsible for the naxal activity in India. Gopal charan das in his novel 'Aranyara

arundhati'(2013-odia) take a big step. Those it's a mythical but in this novel he describe the repress of naxal movement.

Padmaja pala in his novel 'Hy muni kemite acha'(2013-odia) describe the exploitation of female member in the naxal group. Swaraj laxmi misra describe how the naxalites use the young generation for make violence in society and also how they wash their mind and use them for their benefits in her novel 'ei rasta ti mora nathila'(odia)

Hear we describe about two literature because we found so many compression between this two literature. Witch need a special discussion.

Every time literature is so much affected the society . Really naxalism now a big problem for India. Which is now conceder as a terrorist group like ISI . So the Indian righter especially the novelist try to solve this problem by the help of their novels. They try to describe the reality of this movement. Try to aware the young generation about the cruelty of this movement. The novelist in their novels with the help of some mythical character describe the reality and the selfishness of this movement. This type of novels now really aware the society.

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movement , Siliguri.

An Interview of Prof. Raghunath Meher

by Dr. Nilima Meher

Author's Introduction: Prof. Raghunath Meher is an eminent Odia writer who has contributed immensely towards the growth and nourishment of Odia literature at the local, national and international levels. Although modern poetry happens to be his specialization, he has worked in almost all the genres. In the recent years, people recognize him as a researcher of tribal culture. He has been invited to give talks on the same as well. He has used some of these materials and published them in the form of books.

Neelima Meher (NM):You are mostly known for your critical works on Gangadhar Meher. What inspired you to work on him?

Raghunath Meher (RM): Weaving was the traditional job of my father. He used to start his work during dawn. While weaving he used to sing the songs of Gangadhar Meher, emperor poet Upendra Bhanja with lyrics. By then I was waking up and used to listen the song ―Mangale aila usha bikacha rajiba drusha…‖ of ―Tapaswini‖ recited in Chokhi lyric. That song created interest in me and I started practicing it and like my father sung in high pitch.

We bear the surname Meher. We are Kuli by caste. Weaving is our traditional occupation. The poet Gangadhar Meher also carried the surname Meher, but he belonged Bhulia caste. I don't know what happened to my tender heart in the childhood that I developed love towards this poet bearing the surname Meher. While reading in class five I won a prize in song competition by singing the song ―Mangale aila usha bikacha rajiba drusha…‖ in Chokhi lyric. By then in our village I got opportunity to read a song book Sangeeta Manjari written by a teacher namely Sri Nilamani Meher who was a resident of Bheden village. The preface of thebook was written by the writer of ―Mangale aila usha‖ Gangadhar Meher. Sri Nilamani Meher was my grandfather in relation. I used to recite the songs of Kabita Manjari and ask him has he really seen Gangadhar Meher. Then in high school I got the opportunity to read my favourite song in the title ―Ashrame Prabhata‖ . My belated literature teacher Kishor Chandra Chand, an inhabitant of Godbhaga inspired me to read literature. His teaching was very much inspiring. For which in my later life I chose my career in literature. It is his inspiration for which I tried to place Gangadhar Meher in my heart. In my college life I got chance to read

three poems of Gangadhar Meher was there in our curriculum, namely —Kichaka Badha‖ , —Pranaya Ballari‖ and —Tapaswini‖ . The sweet beautiful word composition of the poet inspired me to get Ph.D degree from Sambalpur University in 1985 on the thesis based on the poems of Gangadhar Meher. So my belated father Sri Gobardhan Meher was the first person who inspired me to get attracted to poet Gangadhar. Unlike Gangadhar Meher being read up to class five my father memorized poems of great poets like:- Gangadhar, Madhusudan, Dinakrushna, Upendrabhanja.

NM: Even I have heard your Ph.d thesis was also on Gangadhar Meher? Will you please throw light on it.

RM:- When I passed M.A. in first class first in 1980, the then HOD of Odia Department Professor Gopal Chandra Mishra showed his interest to take me as a research scholar. He suggested me to do my Ph.D underhis supervision. As he was in charge of head of the department and in charge of vice-chancellor of the university, I thought to register myself under Prpfessor Bairagi Charan Jena, a faculty of Odia who was teaching us poetry. I was given freedom to select the topic of my thesis. One lecturer named Dwarika Nath Nayak started working on Gangadhar Meher. He registered under Utkal University. I was the second to workon the poet in Odisha registered from Sambalpur University. I started working on his poetic ideology, internal thought and external beauty sketched in his poems. By then the poet had acquired the status of a poet of moral and ideals. Poet‘s attitude on short poems and in the short poem —Bhakti‖ he sees God in the life of universe; based on the topic my thesis came out in 1993.

Then Gangadhar is still in my consciousness. Both in my conscious and unconscious stage he is in my mind. So he is my favourite poet.

NM: You have not only worked on various aspects of Gangadhar‘s work but also on the life of Gangadhar and at the same time in his biography you have dared to uncover some of the aspects which are never accepted by other writers. For example I was going through the biography Rangajiba Gangadhar where you have advocated for Gangadhar as a financially sound person which is denied by others.

RM- From my childhood from my studentship I used to hear Gangadhar was a poor poet. Starting from great poets to not-so-great poets of Odisha everybody opined Gangadhar as a poor poet. Even poets like Radhanath Roy, Nanda Kishor Bala, Mayadhar Mansingh, Natabara Samantray, Hemant Kumar Das have opined how a poor poet‘s writings have become heart-touching. In 1988 I opposed this opinion vehemently in the article —Kintu Tume Dina Kabi Rahiba Jibita‖ (But You Poor Man Will Remain Alive). It was first published in the daily Agnisikha newspaper. When the life of the poet is observed it is known that he belonged to a middle class family. He was getting thirty five rupees as salary per month. By then the price of twenty kilo rice was one rupee. He had eight acres of farming land where two work-men were working. He was receiving rice and dal for a year from his farm. So, in his personal life Gangadhar had never been poor. Again during his stay in Sambalpur he bought a house there in 1911. He was a very simple, idealistic, kind and a man who does not likebeating his own drum. Poverty is not the poor condition in the poet‘s life rather it is the literal poverty whichhe faced while writing —Tapaswini‖ . Only reading for class fifth he dared to write long poem like —Tapaswini‖ for that reason he given the hint that he was poor, otherwise he was not poor.

NM:Your contribution towards Gangadhar is not a single attempt rather in your edited work Gangadhar Granthabali you have included works of many critics. What made you do so?

RM: First of all reading of Gangadhar gives a lot of joy to readers, secondly reading to the poet it gives some new way as well. In this process I have searched a lot regarding the poet-life and personal life. For that till now many new aspects are yet to be unfolded. In books such as Rangajiba Gangadhar (1993), Gangadhar Granthabai (2006), Gangadharnaka Soundarya Drusti (2012), Kalidas O Gangadhar: Tulanatmaka Adhyana (2013), Gangadhar Kabya Charcha (2016) are an attempt to read less educated Gangadhar under the western philosophical ideals of Plato, Aristotle. Till now no criticism on Gangadhar has been written based onscientific or historical method. Research is being done in that direction.

NM: Although you have covered many genres of literature, still poetry is your all time favourite. Poetry of which era is your favourite ?

RM- See! Poetry only expresses many emotions of life, in poetry tone of a poet's life is expressed clearly. I read poetry, it does not mean that I don't read drama, novel, short story. But modern poetry was my specialization during P.G. So, naturally I became attracted to poetry. Along with reading and criticizing contemporary poets I don't hesitate to read pre-independent and post- independent poets. Then in my opinion I consider it good to read literature of contemporary time. So I like to read poetry written in the first two decadesof twenty first century. Poets and poems are now analyzed on postmodern theory. But when poets will keep all these theories on their forefront and compose poetry it will not be sweet and attractive. I will only comment on modern poetry that poetry composed after sixties by poets like:- Ramakanta, Sitakanta, Deepak, Rajendra, Saubhagya gave a touch of intelligence to poetry. Earlier poetry reading was limited to classroom teaching, heavy jargon of words overburdened readers and was making them suffocated. It overburdened readers with symbolism, images. But now no such tension is there in modern poetry. A poet is not only expressing his/her experience but also leaving a message for life with an open heart.

NM: What is your opinion on the changing trend of writing poetry?

RM- I will tell further poets/writers have to cope up with time. Modern writers are not following the trend of Old age or Middle age. Like that thoughts of poets of post-independence or after sixties were mainly based on the degrading society after Second World War. But poetry in Odisha took new turn after post eighties. Ramakanta who was writing on death consciousness. He changed his style after 1980s while writing ‗Sriradha' or ‗Sri Palataka' or from Sitakanta's ‗Sabda ra Akasha' to ‗Samudra' where life and death play hide and seek game. In 1982 when poet Sitakanta was writing ‗Ara Drusya' he talked of a completely different social life with the effect of postmodernism. So it can be said that trend of writing Odia poetry has changed after 1980s. Poets started looking back to past, back to root, back to village ; myth has attracted him. In the modern trend ofpoetry critics are searching for eco-criticism element. Critic is identifying the co-existence of literature, culture and Nature in the poems.

NM: Can we say there is no quality in writing modern poetry?

RM- No, never. Why there is no quality in modern Odia poem writing? Writings of many poets are heart-touching. The only thing is it must be received and judged properly by the reader. When most of the writers and poets are crying for name and fame how could criticism be impartial? Is it not opening the gateway for writing cheap poems when writers are writing with the hope of getting prize and honour over night? So poets are there who are writing poetry of high quality withput keeping hope of getting reward. There is quality in poems, so contemporary poems have their existence.

NM: Which modern poet/poets is/are your favourite?

RM: Modernity is marked from the poetry of Radhanath to today. There was a time when Sachhi Routroy was called as the most suitable modern poet. Then Guru Prasad Mahanty, Ramakant Ratha, Sitakanta Mahapatra, Rajendra Kishore Panda, Deepak Mishra, Saubhagya Kumar Mishra, Pratibha Satpathy established themselves. They also received awards from Kendriya Sahitya Academy. Then I like the poetry of Raj Kishor Das of this generation, because it is very easy to understand his poems. He takes very small incidents to from the day to day life and presents it in a very simple way. He is poet who loves life.

NM: In your opinion how far poetry serves the purpose of a poet than of a writer writing novels, drama or short stories?

RM- It not that poetry plays an important role in formulating society. Novels, stories, drama are also filled up with elements of constructing society. Viewer or reader gets direct happiness or way to formulate society by watching drama, so in each genre of literature there are elements to give shape to society.

NM: From drama I am reminded of one thing. I have heard your forefathers; your grandfather specifically was a village drama teacher. But why you have neglected this genre so much and you have hardly have any writing on drama?

RM- Yes, my grandfather late Sundar Meher was a drama teacher as well as a dramatist. From 1930 to 1960 he earned reputation in the entire Western Odisha with his writing and directing Lila Drama (depicting the glory of Gods and Goddesses). My father Gobardhan Meher is his elder son and I am his elder grandson. Grandfather earned the reputation of writing drama and a dramatist still our family was not getting enough to eat. It was very difficult onour part to arrange a meal of the day. So my childhood and my studentship were spent in great difficulty. I was attending school without food for many days. The only source of income was weaving the low quality of cloth. Simplicity and becoming a good man is not the only reason that anyone will bring rice or money to your home because you are not earning sufficiently. My grandfather's wanderlust nature to villages to teach drama and my father's hard earned money became insufficient for our family. So I faced such problem in my childhood and grew up by myself like bamboo in a jungle. I achieved my present position with study. By the way it is true that while reading in P.U. I wrote and staged ―Birasrestha Nagarjuna‖ drama. I acted in the role of Sakuni. In my studentshipI wrote many mythical dramas namely; ‗Rama Rajya'(Kingdom

of Ram), ‗Banabasi Partha' (Forest dweller Partha), ‗Kurukshetra. All these dramas were written during 1973-74. By then my grandfather was alive and he became to happy to see my drama writing and direction. He died in 1976. The drama ‗Banabasi Partha' was acted in ‗Barihapali' near Sohela in the year 1975 which earned a lot of fame. So I had interest in writing drama and now also I have that desire. But it is not a source that will give enough earning to maintain family so I retreated from this and involved in working on literature.

NM: Do you think Odia drama is losing its effect on audience after the arrival of TV Why so?

RM- Odia drama is very old. It is an ancient traditional art. Starting from folk drama to travel drama or modern drama there is not only entertaining elements but also things to be learnt. Although many programs are circulated and telecast on TV, still travel dramas have their own audience who love and appreciate it so much. Today also it is marked that people stand in long queue to buy ticket to see travel drama. Hence, it is natural that Odia drama is affected with TV but today also tradition is still marked in Odia drama.

NM: Since 2008 till date, mostly you have worked on tribal culture. Every year you have published your work on either tribe or book related to tribe. You started with the book Kuli in 2008 at a critical juncture of your life. Will you please give your view on it.

RM- From 2008 mode of my writing has not been changed; rather folk culture, tribal culture were added in my critical writing. In 2006 I got a chance to present a paper on ‗Folk Gods Goddess of Western Odisha'. From that day my desire to study folk literature increased; even in my professional from 1993 to 1996 I was teaching folk literature as special paper to M.A. students in Gangadhar Meher Autonomous University. So I have enjoyed it a lot. I first wrote a paper on the chief Goddess Samalei of Sambalpur who is the prime goddess of tribal people. Patenswari of Patnagarh, Manikeswari of Bhawanipatna, Sureswari of Sonepur, Lankeswari of Junagarh, Maheswari of AathmallikKanta Debi of Baneigad

NM: After writing on the cultural aspect of your community, in 2010 you wrote on Dakshina Odishara Adibasi Sanskruti (2010). How much difficulties you faced for writing communities of Southern Odisha which is completely different from that of Western Odisha?

RM:- Govt. has recognized 62 tribes of Odisha. ‗Kuli' community is one among them. It has been included in serial no. 42 of Schedule Tribe list. In 2008 Govt. declared not to issue caste certificate to the people of this Kuli community. So, the innocent people faced a lot of problem and took help from court. In such a critical juncture I published my book ‗Kuli' where I presented their social and cultural life. ‗Kuli' in the book is not downtrodden ‗Coolie' but a primitive tribe of Odisha known as Kuli and plural of kuli is ‗Kulis'. It is the first attempt to focus the cultural and social life that Kuli is a community who dwell in forest. On May 2008, I was very much affected with the life of the tribe after getting transferred to Koraput college when I saw Koraput of my dream I faced the reality. I saw neglected tribal community there. Then my book Dakshina Odisha Adibasi

Sanskruti (2010) was published where social and cultural life of tribes like:- Kandh, Gand, Paraja, Saura, Sabara, Banda, Didayi, Amanatya, Bhata, Kaya

NM: You have not only contributed for cultural study of various tribes but also on Gods and Goddess of Western Odisha, primary among them are Paschhim Odishara Lokadebi (2010), Paschhim Odishara Saiba Sanskruti (2012), Lokadebi Samaleswari (2017). In all these books legends and opinion and personal experiences are taken into consideration. How far it effects on society and on theist. Have you got any reader response on these books? If yes, which type of response?

RM- I started collecting information on local goddesses like Ramchandi of Kamgaon, Chardei of Charda, Samaleswari of Remenda, Bargarh, Barpali, Kangaon, Top, Maheswari of Kunuar, Saptamatrika Devi of Pandripani, Palsatalian of Barihapadar, Leheniswari of Nuagad, Parnapat of Barahguda, Hillipallian (Mauli) of Hillipali, Chandi Pat of Rampur. I have been gathering information directly from the people through fieldstudy relating to their cultural life or the people who are associated with those deities for fulfilling their wishes.It is my small attempt to bring them to lime light. The book Paschhim Odishara Loka Devi (Folk Goddesses of Western Odisha) (2010) is just a small attempt towards it.

Apart from glorifying the miracle of Shiva Cult through my field study I have taken another aspect that is why worshipping of Lord Shiva Parvati is there in the cultural life of people. For that I have done field study on temples like – Pukhamunda, Nileswar, Ambabhona, Sorna, Bheden, Huma, Maneswar, Gaisima, Deogaon, Jugisarda, Charda, Khairmal. Legends of these temples and miracles have been compiled in the book Paschhim Odishara Saiba Sanskruti (2012). Although I live in Western Odisha, I got chance to serve in Koraput and became successful to write a research based book on tribes of South Odisha and became successful in it.

NM:You have undertaken many projects of folk Gods and Goddess of Bargarh, Sambalpur, Sonepur district. Till now you have not published them. Have you any plan to publish them in book form in future?

RM- While doing job in G.M. Autonomous College I got a minor project from UGC and started working on Gods and Goddess of Western Odisha in 2006. Now also I have prepared project on districts like:- Bargarh, Sambalpur and Sonepur. Stories related to Gods and Goddesses, their legends, their miracle as well as their effect on life of people. Very few have attempted this work and I am trying to publish it.

NM: Language is one of the aspects of cultural study. Your coverage of Paschhim Odishara Dhaga O Bakhani (2014) and Paraja Adibasi Loka Jibanare Rudhi Prayoga are two marvelous contributions towards linguistic study and revival of culture. Will these be contributory for students of linguistic?

RM:- I belong to an age old tribal community of West Odisha. So, I have collected proverbs, riddles of the local language Sambalpuri/Kosali and I have analysed them in detail in the book Paschim Odishara Dhaga O Bakhani (Proverbs and Riddles of West Odisha) which was published in 2014. Here local life of people of West Odisha has been portrayed very candidly.

Like that Paraja Community lives in Koraput, Nabarangpur and Raygada district. During my stay in Koraput I came in contact with their language and for the first time collected and compiled them in a book form known as Use of Proverbs & Idioms in the Life of Paraja Tribe.

Both the books based on language have got good response from the reader. Apart from Paraja Adibasi Lokagita (2010), Folk Song of Paraja Tribe(2010) is also one among my collection which describes the songs in detail and give a clear idea about the cultural life of the community.

NM: Are you working on any particular tribe presently?

Ans:- Yes, now I am working on my own community ‗Kuli', its language literature and some undiscussed aspects of social and cultural life. Now my aim is to search for those lost social and cultural aspect as well as wrong estimation and so-called facts presented by Govt. from 2008 to 2018. Along with this I am working on the both Introduction of Binjhal & Krisan Tribe.

NM: In your writings biography covers a major chunk. Starting from reputed writers to some unknown person, but very much contributory to society like:- Smruti Tirtha (1992), Smruti Binod (2016) and Smasanaa Tulasi (2016). How far that will add to Odia literature according to you or how much it will inspire the people.

RM:- See, one biographical book when published expresses the importance of a character as well as plays an important role to bring reformation of the society from the year 1981 to 1991 efforts taken by PunditGhanashyam Panigrahi unfolds his versatility as well as presents a historical evidence. Pundit Panigrahi is the senior most freedom fighter of Bargarh, Sambalpur & Jharsuguda district. Facts of various freedom struggles like Non-cooperation movement (1920), Quit India Movement (1942), even till the struggle of 1947 came to lime light. Through field study my untold stories of Pundit Ghanashyam Panigrahi and his companion have gotplace in my book Smruti Tirtha (1992) Pilgrimage of Memory . As a result, facts of freedom struggle of Odishahave been portrayed in a indirect way in the book. Apart from this have also sketched the life of four educationists and their profession life in books like Sahrudaya (with Heart) 1999 which narrates the life ofProf. Bairagi Charan Jena. Adibasi (2010) is another book which portrays the life of Prof. Harishankar Mishra. Paschhim Odishara Saiba Sanskruti Saiba Cult of Western Odisha (2012) deals with the life of Prof. Girish Chandra Pandia and Smruti Bindod (2016) (In Memory of Binod) where life of Prof. Binod Kumar Sarangi hasbeen described. Besides this my creation Smasana Tulasi (Basil of Gravyard) (2017) is dedicated to the sacramental life of freedom fighter Mrs. Basanta Kumari Panda. Publication of this book brought many undiscussed aspects of her life to audience. In my opinion life of Pundit Ghanashyam Panigrahi and Basanta Kumari panda will act as source of inspiration for young generation. They will always be remembered for removing apartheid.

NM: Your coverage on comparative literature is marvelous. Through some light on relevance of comparative literature.

RM:- Comparative literature study is one among the attractive parts of literature. To unfold the works of researchers, poets, story writers, novelists, to know the effect of Western literature on Indian literature or on Odia literature along with contemporary literature comparative literature plays an important role. The most favourite poet of Odia literature Gangadhar Meher's poetry has been compared with poets of Sanskrit literaturelike Kalidas, Bhababhuti, Vyasadeba, Balmiki, Kabir of Hindi language, Maithili Saran, Poet of Bengali language Rabindranath, Radhanath, Madhusudan, Nandakishor, Fakir Mohan of Odia Literature; Keats, Wordsworth, Shelley of English literature particularly paying attention to the Western Aesthetics in the writings of Gangadhar Meher the book Gangadharanka Soundarya Drusti (2012) book has been published.

NM:Your travel from the life of an illiterate surrounding to a reputed Odia critic and author remain an inspiration for your students and people surrounding you. Would you please comment on it

RM:- This question is purely personal and critical path of my life is always thorny. I am acquainted to walk on such way and I have never got disturbed. Life is full of struggle and I feel it right to face it. Beginning of my life took place not from zero but from minus. Earlier I have told I was born to a poor family. So, I am always ready to bear the burden of miseries. My parents were working in others house and were rearing my six

siblings. Aim of my parents was to make their children literate. My mother used to feed me stale rice which was brought from Bramhin colony and she sent me to school which was four kilometers away. Still I never neglected my study. I was reading books by bringing from my friends. At times I was also working in field to earn money. Mentally I was as strong as my father. I never got distracted from my commitment. Encouragement and financial support of social activist Basanta Kumari Panda opened the way for my higher study. I completed my P.G., M.Phil from Sambalpur University. I topped the class with first class first. My concentration and strong determination are the elements which helped me to climb high in my life. With a disciplined life and competitive attitude I am climbing the steps of success. I don't know the end point but stillI am climbing.

After my retirement I have never thought of my helpless. I never thought of confining myself to the four walls of the house like an isolated inhabitant of a secluded island; rather I take pleasure in searching for a different route. I find bliss in searching a unique way which is completely different from the traditional path. So, there is uniqueness & specialty in my critical writing. As a teacher I have wonderful presentation style. So,I am loved the most by students and become the envy of many of my colleagues.

Students are my precious wealth. So, a teacher opens up his/her heart for students. So, my life is an open book. Whoever wants to read me will never feel difficult to understand language of my heart.

Journey of my life has started from zero. Till now preparation of my autobiography has not been finished. Many research works are still pending. All depends upon that Almighty that how long I will walk on this way.