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Chief Editor

Prof. Kankanala Rathnaiah

Editor

Prof. Ch.A. Rajendra Prasad



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A Message

Dravidian University came into existence in 1997 with a view to exploring the cause of the Dravidian, its Languages, Literatures and Culture, and contributing to its sustenance and development. Against this backdrop, the university, ever since its inception, pivoted on to this mission, has opened teaching and research departments which have remained dedicated to the avowed cause. In continuation of the same spirit, the university has embarked on the mission of disseminating the cause of the Dravidian through its publications. One of these is the *Dravidian Studies*.

The Dravidian Studies which is 8 years old has been instrumental in strengthening the research in the areas of the Dravidian and the allied disciplines through it. While engaged in this challenging goal, the journal, notwithstanding the obvious odds against it, is marching forward with its commitment for academic excellence and ethics.

At the juncture of the release of the present issue, I am elated to indicate that *Dravidian Studies* is now poised to go on the path of excellence by way of imbibing stringent measures to ensure high quality of the journal. Accordingly efforts are afoot to enhance the quality of the journal in all respects. This will, hopefully, be realized with the upcoming issue. I would take this opportunity to congratulate the editorial board for their unrelenting efforts in bringing out the present issue in spite of some delay.

Prof. Kankanala Rathnaiah
Vice-Chancellor

Editor's Note

Dravidian Studies of Vol. IX Nos.3-4, Vol.X Nos. 1-4, Vol. XI Nos. 1-2 is yet another attempt to carry forward the scholarly saga of Dravidian University. The issue carries 10 articles covering language/linguistic, literature and cultural aspects in general, and with a special reference to Dravidian linguistic, philosophical, economic and mythological concerns.

Perhaps, for the first time, *Dravidian Studies*, has practiced blind peer review in the strict sense by getting all the submissions read by experts in various fields and taken their comments with regard to their acceptability. The Members of the Editorial Board and me would thank the colleagues who have extended their support by reading the manuscripts and offering their comments. The Editor hopes that this has brought in objectivity in the selection, and the worthy alone have got into the issue.

Notwithstanding all this, the Editor owns the responsibility for delay in bringing out the issue. Of course, the administrative office the Editor has held might be the staple inducer for the delay.

Prof. Ch.A.Rajendra Prasad
Editor

DRAVIDIAN STUDIES

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* Views expressed in the articles are personal opinions of the contributors. Neither the Dravidian University nor the Editor is responsible for them.

A Critical Study of K. Satchidananda Murthy's views of Philosophy and Religion¹

- M.P. Terence Samuel

Introduction

In the course of history, many scholars have attempted to define philosophy and religion in various ways according to the varied dimensions of their studies in relation to the chosen issues and in response to the historical context of their situatedness. Sometimes, their analysis and conclusions are so diametrically opposite that they end up in mutually exclusive opinions/views/definitions about the subject matter in hand. In this paper, I would like to make a modest attempt at how the antique knowledge systems such as philosophy and religion have been understood by K.S. Murty in the context of his studies of philosophical traditions and religions, particularly with reference to Vedic-Vedantic-Hinduism – as a response to the challenges of modernity and to the problems of post-independent scholarship, with his own convictions on thinking about the authority and validity of the Veda (*srutipramanyavicara*) as well as on meditating the import of the Veda (*Vedārtha-cintana*) (KSM 1993: xix)².

When a critical reading is attempted on writings, of K.S. Murthy, we could see a perceptible evolution/change/shift in his approach towards philosophy and religion, from time to time. Sometimes, the views of his 40s and 50s stand in antagonistic relation to each other and his approach becomes markedly sociological in his later writings, in spite of his above-mentioned avowed convictions. In this paper, I attempt to understand the qualitative nature of such a change/evolution/shift in his system of thought about philosophy and religion

¹ The paper presented in CSC sponsored national seminar on 'The Philosophy of Prof Satchidananda Murty', organized by the Department of Philosophy, University of Madras, Chennai, during 28 – 30, January, 2013.

² Hereafter I shall use the (YoP: Pp) without mentioning the name of K.S. Murty. But wherever quotations from different authors are used, I shall mention their names using (Author YoP: Pp) format.

in Indian context, with reference to his books, particularly 'Hinduism and Its Development' and 'Evolution of Philosophy in India/Evolution of Indian Philosophy', 'The Indian Spirit' and 'The Current Trends in Indian Philosophy' with occasional references to his other works. In that way, this paper is not exhaustive, but limited. In the course of such an exercise, I would like to problematise some of his notions contained in these works in order to have a further understanding of the problems.

World War II, K.S. Murthy held the view that contemporary science cannot demolish any type of Eastern wisdom and that those who practise *tapas* and *sraddha* become tranquil-knower (2007: v – vi). However, this conformist position has yielded place to what M.N. Roy appreciates in his introduction to 'Evolution of Indian Philosophy', as "a courageous rejection of the conformist, conventional, patriotic view in favour of the objective, scholarly and critical"³ (2007: 1). Such a shift in his position emerges within his writings evidently in the chapter 'Being and Thinking' where he tries to relate his studies with knowledge discourses in other disciplines of study. And with this shift, the tension between his earlier conformism and the sociology of knowledge gets pronounced in his writings. And one has to approach his works with such an in-built tension.

This shift from conformism to the sociological understanding of knowledge discourses, gets concrete in his editorial introduction to 'Current Trends in Indian Philosophy', where he pronounces that, "Political, social, legal and moral ideas and institutions on the one hand and economic relations and existing material conditions of existence on the other hand exercise reciprocal influence on each other and the former interact with religious and philosophical thought, mutually influencing each other" (1972: xi). Thus he arrives at a point where he could analyse the relation between philosophy and non-

³ The title of the book was 'Evolution of Philosophy in India – A Brief Sketch' at the time of its first publication in 1952. Second revised publication came with the title 'Evolution of Indian Philosophy' in 2007. In order for coherent usage of title all through this paper, the title of the revised second edition is used.

philosophy in the philosophical and religious thought patterns (1972: xii – iii). In this process, he rephrases/reformulates his understanding of culture as "something that emerges at the top – among fertile brains with foresight, toleration and catholicity" (2007: 117) into an understanding that "no society is homogeneous; for in every society there are various strata, and conflicting interests and impulses... While the way of thinking of the stratum or section in a society to which one belongs would influence naturally one's own thinking, that of the dominant section would tend to subordinate, if not suppress, other ways of thinking" (1972: xiii). In 1940s, Murthy cherished the view that, in spite of multiple manifestations of cultural aspects in reality, the culture is the creation of the elite; but, in his later writings, starting from 1952, we find a shift in his understanding which gives way for the pluralistic actuality of culture. To phrase this entire problem in Gramscian terminology, it is the elites of a particular society who are responsible for the construction of unitary culture, together with the tacit approval of the subaltern through the creation of a common-sense, though the culture is plural-in-itself (AG 1991: 52 – 7). However, it needs to be analysed, in the following sections, whether Murthy's words are self-contradictory to his own understanding of culture, particularly with reference to his views on Hinduism and its relation to philosophical thought patterns in India.

On Hindu-Religion(s) in India

While writing about the 'Fusion of Races and the Formation of Indian Mind' K.S. Murthy objectively states that, as illustrated in the Vedic and Upanisadic and Pali literatures and as evidenced in history, "there was never a homogeneous and uniform culture". Comparing it with the early literature of the Hebrews, he says that, "There is no single dominant idea, no unity of purpose, and no evidence of any endearing bond being common to all people" (1952/2007: 51 – 2). But he goes further to sum up that, "the nature of Indian thought with its lack of coherence, unity, harmony and a common purpose – what might be called the common national ideals – is due to the blending of widely heterogeneous stocks right from times immemorial. This is an objective fact which ought to be recognised as such. There is no use of getting emotional and saying that Indian thought is the best, the

noblest, the most logical and the most spiritual in the world. Every impartial student has recognized the facts set forth above" (2007: 53). But, in his early writings, he maintained that "Hindus have a common culture" (2007: 15).

While analysing Hinduism, he says, "If by religion is meant the adherence of people to a particular form of ritual, belief or faith with a set of theological dogmas, then there is no such thing as Hindu religion; because those who practice different and antagonistic forms of rituals, such as Saktas, the Saivas and the Vaishnavas are Hindus. In spite of this, Hindus consist of pluralists and monists, monistic-pluralists and so on. In fact, a Hindu need not believe at all in the existence of a godhead, either personal or impersonal. That is why among the orthodox systems of Hindu thought, three are atheistic undoubtedly. If absolutism is also atheism, then thinker who speaks of the godhead as a phenomenal necessity and relative reality – Sankara and the Advaita Vedanta are also atheistic." (2007: 14). This passage shows that he understands the religious practices in Indian subcontinent as pluralistic in its objective sense; however, a totalising need has been felt to name and classify all of those plural strands as Hinduism; and that the philosophical systems in India are understood in relation with religion. But the question is whether he kept his pace with the above postulates forever? The answer would be yes and no. Only a paradoxical answer is possible.

If so, what is his conception of religion and philosophy that could accommodate these pluralities? What are the necessities that made him to be so? What are the specific contexts in which he said yes and no to these postulates? Did he completely get rid of these internal incoherencies in his thoughts and writings? On the basis of these formulated questions, I endeavour to understand his views on philosophy and religion in this paper.

i) Views on Religion

K.S. Murthy held varied opinions about religion in general. While describing the developments of psychological studies of religion with reference to Freud, he points out that religion is derived from the childish feeling of helplessness (2007: 20). But he held a view in

his earlier book, while commenting upon the necessity of religious and spiritual studies in educational system, that religion is not a set of anti-scientific and irrational dogmas (2007: 7 – 9). Speaking about his mystical experiences with expanse and ocean at midnight in Pondicherry (the present Puducherry), he defines religious experience as the cessation of the function of intellect yielding to the activity of intuition (2007: 19). However, while relating the geographical environment with the thinking and reasoning abilities, he goes against the apologetic attitudes and patriotic fervour to say that "Nor do I see any reason why one should use those hazy terms "spiritual" and "other worldly" instead of "the plain irrational" and "unworldly", for to be spiritual is to be not intellectual and to be other worldly is to be unworldly. It might be objected to that to be spiritual is to be suprarational. It must be remembered that whatever is not rational is irrational, whether it is supra-rational or sub-rational" (2007: 37). As mentioned earlier, he holds the view, in his book, 'Hinduism and Its Development', that religion, in general, is about ritual, beliefs and dogmas, but still maintains that the Hindu conception of religion is very different.

At times, he understands religion as mystical experience and goes against the popular religious practices, such as the materialisation of the ideal and the anthropomorphization of the divine, and identifies such tendencies as the vulgarization of the sublime (2007: 21 – 4) and as superstitious (2007: 35). Quoting Radhakrishnan's saying that 'the dominant character of the Indian mind is the spiritual tendency which is mysticism', however, he avers that spiritualism/mysticism is a love to revel in the fanciful and the grotesque, the superstitious and the awesome which is averse to scientific reasoning (2007: 36). Though he holds the view that the distinguishing feature of Indian culture is its emphasis on the spiritual and the eternal, he also resents that "undue emphasis on the spiritual made the succeeding generations forget the material aspects of her culture" (2007: 109). But when he applies the other disciplinary studies of religions, such as geography, psychology and history, he understands the inward religious practices relating them with actual conditions of reality and the fear of the social-dominant (2007: 34, 66, 249).

Another interesting aspect of his definition of religion tries to synthesize the spiritual with the moral. For, he says, "the first and foremost duty of spiritual life is sincerity". If so, what is sincerity? What does he mean by that word? "When the body is entirely in the grips of the innermost being within us, when it ruthlessly and inevitably executes everything in accordance with the dictates of the voice within, then we can be treated to be truly sincere", (2007: 46) he says. Here he combines the mystical with the moral. The consequence of the combination of the spiritual-mystical-moral is that "we become the law ourselves" (2007: 47). While attempting to derive the elements of Hinduism from Gita, he says further that "while doing anything our aim should be nothing that is of the earth" (2007: 46). By treating the religious experience also as moral, naturally the reality gets divided into two, namely, the sacred and the profane. And he identifies similarities between the words religion and dharma (1965: 186 – 217).

If we try to understand religion with morality, then necessarily we need to take into consideration the views of both Durkheim and Weber to understand the relation between those two different aspects. Analysing this process of religion in Durkheimian sense, it can be said that the religion heterogenises the reality into two, as the things that are set apart and as the forbidden only to create a homogeneous community (Durkheim 1964: 47). The ideal is superimposed on the real and the different aspects of the same reality are viewed through moral-optics. In other words, religious morality serves the purpose of integration of a community. But there is an interesting twist to the morality, as explained in Gita. He categorically says that "we do not find any ethical theory worked out in the Upanisads" (2007: 97). Quoting Das Gupta, Murty also holds that Bhagavad Gita is pre-Buddhistic and further adds that "the Brahmin leaders incorporated the Bhagavad-Gita in the setting of the Mahabharata... Probably the Gupta emperor and his clever ministers consciously commissioned the composition of such a work as the Mahabharata in an attempt to unite the heterogeneous tribes" (2007: 247 – 52). By this, he means that the politics of integration/totalisation was enacted during Guptan age through the creation of Mahabharata and incorporating Gita into it. Though he explicitly states the working of scandal/conspiracy in

the homologisation of the heterogeneity in the construction of Mahabharata, still he is not a critique of the monolithic understanding of Hinduism during the nationalist period. Even though Gita is understood by him as a pre-Buddhistic text, he also holds that goodness and kindness become absolute values subservient to nothing for the first time in India only in the teachings of Buddha (2007: 240 – 42). If this is the case, then it is natural for us to expect from him an answer to the question as to the ideological nature of the morality of Gita. But he leaves us baffled without providing any clue to this question.\

ii) Synthesis or Assimilation?

Further, K.S. Murthy defines Hindu culture and religion thus: "Unity, synthesis, reconciliation and development through a perfect fusion of old traditions with new values have ever been the characteristics of Hindu culture and religion" (2007: 112). In this context, his notions of the Dravidian-Aryan synthesis and other cultural influences on the Indian subcontinent need to be discussed for an understanding of what he means by these terms such as unity, synthesis and reconciliation. What did he really mean by the word synthesis?

He tries to understand the religious practices of early humans as oriented towards animism, totemism, naturism, mother-goddess worship, fertility principles, magic and shamanism. The contemporary pattern of worship of innumerable women-deities, bulls and cows are traced by him to pre-historic times. He even says that the Atharva veda and Mahabharata record many such animistic beliefs and practices (1952: 40 – 4). During the transition from hymnal period to the Upanisadic period, he identifies the synthesis of Aryan and non-Aryan tribes for the emergence of a distinctive cultural pattern called Hinduism (1952: 78, 85 – 6). Though he identifies the influence of other races and cultures in the makeup of the present day conception of Hinduism, his opinion that, Hinduism got its nascent birth in the Aryan-Dravidian synthesis, smacks of anachronism; for, the religious connotations of the word 'Hindu' were unknown in that period; secondly, there was no such unitary/unified Hinduism, in spite of the mutual influences of the Aryan and non-Aryan cultural practices, if we look into the historical exegesis of ancient and medieval period.

The modern historians have identified at least two different strands even within the Indus culture (NM 2002: 20). In such cases, his understanding of the beginnings of Hinduism is anachronistic. Rather, Murty's views about Hinduism need to be understood in the context of the nationalist discourses which felt the necessity for unificatory models in order to counter the colonial discourses effectively/indigenously.

Also, the word 'influence' is often tempered/substituted with the words 'assimilation' and 'fusion' and so the word 'synthesis' often gets the tenor of assimilation. As a further consequence, the word 'Hindu' becomes synonymous with 'Indian' and 'Indian spirit' (2007: 50 – 1, 61, 106 – 8, 2007: 234 – 5, 1965: 27). The historical experiences and the doctrine of historical materialism do not presuppose that a synthesis is absolute or that it linearises the different moments of history without by-producing antithetical elements to it. However, the shift of words in the works of Murty becomes a necessary corollary, for the construction of the cultural identity of a nation-in-the-making. Though he criticizes the construction of monotheistic Hinduism as the works of the reactionary elites of the nation-in-construction, he himself falls into the same criticism if his shifts and hyphenations are taken into consideration.

iii) Relation of Philosophy and Religion in India

On the issue of the relation between philosophy and religion in India, Murty's discusses two different historical epochs of the Indian philosophical scenario. The one relates to the pre-modern historical epoch and the other is related to the modern epoch. But, in both the epochs, he finds the inseparability of philosophy and religion in India.

While discussing 'what is philosophy', he understands it as a critical-rational enquiry. And he is in favour of the delineation of philosophy and religion. But, in pre-modern times, both were greatly confused and thought to be synonymous, according to him (2007: 62 – 3). So he compares the Scholastic philosophy of the West with the pre-modern philosophical enquiry. According to him, both have the characteristics of the systematization and rationalization of religious dogmas. As in the West, none of the scientific advances did impel the

Indian philosophers to make creative efforts towards new cosmologies (2007: 67 – 69). To come to this conclusion, he also quotes from Al-Beruni. Though he appreciates the fine logical acumen of the Scholastic philosophy of the West as well as the pre-modern philosophical enquiries of the subcontinent, he still admonishes them of 'complete barrenness' due to their leisurely interest and the lack of interest in other forms of knowledge discourses, especially scientific discoveries.

Coming to the modern philosophical scenario of the Indian context, he takes into consideration the philosophical movement of the 19th century England when German idealism was introduced there. As most of those who came from England to teach in India were influenced either by Kantianism or Hegelianism or both, the first generation of Indian scholars of philosophy took upon idealism as the last word in philosophy. This was also the period when Hindu world-view emerged. Encouraged by the European indologists who found some the foreshadows of Kantianism in Sankara, the first generation idealists were more or less favourable to religious disposition in philosophical enquiry, he says (1972: xxxviii – xxxix). To substantiate his claim, he relies upon the book, 'Contemporary Indian Philosophy', edited by Radhakrishnan and Muirhead to show that out of the 24 contributors, nineteen of them are idealists of one sort or other and that except seven, all of them have been predominantly influenced by Advaita Vedanta. This need not be construed as entirely true, because in Bengal, we find the revival of Nyaya and Navya Nyaya during the same period. But the question still remains whether Murty himself came out of these idealist tendencies in his philosophization.

Conclusion

It needs to be remembered also that the first generation of British anthropologists held a view that ethical monotheism is the highest form of religion. As a reaction to this view, colonial Indian minds also developed a type of monotheism out of the multivalent religious tendencies of their past/present, to counter the European claim that Indians are primitive owing to the ritualistic and polytheistic nature of

their religious practices. The denial of the ritualistic nature of some religious practices in India by the native-elites was also due to the fact that the same set of anthropologists and the first generation of psychologists of religious studies, like William James, also considered ritual as secondary to personal-moral religious experiences (CB 1992: 14 – 5). If we try to understand the colonial-nationalist conceptualisation of religion in this context, we could find a reason why Vedas, Vedanta and Gita were taken as representing the entire length and breadth of the Indian subcontinent, though the actual conditions of religious practices widely differed from people to people, region to region... Also we know how Gita served the nationalist discourses, helping to create a 'manly/masculine' identity among the colonised masses who felt themselves as subjugated. K.S. Murthy's views need to be understood in this context; for, in him we find the inheritance of most of these nationalist discourses, especially with reference to the influence of Tilak and other radical nationalists.

Secondly, I would like to state that, in so far as he tried to understand religion with reference multi-disciplinary approaches, he didn't slip much into his dearly held conformist positions on Hinduism. And he tried to be a humanist. But this humanism does not derive its strength from enlightenment ideals; rather it is rooted in Hindu renaissance of the 19th and the early 20th century. To quote an example, he says in his preface to 'The Indian Spirit' that the book attempts for a humanistic approach to Indian culture. Even before the awe for his humanistic convictions cascades, he spells out his distorted conviction that "the present book relies on the Sanskritic sources produced in ancient India, and concentrates on the dominant component of Indian culture" (1965: v – vi). For, never in the history, the humanistic emancipatory ideals have been achieved 'from above' – through charity and dominance – but from the perspectives 'from below'. On the other hand, the perspectives 'from above' have either assimilated/synthesised the weak into the realm of dominance or reified the hierarchy through selective concessions, if one looks into the history critically.

In these circumstances, the writings of Murthy need to be understood in the context of the nationalist and the post-nationalist-divergent discourses. While summing up the dominant ideas of the Hindu renaissance and reformation that got crystallised during the 19th and 20th centuries in India, he brings forth seven aspects of them, thus:

- 1) All religions are but different paths to the same goal;
- 2) Vedanta is the quintessence of the Vedas and the highest philosophical peak reached by Indian thought;
- 3) Vedanta is the only religion and philosophy, which is in harmony with reason and science, and can be universal; all truth is included in it;
- 4) The genius of India is to achieve a synthesis of cultures, civilizations and philosophies; in Indian history such syntheses were achieved in the past;
- 5) The culture and philosophy of India are predominantly spiritual, while those of the West are materialistic. The present task is to achieve a synthesis of these two;
- 6) The political vicissitudes of India were due to ignoring the positivistic and activistic component of Indian thought, such as that contained in Gita;
- 7) A just society can be constructed on the basis of the philosophy of the Upanisads and the Gita.

Further, he goes on to say that "the leaders of the renaissance believed that mental enlightenment and reform of conduct and principles would lead to national resurgence, political freedom and welfare... They did not realise the necessity for the material transformation of society and equitable distribution of wealth" (1972: xxxii – iii). This is our task now to understand as to how far his writings of the 1940s inherit and substantiate the nationalist discourses of the renaissance and Hindu reformation. Later in post-independence period, when he becomes conscious of his encounters with the divergences in post-nationalist discourses, still he did not allow for

the epidermalisation (to use Fanon's terminology) of those discourses on himself; rather he talked about them and tried to dissolve those divergent view-points essentially hinging on the standpoints of the derivative and reactionary discourses of Hindu renaissance and reformation. His writings of the 1970s, such as 'The Realm of Between' and his editorial introduction to 'Current Trends in Indian Philosophy', are conscious about the loopholes of the reactionary-nationalist tendencies; they attempt to negotiate the divergences of reality to go beyond them, still he was not a 'being towards' (in the Heideggerian sense) a humanist owing to his idealist philosophical moorings rooted in the dominant-nationalist-derivative discourses.

Even if we are to acknowledge his aspiration for 'beyondness', with all its multivalent potentialities, still the 'beyondness' is essentially a higher-individualistic aspiration devoid of the social-political. If his explanation that Radhakrishnan's apologetic justification of the caste-system and his infatuation with Advaita are due to his birth and upbringing in the atmosphere of an orthodox south Indian Smarta Brahmin family (2007: 21 – 2) is to be considered, then we may turn the table against him on the same logic of caste and say that Murthy's views of philosophy and religion is that of a non-Brahmin who switched positions in between the realms, with the avowed interest in getting himself Sanskritised/Hinduized. For, he himself is an apologetic of varnasrama dharma and a votary of it, accepting it as an ideal for higher human pattern (1965: 247). And this was/is the non-Brahminic logic of ascendancy in socio-economic status according to the social-anthropological studies of M.N. Srinivas (MNS 1970: 42 – 62).

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Y

NTR, Milton and the Mahabharata: *Dāna Vīra Sūra Karna* as a Dravidian Counter-discourse

- E. Dileep

Abstract

*Making use of the contemporary theoretical insights of the Cultural Studies that has inaugurated an analytical paradigm, which offers an unprecedented flexibility for relating the heterogeneous facets of culture, the present essay endeavours to project one of the most popular Telugu films, *Dāna Vīra Sūra Karna* as a Dravidian Counter-discourse in the Cinematic form, drawing analogies from the monumental literary epic of Milton, i.e., *Paradise Lost*, which is perhaps the first epical Counter-discourse in English literature. For this end, the article often deploys the methods commonly practised in comparative literature. At the same time, an attempt is made not to lose sight of the differences that are generic and technological, between the film and the literary text. The article suggests eventually that by offering a counter-narrative of the archetypically popular version of Mahabharata, the film under consideration here is exemplifying and instantiating the Dravidian stance through an effective artistic medium.¹*

Let me admit at the very outset that the three items mentioned together in the title are chosen not because of any obvious interconnection or association, but in spite of their seeming disparateness, and heterogeneity. Indeed, the central contention of

¹ This is a revised version of the article that was originally submitted in the **International Conference on Mahabharatam**, organised by Oriental Research Institute, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, during 7-11, January, 2014.

the present article is to argue that there is a quite significant connection between these three items, although it is not quite visible at the first sight. The second part of the title is, in a way, suggestive of the connection that is argued for in the following lines. Understandably, it is through an analysis of the film *Dāna Vīra Sūra Karna* this connection is purported to be established here. Before I proceed to make the central argument, perhaps, it will be expected of me to dwell at some length towards introducing the three constituents.

Perhaps, it can be safely presumed that the people who either live in Andhra Pradesh, or are aware of the recent past of it, need no explanation as to who NTR is. For others, it needs to be said that it is a very popular acronym for the full name: Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao (28 May 1923 – 18 January 1996). He is not a man of meagre achievements, and he belongs to the rare species of humans whose achievements do not confine themselves to a single walk of life. Starting his career playing small roles in Telugu films, after quitting the job as the sub-registrar of Mangalagiri, Andhra Pradesh, he soon made himself into an unchallenged icon of films and earned phenomenal reputation. Although he played a considerable number of roles in the films with social themes, it is through his roles in the mythological films, that he earned an archetypal image in the collective psyche of the people of Andhra Pradesh. *Wikipedia*, the popular on-line encyclopaedia, informs in the entry of “N. T. Rama Rao” that “140 of his films celebrated hundred days and 33 films celebrated silver Jubilees while six of his films ran more than 50 weeks. He received three National Film Awards and one Film fare Award South”.

Later, when he entered politics founding the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) on 29 March 1982, it has turned into a kind of paradigm shift in the politics of the state, and this has greatly defined the nature of events that took shape in the state subsequently. He became the Chief Minister of the state soon, inaugurating a new era in the state politics. Although things like this may seem quite dramatic, and incredible for an outside observer, they are quite normal for somebody who is familiar with the state of affairs in the south Indian politics. It is enough for one to turn to the example of Ms Jayalalitha, the present Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, for a fair understanding of this

phenomenon. Also, it is not quite hard to understand that a person can become a Chief Minister in the modern times, based, at least partly, on his reputation earned as a hero in the mythological films, which, at any case, refer to an imagined history, if they aim to refer to anything at all.

If the mythological films in which he played central roles, derive their emotional popularity and patronage from the accepted interpretation of the myths in question, then there is nothing intricate or remarkable about it. But the film taken for analysis, for the present purpose, *Dāna Vīra Sūra Karna* is not one that reinforces the mythologies as they are enshrined in the minds of the people. As I argue here, through this film, NTR— who happened to play three crucial roles as Karna, Duryodhana, and Krishna, as well as producing and directing the film — has endeavoured to show the plausibility and legitimacy of a subverted version of the masterly narrative, i.e. the Mahabharata.

The comparison and proximity with the work of Milton may come alive at this point. Because, in English, it is Milton, who has produced an artistic representation of the national epic, through his Magnum opus, *Paradise Lost*. Also, Milton's poetic representation of the epic theme does not subscribe to a version of the epic as it is commonly cherished in the collective consciousness of the English. Still, one may point out the generic and formal differences between the two cases to argue against any comparison. To be sure, it is only against the backdrop of modern cultural theory that such generically different works can be compared in a study. The conceptual shift from “work” to the “text”, will provide an important advance here. As Roland Barthes aptly points out in his hugely influential essay “From Work to Text”, the very concept of the Text has subversive implications, because “the Text does not stop at (good) Literature; it cannot be contained in a hierarchy, even in a simple division of genres. What constitutes the text is, on the contrary (or precisely), its subversive force in respect of the old classifications” (157).

The flexibility offered by the contemporary cultural theory has its roots in this conceptual shift. As a result, it is quite common in the modern Cultural Studies to find a mix of different texts to study some

commonality. For instance, in his essay “A Small Boy and Others: Sexual Disorientation in Henry James, Kenneth Anger, and David Lynch” anthologised in one of the most popular collections of theory, *Literary Theory: An Anthology* (745), Michael Moon concerns himself with the following texts at once: Henry James's “The Pupil”, Kenneth Anger's *Scorpio Rising*, and David Lynch's *Blue Velvet*. Here, the first one is a short story, and the other two are films. Making use of the critical praxis that came into vogue due to the theoretical insights of the Cultural Studies that has inaugurated an analytical paradigm for relating the heterogeneous facets of culture, the present essay endeavours to project the commonality of the three components of the title.

In fact, it will amount to an overemphasis of the point made here, if one takes this as a case for the complete similarity of Milton's text, and the cinematic text concerned. Obviously, there are many striking differences. For one thing, Milton cannot be claimed as a contemporary writer, whereas the life and work of NTR belong to a time that could only be considered as the recent past. Another important point of difference is that Milton got neither the recognition nor any other forms of gains as seen in the case of NTR.

Despite these superficial differences of detail, there is a deeper and more essential kind of similarity between both the texts. Both of them concern themselves with the themes that are of archetypal status in the collective consciousness of the respective nations. It is well-known in the studies of English literature, that Milton's *Paradise Lost* has produced a lot of controversy as to who its real central figure is. In his well-known response to *Paradise Lost* that occurs in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790–3), William Blake notes that “the reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & God, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of the Devils party without knowing it.”

Blake's provocative contention is that unconsciously Milton was not on the side of the Almighty God and Messiah but on the side of Satan – that is, the representative of energy, imagination, and unrestrained desire which Christianity represses traditionally. According to Blake, visionary poetry derives from energy: Milton's

imaginative powers are therefore most evident in the scenes in Hell. Again, at a later period, in his *A Defence of Poetry* (1821), Shelley too admired the perseverance, of Milton's Satan, seeing him as "a moral being" "far superior" to Milton's God who inflicts "the most horrible revenge upon his enemy."

It is important to keep in mind here, that neither Shelley nor Blake has written these words with an awareness of theories (that developed later) such as Psychoanalysis or Marxism. Because the basic insight that a writer can be motivated by the emotions of which he may not be conscious of, is the most important contribution of psychoanalysis, as far as the Literary Studies are concerned. Similarly, it is Marxism which has highlighted the underlying class positions and latent class interests in all the historical struggles that informed the societies that existed hitherto. It is the precociousness of the views of Blake and Shelley that is most noteworthy at this juncture. No need to add that this has greatly influenced the present critical opinion about Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Still, this act of producing a subversive presentation of the popular Biblical theme should not be taken as a move that undermines the importance of the original theme for the collective consciousness of the nation. In a way, arguably, it enhances the significance of the original, archetypal Biblical myth, by making it broad enough so as to include even the subversive perspectives. Understandably, any narrative that is worthy of a place in the consciousness of a nation must be broad enough to encompass mutually dichotomous points of view.

Turning to the cinematic text, we will find a similar attempt at presenting a counterpoint, or rather a counter-discourse (as it came to be theorised in the contemporary times), *vis-à-vis* the commonly accepted exegesis of the epic struggle between the Kauravas and the Pandavas which constitutes the thematic preoccupation of the Mahabharata. The traditional understanding of the Mahabharata deifies the Pandavas and demonises the Kauravas. In contrast, NTR's *Dāna Vīra Sūra Karna* projects Duryodhana (a name with flagrantly negative connotation), the leader of the Kauravas, as 'Suyodhana' (a name with obviously positive connotation). In fact, it is the role of Duryodhana which occupies the predominant part of the film.

Here, Duryodhana is presented as a cultured and well-educated person who follows dharma and who has an unmistakable sense of justice, and who stands for the equality of humans (in a relative sense) and who opposes arbitrary discrimination. Just as in the case of the *Paradise Lost* where Satan's speeches are the most inspiring, in this film, the dialogues and the monologues of Duryodhana stand out in the memory of the audience. It is no exaggeration, to say that one of the dialogues of Duryodhana in this film, against caste discrimination is still quite popular with the present day youth, who use it as their cellphone ringtone.

To see how remarkable this is, one should think of the knowledge of the same youth regarding the Telugu films produced at the same time i.e. 1977 (which will be practically nil in most of the cases). For our purpose, it is important to highlight that the predominance of Duryodhana in the film, is neither accidental nor preposterous. This predominance is quite well-recognised even in the times when the film is made, so much so that it is said that Duryodhana could as well be made the eponymous hero of the film. The deep rooted prejudice against the character of Duryodhana that is presumably nourished in the minds of common people, might have prevented NTR from naming the film after Duryodhana; instead it is titled after Karna, a great friend of Duryodhana, and a beneficiary of his proverbial munificence. But this has not prevented the film from being made into a thoroughgoing critique of the widely accepted interpretation of the Mahabharata.

The film unequivocally presents the prevalent pronouncements of *dharma* that is exemplified in the Mahabharata as embodying the power and interests of the Pandavas, thus unmasking the universalist claims of that *dharma* (we are reminded of the Bhagavad Gita here, which is a part and parcel of the Mahabharata). No wonder if this seems to invoke, crossing the barriers of time and place, Foucault's conceptualisation of knowledge as something that is intrinsically inscribed by power. Yet, what is not so commonly appreciated is his concept of counter-discourse as a potential space allowing resistance to the hegemony. As persuasively argued by Mario Moussa, and Ron Scapp in their essay "The Practical Theorizing of Michel Foucault:

Politics and Counter-Discourse”, Foucault’s idea of the counter-discourse “aims at clearing a space in which the formerly voiceless might begin to articulate their desires—to *counter* the domination of the prevailing authoritative discourses” (88).

With this recognition, a few works in the recent times have made use of this Foucauldian contribution. For instance, in his book *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France*, Richard Terdiman examines both the dominant bourgeois discourse and the effort of intellectuals to offer counter-discourses to undermine that. It is time we made similar studies on the Mahabharata in our native languages.

Seen against this theoretical backdrop, it is not difficult to appreciate the film *Dāna Vīra Sūra Karnas* an attempt at a cinematic counter-discourse. Moreover, it would be a grave mistake if this counter discourse is considered impertinent in the contemporary times, as the film targets a mythical subject. Because, it is a well-acknowledged fact that in literature and in all forms of imaginative art, it is the real conflicts that are vicariously fought out in artistic forms, although in an imaginatively deflected way. Notably, the choice of projecting a counter interpretation of the epic, through the film is a political move in itself, although it is carried out through the cinematic means, on a symbolic plane. In its own way, it is representative of an all-pervasive conflict of contending groups in the mythologically presented social life. In fact, it is through such efforts of making a contending meaning that the conflicts of different powers are reflected in culture.

As John Fiske rightly puts it in the essay “Culture, Ideology, Interpellation”: “In the domain of culture, this contestation [of powers] takes the form of the struggle for meaning, in which the dominant classes attempt to “naturalize” the meanings that serve their interests into the “commonsense” of society as a whole, whereas subordinate classes resist this process in various ways and to varying degrees and tried to make meanings that serve their own interests” (306). This production of symbolic counter-discourse is a part of social

production, Stuart Hall has hit the nail on the head when he says that “The specificity of media institutions therefore lay precisely in the way social practice was organised so as to produce a symbolic product. . . . However, signification differed from other modern labour processes precisely because the product which the social practice produced was a discursive object. (1051). Thus the cinematic counter-discourse should be comprehended as a part of the socio-symbolic practice, as a part of the semiotic resistance offered to the ruling narrative.

Perhaps the most salient feature of the film has a lot to do with the regional specificity of the film. Though the film is made at Ramakrishna Studios, Hyderabad, it is noteworthy that Telugu film industry, by that time, has not severed its umbilical cord with its origin, i.e. Madras (now Chennai). It is notable that the then Tamil superstar M. G. Ramachandran has started the shooting of the film. What I am trying to hint at is the possibility of the Dravidian epistemological influence on the film. As this will distract us from our comparative considerations, I am not going to make much of this point, except citing a contemporary Indian historian, Romila Thapar who testifies that

The Madras are accused not only of forsaking Brahminical rites but of unconventional behaviour and the breaking of social taboos. For the Orthodox of *madhyadesa* this region was always on the brink of the social pale if not actually outside it. It is also worth remembering that for some centuries two linguistic systems seem to have had currency since Vedic Sanskrit carries evidence of the assimilation of some Dravidian elements (99).

So, it is not an unfounded claim to regard that the Other side of the epic presented in the film may have something to do with the Dravidian stance. And the film, arguably, projects a Dravidian counter-discourse of the Mahabharata. I hope that it may not be considered a digression to mention here that NTR has played an instrumental role in the establishment of Dravidian University, as it is familiar for the staff of this university through the oft repeated reminiscences of the founding Registrar, Prof. B. Ramakrishna Reddy, that when the

delegation at that time asked for a Centre for the studies related to Dravidian issues, it was, indeed, NTR himself who came forward with the idea of granting a university. Perhaps, this is the undeniable proof for the real concern that he might have nourished for the Dravidian cause.

However the film may be characterised, what may be incontrovertible is the fact that a great epic like the Mahabharata can be a truly national epic when it accommodates the counter-discourses offered from various directions of the nation. The panoramic horizon of the Mahabharata could and did incorporate this interpretive plurality, and the film eventually reinforced the archetypal stature of the epic for the Indian psyche, as Milton's *Paradise Lost* did, in the case of the English.

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Food And Culture In South India

- K. Shyamala

Abstract

Food touches everything as the foundation of every economy. It is a central pawn in political strategies of states and households, which marks social differences, boundaries, bonds and contradiction though it is not a material product. It has a symbolic value as it facilitates communication in a culture and has coinage in various social contexts. Food system is traditional and a customary practice of local knowledge system. This entire knowledge is abstracted from past experiences of the people. Food is a culture specific as language. Taste as well as dining habits characterise the culture. Hence the culinary system binds the individuals in a culture. Research on food abounds which explicit from the history of differing types, the relationship between provisioning and culture, gender roles and eating disorders. Disciplines concerned deal with health and nutrition, few studies focus on the metaphorical aspects of alimentation; while many ethnographic works do deal with the symbolic nature of gastronomy tend to emphasize eating as commensality and an expression of identity in ethnic, regional, and religious groups. Food plays an important role in the annals of history and culture. As a mean of communication, it possesses multi sensorial properties of taste, touch, sight, sound, and smell. Due to these qualities, it has the ability to communicate a variety of registers and constitutes a form of language. Definitions of acceptable and prohibited foods express desired status, and use of food narratives about the self always communicate. This paper discusses the food as a culture construct through the lens of ethnicity in South India.

Research on food abounds, from the history of differing types to the relationship between provisioning and culture, gender roles and eating disorders. In disciplines concerned with health and nutrition, few studies focus on the metaphorical aspects of alimentation; while many ethnographic works do deal with the symbolic nature of gastronomy, they tend to emphasize eating as commensality and food as an expression of identity in ethnic, regional, and religious groups. Symbolic discourse involving cuisine is pervasive and complex, however, manifesting itself in a wide variety of contexts and exhibiting multiple meanings that may be ambiguous, conflicting, or pernicious. Understanding how messages are conveyed through culinary behavior requires an examination not only of victuals but also of the preparation, service, and consumption of food for all grist for the mill of symbolization. Food has permeated almost every scholarly field and has been a widely accepted research topic. Exhaustive bibliographic search turns up scores of books on food have been dealt in diverse as film studies (Ferry 2003¹, Bower 2004,² Keller 2006³), architecture (Franck 2003⁴, Horwitz & Singley 2006⁵), Philosophy (Korsmeyer 2002⁶, Heldke 2003⁷, Singer 2006), Psychology (Conner & Armitage 2002)⁸ and geography (Yasmeen 2006),⁹ not to mention the vast literature on food concerned within traditional fields of nutrition, home economics, and agriculture. Countless new texts abound on food in literature, from the study of the eating and being eaten in children's literature (Daniel 2006)¹⁰, to food symbols in early modern American fiction and classical Arabic Literature, to Post-Freudian analysis of literary orality. There are numerous causes for its explosion. Without a doubt feminism and women studies have contributed to the growth of food studies by legitimizing a domain of human behavior so heavily associated with women over time and across cultures. The recognition of food as a feminist issue has expanded beyond the subject of eating disorders to cover the wide diversity of feminist approaches and women food stories. The second reason is the politicization of food and the expansion of social movements linked to food. This has created an increased awareness of links between consumption and production beginning with new books on food and agriculture as well as more interdisciplinary work on food politics. Many of these subjects have important material dimensions, which have also been studied by

Archaeologists, Folklorists and even Designers, as food leaves its mark on environment. Keeping this in view, the author would like to discuss the food as a culture construct and through the lens of ethnicity in South India.

Food played an important role in the construction of history and culture. As a means of communication, it possesses multi sensorial properties of taste, touch, sight, sound, and smell. Due to these qualities, it has the ability to communicate in a variety of registers and hence constitutes a form of language. Definitions of acceptable and prohibited foods, stereotypes associated with certain foods to express belonging or attain desired status, and use of food narratives to speak about that food communicates. As expounded by Claude Lévi-Strauss, the culinary triangle which is a semantic field whose three points correspond to the categories of the raw, the cooked and the rotten.

Cooking Myths

One of the basic binary pairs explored by Lévi-Strauss is nature and culture. While the former is perceived as emotional-instinctual, the latter perceives as intellectual. But beyond the customary difference, culture is differentiated from nature, according to Lévi-Strauss, since it has rules and laws which dictate what is right and what is wrong, therefore take part in the creation of social order. The question is where nature ends and culture begins. This is where myth comes in, serving as a vehicle for explanation and mediation.

In his 1964 book, "The Raw and the Cooked" Lévi-Strauss explored nature/culture relations on the culinary level – namely, the way in which myth describes and explains the evolution of cooking techniques and rules, and the transformation of cooking into a cultural process – through the study of myth.¹¹¹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, tr. James Harle Bell and John

The act of cooking is perceived by Lévi-Strauss as a type of anomalous category since food constantly crosses the boundaries of the categories nature and culture. Cook is a type of cultural agent which links the raw product and the human consumption and his role is to ensure that the natural becomes cooked and undergoes a process

of socialization. The analysis of myths pertaining to cooking food is based on three premises: 1. Cooking is a language, and it has an unconscious structure constituted by binary oppositions; 2. Cooking is structured by the culinary triangle: raw/cooked/rotten – a triad which involves a double opposition between nature/culture and elaborated/unelaborated; 3. In practice, this abstract triangle becomes filled with several oppositional pairs, such as roasted/boiled, which corresponds to the pair raw/rotten. Lévi-Strauss maintains that culinary rites are not inborn but rather acquired phenomena. The animal in nature eats whatever its instinct perceives as edible, but in the case of human beings, it is social convention that determines what is food and what is not food, what type of food shall be eaten and on what occasion. The human stomach can digest practically anything, so that the distinction edible/inedible is decided on cultural rather than a physical basis. World cuisine is typified by a vast range of edible/inedible phenomena, that vary from place to place and from one period to another.

The category of raw forms basis for two elementary levels: cooked food, the cultural transformation of raw; and rotten food which is natural transformation. The basic triangle is related to intermediary stages emerge, such as cooking in water or in air. Cooking associates with air that leads to roasting or smoking, whereas the use of water entails boiling. Both categories derive from cooking, namely from culture, but the roasted one leaves the inner part of the food relatively raw which can be cooked directly on an open flame, thus remains closer to the nature pole, whereas the boiled, which undergoes full cooking, is closer to the side of culture. Each category is ascribed a different level of social prestige. Some food is exclusively suitable for men, some to women; some is forbidden to children, some can be eaten only on holidays, and some is forbidden to members of different religious groups. Lévi-Strauss maintains that there is a reverse relation between the levels of cultural transformation and the social value attributed to various types of cooking. Thus, boiled food represents a more developed state (use of water and oil) and more valued than roasted. Ostensibly, the boiled/roasted relations correspond with the advanced/primitive relations, but these can also switch, for boiled food which is associated with endo-cuisine, with the intrinsic, intimate

sphere. It is identified with a family cuisine that of the wife and mother. The roasted, on the other hand, is identified with exo-cuisine, with public celebrations taking place in the public sphere, outdoors, and is associated with the masculine world. Hence, the roasted will be closer to culture and prestige, whereas the boiled is associated with a more inferior culture, with the category of the decayed, due to the use of water and blending of various elements in the dish (vegetables, meat, etc.). The opposition roasted/boiled remains stable, but the values associated with each notion may change or switch. In fact, the hierarchical position of the boiled/roasted/rotten food is connected with the principle of maximum/minimum cooking. The less the food is transformed, the higher is its social status. Roasted food is considered more aristocratic than boiled food since its transformation involves only fire, as opposed to boiled food where both water and oil are used. Rotten food that has rotted involves even lesser human intervention, and therefore considered as higher quality. Similarly, raw fish (sushi) is considered highly prestigious. Things might get even more complicated if we add further categories, such as smoked, fried, dried, pickled, steamed, baked, pressure cooked. This set of notions can be set in relations to opposition, complementation, and symmetry.

However, within the kitchen system transpires a set of binary pairs: nature / culture, Duration / immediacy, near / far, and to these one should add various cooking durations, resulting in countless combinations taking part in the creation of a code which forms a sequence of sorts and underlies the definition of processes pertaining to the creation of cultural order and social hierarchy.

In South India, cooking is done in one fashion or another, and there is no condition of pure rawness. Only certain foods can really be eaten raw, and then only if they have been selected, washed, pared or cut, or even seasoned. There are certainly two different modes of cooking, which are attested by myths and rites which emphasize their contrast: the roasted and boiled. The Roasted food is directly exposed to the fire; with the fire it realises an unmediated conjunction, where as boiled food is doubly mediated, by the water in which it is immersed, and by the receptacle that holds both water and food. On two grounds, one can say that the roasted is on the side of

nature, where as boiled is on the side of culture: literally because boiling requires the use of a receptacle, a cultural object; symbolically, in as much as culture is a mediation of the relations between man and the world, and boiling demands a mediation (by water) of the relation between fire and food which is absent in roasting. It is significant to note that the over flow of the boiling milk is proved to be auspicious by the South Indians while inauguration of a new house or during any such ceremony. The preparation of the *Pongal* during the agricultural festivals such as *Sankranti* also include the over flow of boiling milk from the vessel which is used for cooking.

The place of Ancient Dravidians in Indian History and the solid and enduring contributions they made to Indian thought and life have failed so far to receive adequate recognition. Prior to the agrarian economy, the indigenous hunter-gatherers such as *Irula*, *Chenchu*, *Onge*, *Jorwa* etc. derived their food culture from the ecology. Climate modulates bio-diversity and food availability. As variety of edible plants is wider in the forest regions, their diet was much more varied ranging from tubers, fruits to animal food such as deer, turtle, rabbit etc. However, the small proportion of foods actually used from the edible wild species available argues for a recent change in favor of security and ease of cultivated products, away from uncertainty and difficulties involved in obtaining wild products. Researchers have identified a number of robust patterns of variation in subsistence, technology, land use, and social life among ethnographically linked variation in the range and importance of food sources. Tribals have exploited a vast array of wild foods. A convenient way of classifying them is to rank them in terms of their net 'cost' to foragers, whether they are primarily sources of food energy (e.g. fats and carbohydrates), or nutrient essentials to physical growth. They forage as a group and come together as a group to consume at least part of the catch. The condition of social foraging is very likely to be true ethnographically for e.g. *Chenchu*. Nallamala forests are rich in bio-diversity comprising 40 varieties of green leaves and six types of flowers which form as food resources. Based on the availability of floral resources, the Chenchus have subdivided the seasons into six sub divisions such as Nemipandla kaalam (June to August), Dadiri pandla kaalam (September to October), Thuniki pandla kaalam (March to April), Jana

pandla kaalam or Theneylu theese kaalam(May to June). Their traditional mode of management of natural resources is replete with examples of thoughtful conservation practices. They harvest one or more resources in the form of a packet, a natural unit larger which can be immediately consumed by an individual that acquires it. The small game animal, clutch of eggs, or tubers found in the forest are examples of packets. Certain selective pressures come into play while some individuals in the group find themselves holding more than their fill and others find themselves less. Among the most basic of these it is tolerated theft, better described as scrounging. Food transfer occurs because it pays individuals with deficit to contest the holdings of those with surfeit. Those with surplus will relinquish their extra portions because they gain little or no advantage in defending them. Portions will transfer among individuals until the marginal value of their holdings equalises. Reciprocity is another route for food transfers. It is the protection from short fall of food.

In South India, food culture is developed only with the expansion of agriculture. According to Sesha Iyengar, “the earliest Dravidians were not primitive tribes, but tilled the ground and raised crops of various kinds, e.g. rice and sesamum, and were agriculturists by nature.”¹² Agrarian society, that prevailed during the period between the Neolithic and the present scientific era is defined by certain general traits. It is based on food production and storage based on a stable technology and no genuine or accumulative science, as stated in the Sangam literature, the names of Marutham, the land where paddy and other grains are cultivated with the aid of irrigation. The Aryans did not know the term paddy at the time of their first appearance. Sir John Hewitt in his treatise on “The Prehistoric Ruling Races” says that the Dravidians were the great races of antiquity the first to systematize agriculture. Archaeology also confirms the evidence obtained from tradition, language, and literature as regards the acquaintance of the ancient Tamils with agriculture. Cuisine across India has also been influenced by various cultural groups that entered India throughout history, such as the Persians, Mughals and European colonists.

Regarding the racial affinities of south India and early cultural contacts, we find remnants of ancient types which tend towards what anthropologists call for convenience Mediterranean, Hamitic (Sudanese), Iranian, Semitic (the wetter lands round the fringe of Arabia) etc. In Europe, from the dawn of the Neolithic period, there was domestication of plants and animals which is followed in its turn by the development of pottery, of wedge shaped stone axes for tree cutting, of the wheel, and so much of the technical equipment of civilization, coupled with an improvement in weapons. These varying improvements have carried out of the regions which became arid. That the coastal belt of Baluchistan may have been a zone of movement at that time is rendered likely by the persistence of Brahui behind it. When one considers the subsequent enormous development of culture in the lower Euphrates and Tigris regions it becomes permissible to suggest that from time immemorial Mesopotamian influence have probably had their effect upon Dravidian civilization in India. These pioneers of civilization added cultivation to their activities as a supplement to the chase, fishing, and gathering of wild fruits and roots, the new work was undoubtedly assigned to the women, and therefore the ownership of land was recognised. According to Jared Diamond and Peter Bellwood, food production reached South India at about 3000BC, partly through the spread of Fertile Crescent domesticates via Indus Valley and the north-western Deccan, and partly through a simultaneous spread of rice cultivation from South East Asia with speakers of Austro-Asiatic (Mundaic) Languages. In addition to these undoubted spreads of crops into India. Fuller has recently argued for primarily independent origins of rice, millet, and grain domestication in the Ganges valley and South India.¹³

A variety of utensils in clay, bone, copper, and bronze have been found in Indus valley excavations like pans, plates, frying pans, large copper vessels, spouted vessels, and spoons and knives of chert. Tamil literature of between the third and sixth centuries AD is a rich source of information on daily life. Among the vessels mentioned are the mortar and pestle for pounding, stone mullers for wet grinding, pots of many shapes and sizes for specific purposes, spoons and ladles, fire-raisers and censers, pokers, winnowing pans, sieves, and bamboo coops were used to cover food stuffs. Kitchens were

constructed with storage lofts; they had mats to sit on, and plates and cups made of leaves. Many utensils in South India reflect the shapes of natural object. Gourds were the inspiration for *lotas* and *chombus*, and fluted pumpkins for numerous rounded, base-heavy water and cooking pots. The shapes of the coconut, mango, lotus flower, and banana leaf were transferred to vessels made of clay, stone, leather, and metal. Banana and coconut are the chief ingredients in south Indian confections. The *unni-appam* of the Ganesha temple in Kerala takes the form of spongy fried pieces of a mixture of rice powder, banana, jack fruit, and jaggery. Thin banana slices are deep fried in coconut oil to crisp yellow chips. The *koaleputtu* of Kodagu is a mash of ripe bananas, roasted rice powder, wedges of coconut, steamed in a banana leaf packet, and eaten hot or cold with fresh butter. Banana leaves are large and water-proof, stitched for use as disposable plates that avoid cross pollution. Concept of ritual purity also dictate that while bananas and other fruits with enveloped skins can be bought in the market place even after being handled by all and sun dried when brought into the kitchen and peeled, they become restricted kaccha foods to be used only by the members of the family or close associates .

Indian mythology credits the creation of the tall coconut palm with its crown of leafy fronds to the sage Viswamitra, to prop up his friend Trishanku when the latter had literally been thrown out of heaven by Indra for his misdeeds. Botanists place the origin of coconut palm to the Papua New Guinea. The plant evolved as far back as 20 million years ago, found as a fossil Coconuts can float in the sea for a long period, and then sprout when they beach on a shore. Man was thus not required to spread coconut in the lands of southern seas. The Sanskrit term *narikela* for the coconut is itself believed to be an aboriginal word, derived from two words of south east Asian origin, *niyor* for oil and *kolai* for nut. The coastal line of the Deccan must have been familiar with the coconut and its oil long before the northern mainland was. The Indian heritage foods are of considerable antiquity and not much is known about their origin. Historical references to heritage foods can be traced from Vishnu Sarma's *Panchatantra* which is believed to have been written in third or fourth century A.D. It

reveals reference to the dishes like "*semige*" (*Dheerghasruti* in Sanskrit), "*dosa*" (*Bahuchidra* in Sanskrit) etc.¹⁴ Similarly Susruta's work in fourth century A.D. also refers to "*Phenaka*" (*Pheni* in Hindi) and "*Sevika*", thread like preparations from wheat flour.¹⁵ .

During Fourth century A.D, South India was ruled by three dynasties viz. Cholas, Tanjore as their capital, Pandyas, Madhurai as capital, and Cheras in Kerala. Trade contacts were maintained through sea trade with china, Roman Empire, and with South East Asian countries. Cultural and political relations were firmly established with these countries. During sixth century, the Brahmins emerged as a powerful class and the land grants were liberally offered to them. During the first century A.D, Christianity was introduced into India by St.Thomas on the Malabar Coast. Subsequently, the Syrian church was widely spread in this region. During this period, due to some internal disturbances in Palestine, some of the Jews, migrated to west coast especially in Cochin region and settled down. Between 9th - 11th centuries, Cholas who held their sway over South India, expanded their empire by conquering some parts of Sri Lanka, Maldives, Malaysia etc. through their superior naval power. The culinary practices of South India were recorded in their chronicles. The food available in India is as diverse as its culture, racial structure, geography and climate. Despite this diversity, some unifying threads emerge. Varied uses of spices are an integral part of food preparation to enhance the flavor of a dish and create unique flavor and aromas. In the *Perumpanarruppadai*, a fine description of the Brahmin food is thus given: the Brahman wife was a paragon of chastity and was an accomplished cook being well versed in the preparation of highly relishing vegetarian diet.¹⁶ A particular kind of rice interpreted as *Irasannam* by the commentator was the staple food in the house.¹⁷ In Brahman villages the vegetarian diet was prepared in a highly relishing manner. People other than Brahmins were addicted to drink, Gluttony, and flesh-eating. There seemed to have been no sumptuous dinner with out these vices. The minstrel, who was directed to the king for receiving a fit reward, was encouraged by the hope of a sumptuous flesh diet throughout his long way from different people. Vegetarianism was in fact a later growth. No doubt there should

have been honourable exceptions among the Saivas and the Jains in those days. Rice was pounded with the pestles bordered with strong iron rings. This custom is still in vogue. *Maduraikkanchi* tells us that clothes were washed in sour rice-water, and ironed, as is the custom even at the present day in remote villages.¹⁸ In the Tamil *Silappadikaram*, the heroine *Kannagi* offers her husband *Kovalan* betel leaves and areca nuts to chew at the end of his last meal, before he departs for Madurai on his fatal mission of selling her anklet. The *Manasollasa* (c.AD 1130), written by king Someswara of Kalyana in Central India describes *Panchasugandha* as a *thambula* with five aromatic ingredients, namely the cardamom, clove, nutmeg, mace and camphor, a truly kingly concoction.¹⁹

Tamil literature while goes back to 100 B.C, coconut is constantly mentioned. In Sanskrit the *narikela* only surfaces after c.300BC in the Ramayana, Mahabharata, and Vishnupurana. Megasthenes, who lived in Pataliputra about 300BC, is believed to have mentioned coconuts in Trapobane (Srilanka). The late adoption of the coconut into Aryan Rituals also argues for late familiarity with the nut in north India.

The people of South India were familiar with the coconut from antiquity, and early Tamil literature has numerous references to this. Thus in the *Pathupattu*, we read that women, bright –wrangled and garlanded, drink the juice of coconut, which grow in the sand. The diverse uses of coconut are best exemplified in the cuisine of Kerala. *Aviyal* is a dish of soft vegetables like green bananas, drum sticks, various beans, and even green cashew-nuts cooked in coconut milk, and then tossed in with some fresh coconut oil in sour curd. An accompaniment to many snack foods, like the *dosai*, *adai*, *pesarattu*, and *vadai*, is the chutney of ground coconut with some green chilli. Shreds of coconut or copra frequently find a place in a betel quid.

Certain wild products for example bamboo shoots and bamboo rice, as the grains are called are the edible food for the tribals. The *shivattavaratnakaram* (AD 1700) of king Basavaraja of Keladi describes how bamboo shoots are steeped in salt water to remove astringency before shallow frying, a procedure still used in the Kodagu

district of Karnataka to make the dish called *Baimblay*.²⁰ Basavaraja also refers to bamboo rice as *Rajannakki*, or rice fit for a king.²¹ In Tamil it is called *Mungilarisi*, belonged to Sangam period was prevalent in mountainous *kurinji* areas. The bamboo grain is first mentioned by *Apasthamba* (c.400 BC) as an uncultivated food grain which is a permitted food for ascetics who have renounced the world. Bamboo rice is an unusual commodity. A Kodava verse states that once in sixty years bamboos decay, and once in seventy years famine holds sway.²² In the *Supa Shastra* written by *Mangarasa* in AD 1516, there are numerous references to food in no less than twenty-three others. Thus, the historicity of food is exceptionally well documented, though this is confined to Brahmin and Jain ambience, which is of course totally vegetarian.²³ *Linga purana* written by *Gurulinga Desika* (AD 1594), is a long one, and the various ways of cooking nearly a dozen vegetables are outlined. Kerala, which was long known as Chera, historically formed part of the Tamil cultural ambience. Tamil literature, notes that ‘the sweetest toddy’ came from kuttanad, and according to Ibn Battuta, the sugarcane, of Barkur were ‘unexcelled in the country’. It was near Kozhikode that *Vascodagama* landed in 1498, to die in Cochin twenty six years later. Frequently words for food items adopted into English from Malayalam were mediated by the Portuguese, like jaggery, betel leaf, areca nut, and the like. The *Mortis Malabaricus* was compiled between 1680 and 1700 by the Dutch Governor, *Heinrich van Rheede*, in twenty volumes with 794 plates, with the help of a Carmelite missionary, father Matheo, and a traditional Kerala physician Itty Achyutan.²⁴ Many plants, which entered India from the new world, first found a home in Kerala, like the cashew nut, pine apple, tapioca, and cocoa. South Indian Literature has many references to the familiar jack fruit, which grow in mountainous marudam terrain. Kadubu is an important dish relished by the Kannada people. In AD.1485, Terekanambi Bommarasa describes the Kadubu served at a royal feast in glowing terms: ‘The kings are relishing the kadubu made of black gram; it looked like a full moon; like a mass of mist set together; as if heavenly nectar had solidified into circles; as if a drop of moon light had hardened. The kadubu was attractive to the eye and pleasing to the mind. It was then an item based on urad dhal, but is now a fermented

and steamed mixture of rice with half its weight of urad dhal. This is also true of the idli. Later literature describes a number of variations. Tharagu-Kadubu, which is actually Kadubu steamed on leaves, is first mentioned in Kannada literature in AD 1430. Urad kadubu is noted in AD 1485, made from tiny sewage in AD 1506, and in AD 1594, kadubu made from rava, channa or vermicelli, contained bamboo shoots. Thus the kadubu was apparently a generic term for a steamed product made of different pulses and cereals.

The food practices in Indian culture are inseparable from religious beliefs. Economy, Religion and social status determine the food culture of any region. The sources of the culinary system can be found in both the literature and Epigraphical evidences. The literary works mention the methods of dining. Ibn Batuta who visited Vijayanagara in the reign of Hari Hara I (A.D.1336-1357), describes a dinner he had with the Muslim chief of Hinawr where a beautiful girl served pickles of “pepper green ginger or lemon and mangoes.” The pickles remained fresh and green at the stem even after many days. *Appalam* and *vadiyalu* were the other important parts of a dinner usually served in the middle. The material available from inscriptions and literary works relates to the dinners of kings, princes and nobles. Dishes of black gram were prepared on certain occasions and important among these were iddina, vada, dosa. Fried dishes prepared from wheat flour, jaggery, and coconut gratings and spices were *karija kayalu*, *mandige*, *malidi* and *sakkeru burude*. Further sources of the culinary system can be found from the accounts of contemporary foreign traveller’s literary works and inscriptions during the Vijayanagara period. Domingos paes and *Fernando Nuniz*, who visited the Vijayanagara Empire in the first half and the latter part of 16th century respectively describe the abundance and cheapness of provisions. Paes writes about the Vijayanagara city. “This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as wheat, grains, rice India corn and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses and horse-gram which grow in this country which are the food of the common people and there is a large store of these and very cheap.” Then “to see limes that come each day such that those of povos are of no account and also loads of sweet and sour organs,

and wild brinjals, and other garden stuff in such abundance as to stupefy one” Paes had visited important cities of Europe and might have come across many cities in the course of his travel from Portugal to Vijayanagara. Therefore, his observation that “the city of Vijayanagara was the best provided city in the world of great significance”. Paes is supported by Nuniz, who says “the markets are overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes and oranges, limes, pomegranates, jack fruit mangoes and all very cheap.” Literary works also support this view. The rulers were very liberal in granting provisions to their guests. Abdul-Razak, the Persian ambassador who came to Vijayanagara during the reign of Devaraya II (A.D.1419-1446) received rich daily provision, about which he writes: “the daily provisions forwarded to me comprised two sheep, four couples of fowls five mans of rice one man of butler one man of sugar and two varahas in gold.” This ration was for one individual in a day.

Literary works of the period describe various kinds of dishes. Rice was the staple food amongst the upper classes, and the small variety of rice having a fine flavour was as popular then as it is to this day. *Salyanna Salyodana* is frequently mentioned. Other rice dishes were *Chitrannam*, *Paramannam* and *Dadhyodanamu*.

Laddus of different types were known. *Ellundalu* known from the days of Panini who calls them *Palala* are also mentioned. There were other sweets mentioned in inscriptions such as *Manoharapadi* and *Chinnipalunde*. Different kinds of fruits such as jack fruits figs, dates and grapes were described by Numiz and Paes. Kanakadasa, a Kannada poet who lived in the first half of 16th century mentions the following fruits: coconut, jack fruit, orange, mangoes, guava, grapes, sweet citrus, dates, varieties of banana, jamun, berries etc.

While describing the *Himambu Panakam*(cold drinks), Mangarasa writes that the juice of pomegranate and madala fruits should be added to water. In Jaimini Bharatha, we find mention of fruit juice. *Mohanatarangini* describes a scene at toddy shop and gives a list of salted snacks which were eaten along with liquor. Then follows the description of the way the people drank and babbled .

Apart from rice, the food of common people consisted of pulses, vegetables, oils and butter milk and the food habits change from place

to place. The Telugu poet Srinath, who lived in the first half of 15th century was a great traveller, makes fun of the food of Palnadu region “The people of Palanadu subsist upon millet porridge, fermented millet water, cooked millet and millet stuff. Excepting millet they have nothing to eat and the cooked rice of the sanna variety is unknown to them. Sarvajna, who belonged to this period, speaks in glowing terms of jonna which was the staple food in his ‘*Ramadhanya Charitha*’. Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese traveller who visited most of the important ports of the Vijayanagara empire in about A.D. 1512, writes about the port of Cumbola, “Here is garnered a great abundance of black rice, which the Malabarese come hither to purchase and sell to the lower sort of people who buy it readily as it is good and cheap.”²⁵

Purandara dasa in one context condemns a miser for eating the common dishes of guggari and rice where there was the richer *huggi* (Pudding) and ghee in his home. *Guggari* is a dish of boiled or half boiled peas or pulses much in vogue among the poor classes even to day.

Barbosa speaks of Brahmins as follows: “They eat honey and butter rice, sugar, stews of pulse and milk these eat nothing subject to death. About Lingayats he writes, “They also eat no flesh, nor fish.”²⁶ It appears that meat eating was practised by other communities. Paes speaks about the big market in Vijayanagara and the variety and cleanliness of meat which was so white and clean that you could never see better in any country. Numiz writing about the food habits of the kings of Vijayanagara says that the kings of Vijayanagara eat all sorts of things but not the flesh of oxen or cows. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partidges, hares, doves, quail and all kinds of birds, sparrows, rats and cats and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of Bisnaga. To what extent he was speaking the truth one cannot say. But we have positive evidence of the popularity on Non-vegetarian dishes from Manasollasa. And encyclopaedia ascribed to King Somesvara Chalukya (A.D. 1122-38). In this work, methods of cooking different meats such as pork (*varaha palalam*) venison (*Sarangajam*), of rabbits (*Sasod bhavam*), *sakunam* (a bird) and other birds are mentioned. A special variety of field rats (*kshetasamhutah Musakah*) and tortoise are also mentioned. Since

food habits change little with time we can fairly accept that meat of birds and other herbivorous animals (except beef) were relished by some communities in the empire. Fish formed part of the daily food in coastal towns. Ibn Batuta, who visited Hinawr gives a grand description of dinner in which “a good many dishes of fish were served.”

Purandaradasa condemns the man who eats sour radish and onions. In another context he forbids garlic, *nuggekai* (drumstick), *mullangi* (Radish), *gajjari* (carrots) etc. The *guggari* of *avari* (beans) on ekadasi the fort nightly day of fast was strictly forbidden.

The poet Srinatha once stated that in Karnataka he had the misfortune of following forbidden food practices. “I consumed garlic and sesamum flour served by an unshorn widow”.

The description of coastal dinner given by Ibn Batuta is very illuminating. After the guests were seated the server placed copper pots filled with food and them. She holds a large copper ladle with which he picks up a ladleful of rice and serves it on to the dish, pours ghee over it and adds pickles.... When the food placed by her on the dish is consumed she takes up a second spoonful of rice and serves a cooked food on a plate and the rice eaten there with also. When the second course is over takes another ladleful and serves another variety of chicken which is also eaten with the rice. When the various kinds of chicken are consumed fish of various kinds is served with which one like wise eats rice. When all these courses are eaten *kushan*, ie curded milk is served which finishes the meal. When this is served one knows that no further dishes are to follow. At the close one drinks hot water for cold water would harm the people in the rainy season. Hence it is evident that there is a continuity of food habits from Vijayanagara days up to this day. South India was, unlike North India, on the whole affected very little by foreign influences, and some of the social habits including food are indigenous. Dishes prepared from jaggery, pulses and coconut are purely Dravidian, as their names indicate (*Kadubu*, *Idli*, *Karajikai*, etc.). The use of plenty of fruits, green vegetables and salads shows that our forefathers were aware of their nutritive value. The use of digestive spices such

as green ginger and pepper is very significant. The practice of eating rice and soup at the beginning, sweetmeats in the middle and milk products at the end has set a healthy convention that has continued even to day.

The poet Srinatha refers about Marella Sime that The people eat multi-coloured food and porridge carried in kavadis and drink water that oozes out.” He also describes the food habits of Dravidians as both good and evil aspects of the Dravidas. Colam (millet) is the staple food. Butter milk is rare and chutneys are better. *Karamidi* (a kind of pulse) serves for curry and *conjee* for supper. Sugar cane is plenty...” He makes fun of a Tamil feast; They serve at first *charu*, spiced strongly with pepper the pungency of which penetrates like some hot vapour into the ears, the caustic odour of the mustard with which the *pachchadis* are prepared find its way into the brain and the curry made of fried advise (flex) leaves destroys health for a period of six months. *Parimela* tests the strength of the teeth. The sight of the powder of the dried *mangosa* leaves is enough to cause vomituration. Dinner in a Tamil household is fraud, never the less they praise with out a sense of humour the sumptuous character of their feasts. About the meat dishes, the Rigveda refers to meat being boiled in pots or roasted on spits, and the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad refers to meat cooked with rice. From c.400 B.C references are made to dressing meat with salt and pepper, to frying meat, and to broths or soups of meat. The Susrutha samhitha describes seven types of meat preparations. The Manasollasa of king Someswara of thirteenth century gives pride of meat dishes in the chapter on food, annabhoga. Liver carved into the shape of betel nuts, was roasted on charcoal, fried with spices, and eventually placed in curd or in a decoction of black mustard. Roasted tortoise, seasoned fish, and fried crabs are noted. A whole pig was first roasted; subsequently pieces were carved out of the roast and charcoal broiled. In south India, the earliest writings on meat dishes are available from about AD 300. An important component of meat dressing was black pepper; one of its names was kari, which was also used for the finished spicy dish. Meat was marinated in ground pepper and mustard seeds, and then fried in oil to yield thallitakari or kuy fried meat had three names, one of which

was porikari; hare meat was among those fried. Meat boiled with pepper and tamarind was pulingari or tuvai, and such meat could be ground and spiced to give a pasty relish. In *Purananuru*, there is a reference to ten large pieces of fat meat roasted on iron spikes.

Sacrificial feasts

According to Marshall Sahlins, it is the utility-optimizing the appropriation of nature, development of the productive forces which set a mode of production with its entire political/legal and cultural superstructure in motion that determines the reproduction and evolution of historical social formations.²⁷ The cultural materialist Harris explains the origin and transformation of institutionalised practices (of an economic, political or ideological nature) from the net utility (benefits minus costs) that results when the needs for food, sex, health and approval are supposed to be satisfied. Whether costs or benefits are present can be measured on the basis of rising or falling death rates, calorie or protein input, the frequency of illness or ‘energetic balances’ (ecological equilibria) and the like. Sahlins on the other hand, explains the origin and transformation of institutionalised practices from the way in which the relationships between people and the nature are symbolically organized. These theories contain competing explanations for the genesis and reproduction of a social order. A utility theory of culture (culture as profit) leads one to base the explanations of genesis and transformation of cultural norms on a naturalistic logic. A communicative theory of culture (culture as language) leads one to base explanations of the genesis and transformations of the cultural norms on a logic inherent in cultural orders. This communication- theoretical perspective and the utilitarian theory of action balks at such a perspective as a matter of principle – will now be directed at a type of practices which represents both a societal relationship to nature and a specific structure of communicative relationships in society: the practice of sacrifice in Dravidian culture in which certain types of self-mutilation is seen. Loeb (1974) called this ‘the blood sacrifice complex’. Here it is possible to demonstrate such sacrificial practices that the sacrifice is a type of appropriation of nature which fulfils communicative functions beyond its economic function.

The sacrifice is a form of ritual practice that is found common in South India. It is part of a ritual practice that gives back to the spirits they have given to people, when spirits are not in a favourable mood; one must only preserve the mutuality that characterise simple societies in relation to the spirits as well. In state societies, such ritual forms become a sacrifice which is given to the gods in order to influence them positively. In order to make the gods who grant power, prestige, law, wealth and health favourably disposed, the gods are given a sacrifice in the form of animals. In his critique on the structural analysis of the sacrifice, Sahlins claims that rituals are sacrifices, actions that have a peculiar symbolic meaning. A sacrifice creates two types of meaning: those between sacrificers and sacrifices, and those between the sacrifices and the gods. A sacrifice is identified with the gods; in a certain sense, it becomes divine. And those conducting the sacrifice identify themselves with the sacrifice. They address it as 'dear son'. The persons who act as the sacrificers are the dalits and act as the intermediaries between the people and the gods. In the caste structure it is the Brahmins who claim the ritual superiority. But among the sudras and dalits it is the latter who act as the ritualists during the sacrifices. The sacrificer eats flesh from another sacrifice. The sacrificial ritual then makes it possible to create a relationship between people and god by way of the above mentioned relationships. Hence, it represents a sacred communication with the gods. The meaning of this symbolic practice should be sought in the over coming of the problem of death. By sacrificing and then eating the offering it is possible to transform death into life. This attempt to overcome death is not a sufficient explanation of sacrificial death. Sacrificial death is also a mechanism for repairing a disrupted relationship between the person and the god to whom the sacrifice is given. A symbolic order is reaffirm by repairing the communicative relationship between the god and people through sacrificial death. Sacrificial death, therefore, protects the medium of social communication, and the logic on which it is based has nothing more to do with cost-benefit calculations. In South India, mother goddesses are honoured by sacrificing the he goats, sheep and he-buffaloes. Blood must flow in order to keep the world going. The fundamental notion on which this world is based is, therefore, based on blood. The

flow of blood is equivalent to the motion of the world. The rituals are a permanent bloodletting for society. This is a ritual of a large scale destruction of life, the significance of which was anything but 'economic' in nature. The function of such cultural practices for the reproduction of society is based on the protection of solidarity of groups particularly the sudras and dalits who emphasize the social integration between themselves in an ever more hierarchical society. The problem lies with such groups, who confront how to guarantee social integration under the condition of increasing social inequality. In South India, the eating of meat has the function of ritually reaffirming social bonds, recalling old obligations and recreating social solidarity. The ability of a group for self-organisation culminates in the regulation of consumption. The eating of meat after the sacrificial rituals serves to create relationships between equals in a system of hierarchically structured social unit. Every village has the practice of offering the sacrificial goat to it's local deity who is fierce, thus attempting to pacify the deity. The sacrifice is a symbolic practice in which the symbolic order of society is manifested to extend the practice of using blood and meat as media we can speak of a carnivorous culture. Here, the societal condition is confirmed and reproduced in the performance of a common ritual feast. The shared ritual consumption of meat characterises a specific cultural option in this sacrificial feast, the option for carnivorous culture. This sets down a form of communication that is built on power and oppression, not on understanding and consensus. It is the one that has dominated in evolution. On the other side, the vegetarian discourse opposes the killing and justifies the search for purity in nature which is basically peaceful. The vegetarian culture is propagated by the higher castes in the hierarchical order, through the offerings to gods in the temples, which are purified by using essential ingredients such as ghee, preferably of cow.

Temple inscriptions belonging to the Vijayanagara period mention about food items offered to deities during the festive occasions. The Ahobilam temple inscriptions in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh register the grant of income derived from gifts of land donated by Mahamandaleswaras for the offering during 'Topu tirunal' which means Garden festival. Here 'Topu' means 'Grove'. The

Mahamandalaswaras and Adhikaris appointed by the Vijayanagara kings or the Nayakas used to donate vast tracts of land to the temples and grew mango graves and other fruit gardens in those lands. During the month of Chaitra or Chittirai, the annual garden, festival celebrated²⁸ on this occasion, the deity was taken out in procession from the Pedda Ahobilam to Chinna Ahobilam i.e. from the hill down and back again. Income derived from growing the fruit gardens was spent on the food offerings during these festivals.

An inscription dated 1563 A.D., belonged to the reign of Sadasivaraya was found in the Narasimha Swamy temple of Chinna Ahobilam.²⁹ It registers the food offering such as Dosa which is offered to the deity during the festive occasions. The income derived from the temple lands had to be spent for the essential ingredients to prepare Dosa such as Rice, Blackgram, Ghee, Salt, etc. and was recorded in the inscription. The amount to be spent on cooking and the remuneration given to the workers for the cooking purpose were also mentioned. The word '*pindi danchevaru*' ['flour pounders'] denotes that they used pestles for crushing the corn.³⁰

Another inscription dated to 1548 A.D belonged to the reign of Sadasivaraya, found in the same temple states that Narasamma, wife of Mahamandalaswara Goburi Obayya of Kasyapagotra and Yajus sukla, endowed 120 Varahas to the temple for conducting festivals in honour of god Ahobaleswara for offering *Dosa*³¹.

Inscription dated to 1563 to A.D of Sadasivaraya found in the same temple registers the grant of lands in the villages Kalutapalle, Padakallu, Gornipadu, Injedu and Bayyapaguduru in Korakolasima yielding a total income of 308 varahas to be utilised for offerings to God Ahobaleswara by Mahamandalaswara Koneti Obularajayya deva Maharaju, son of Ayyadeva Maharaju.³² The food offerings entitled in the inscription are Dadhyodhanamu Talige, and Upuma. The income derived from land grants was to spent to acquire such as rice, curds, ghee, pepper, dry-ginger, cardamam etc³³ for cooking such items.

An inscription dated to A.D.1560, also belonged to the reign of Sadasivaraya, found in the Prahlada Varada temple of Diguva Tirupati, Pedda Ahobilam, mentions about the food offerings to the deity such

as Manoharalapadi.³⁴ It also states that the income that had to be spent for cooking servants such as *swayampakulu*, *pindi danchevaru*, *minapapindi danchevaru*, etc.³⁵

Another inscription dated to A.D.1547, which belonged to the reign of Sadasivaraya found at Arulalaperumal temple of Little Kanchipuram³⁶ which registers the gift of two villages Vada Kanipakam and Putturu by Dupati Gopi Nayaka for conducting the Topu Tirunal or garden festival in the month of chaitra to God Vardaraju for the merit of Mahamandalaswara Ramaraja chinna Timmayadeva Maharaju. It states that the deity enters the Topu or fruit garden and consumes the food worth of 200 rukalu.³⁷ The food offerings listed in the inscription are rice, curries, gingely, pepper, mustard, turmeric, dry-ginger, cardamom, tamarind, salt, banana, jackfruit, coconut, jaggery for preparing the panakam, Vadaganji, Appapallu, Atirasapallu Vadapallu, Sukhialu, iddali, Dosa, Greengram, Scented oil, Ponkulakulu, Ghee, Tirumanjanam, Tirumanjana dravyam etc.³⁸

Many of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of Sadasivaraya found Narasimha Swamy temple of Chinna Ahobilam mentions about the Topu Tirunal festival during which the food offerings were Dadhyodhanamu and Panakamu³⁹. For the preparation of Dadhyodhanamu, the required ingredients such as green gram (pesalu), Ghee (Neyyi), milk (palu), sugar (panchadara), pepper (Miriyalu), Dry-ginger (sonti), Banana leaves etc.

In all the inscriptions found in Ahobilam and Kanchipuram temples the spices and the heritage foods that were consumed by the people are clearly mentioned. One of the characteristic features of South Indian food is the use of Banana leaves for covering the food items to impart the flavour from the leaf to the food. This also possesses the social functions as these leaves are used as the plates to consume food. The food served in the temples as 'Prasadam' offered to the deity. The liquid called 'Panakam' mentioned in the inscription is made up of the jaggery and is usually offered to the God Narasimha in Andhra Pradesh. The dehusked green gram soaked in water and mixed with grated coconut and chillies, is usually offered to the deity 'Lord Narasimha'. As Lord Narasimha is in ugra form

(anger), after killing the demon, 'Hiranyakasipu', the devotees believed that the food which possesses cold properties could pacify the Lord. The dishes mentioned in the Ahobilam temple inscription thus possess both social and religious functions.

Another major inscription dated to 1584 A.D., belong to the reign of Sri Ranga – I, gives an elaborate list of 24 dishes found in the Bhuvārāha Perumal temple of Srimushnam⁴⁰ and states that the temple treasury known as Sribhandaramvaru of the Adivarahaswamin temple gave to Achyutappa nayaka, a fourth share in the offerings made to the god, a share in the Talarikkam over the temple villages as also the Tirumenikaval duties as 'Kanachi' (Kaniyatchi) to be held hereditarily in response to his having made a representation to kondama Nayaka and obtained remission of the jodi, Virada and other taxes on 38 villages.⁴¹ This remission was obtained by Achyutappa nayaka for his having at his own cost cleared and brought the lands under cultivation, built tanks, dug canals, planted groves, provided golden vahanas and other accoutrements and built the various gopuras, mandapas and prakaras in addition to renovating the temple and finally made over his share of the sthala sunkam for the seasonal processions and other provisions in the temple. This inscription also gives an elaborate list of 24 kinds of dishes to be offered to the God in the names of the king Sri Rangaraya Deva, whose capital was at Penugonda under the control of three Nayakas viz., Kondama, Achyutappa and Krishnappa and their wives. The names of Konetamma and Vobulamma. The dishes offered to the God Varaha Perumal were mentioned as 'Talige', a Telugu word.⁴² Here these 24 dishes can be classified into three categories such as starchy foods, meal components and non-meal edibles. The meal components mentioned in the inscription are *pakalabatu talige*, *pongali*, *pulivogae*, *kaduguvogare* are made up of water extracted from soaked rice, *Yeluvogare* (a rice dish made up of gingely), *Vulinduvogare*, (a rice dish prepared by soaking rice in tamarind juice for a whole night), *Tiruvinaṁ Talige*, *Tirukanamudu*, *Chelvaru Samba Talige* (a dish made up of a type of rice called chelvaru samba), *Kshirannam*, (a sweet rich dish made of milk), *iddina* (idli), and *Dosa*. The starchy foods that are referred to in the inscription

are *Akkala payasam* (a porridge made up of *atukulu* i.e. boiled paddy pounded and then dried up) and *Manoharam* (a sweet rice dish made up of jaggery).

The non-meal edibles mentioned in the same inscription are *charimidi* (made up of rice flour mixed with jaggery), *puranapu kudumulu* (a sweet dish made up of boiled gram mixed with jaggery and cardamom, then wrapped up in maida and fried in oil), *Gunukulu*, *Amrita Kalasalu*, *Amritagulikalu*, *Yelundalu* (gingely mixed with jaggery), *Karijakayalu*, *Venna atlu*, *Battu obbatlu* (pheynees made of gram), *Chakkilalu*, *Appalam* (papad), *Narasattulu*, *Kande Sakira* (also known as *Kalakanda*) and *Antupannara Vagalu*.⁴³

It must be noted that the food items mentioned in the inscriptions, and literary works indicate similarities between the concepts in different regions of South India. As stated earlier, the food that was offered to ugra Narasimha Swamy or Varaha Perumal in the temples of Ahobilam and Srimushnam, in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu respectively reveal the fact that these food concepts are linked across cultural boundaries within the empire. They also reveal the relative importance of specific deities during this period. The nomenclature of the dishes such as *pulivogare*, *idli*, *dosa* and *pongali* are common in the states of South India. As the Nayakas who were deployed to Tamilnadu belonged to Telugu origin they issued Telugu inscriptions in their respective localities. Hence we can find linguistic similarities and differences as minimal in contrast.

The concept of food in South India contrasts markedly with North India. The most notable difference is that in South India, the traditional heritage foods are noteworthy not only from the perspective of food quality but also of food safety. One major characteristic feature of South Indian food is steam cooked and so free from micro-organisms. Many of the meal components mentioned in the inscriptions are steam cooked, so that they might be free from micro-organisms.

The starchy foods such as *Akkala paayasam* also formed the main component of a meal, which is the main element of food that makes a person feel satisfied after eating. The other edible items mentioned in the inscriptions are *karija kayalu*, *chakkilalu*,

yelundalu etc., which are eaten up at irregular times of the day. It seems that they are significant as food intake but are not considered as real food.

More over, majority of these dishes are made of rice which is a staple food of south Indians. These are traditionally consumed dishes which constitute rice, green gram and another lentil called black gram. This is the local health tradition of the Deccan and embodies knowledge of the human physiology and anatomy and of the mind, of food and nutrition, of pharmacological properties of metals, minerals and plants.⁴⁴

The well known healthy food tradition of south India mentioned in the Vijayanagara inscriptions is Idli which is referred as 'iddina'. As we all know very well that it is a steamed cake made up of rice and a lentil called black gram. This lentil though very rich in protein, is also hot and acidic. But the south Indians, however have overcome this problem by a brilliant combination of black gram which is referred to as 'Minupabellu' and rice in a certain proportion (1:3) and the dish is prepared as a steamed cake from fermented dough. In this form, it eliminates the side effects of acidity and has a healthy balance of protein, carbohydrates and vitamins. It may be noted that inscriptional evidences for different kinds of Pulivogare, Idli, Dosa and Pongal show that their food traditions have been passed down the generations for at least five centuries and continue to be passed down even today.

South India is homogeneous in food system. As it falls under the tropical zone, the climatic condition is not congenial to have the food of hot properties. Rice is characterised as possessing cold properties and so the culinary system based upon the rice consumption binds the individuals in a culture together. Food is a local knowledge system, which includes techniques of preparation and preservation of food. The non-meal components mentioned in the inscriptions are worth of preserving for a long period despite the hot climate. Food has medicinal value and all this local knowledge is counted on diversified habitats. The folk cookery mentioned in the temple inscriptions can be defined as traditional domestic cookery marked by slight regional variation

and diffused regionally into cultural "provinces" and a sort of homogeneity is found in their functions, in all the culture areas of south India. Here the food that is offered to the deity as the 'prasadam', later on distributing it to the people, makes us understand that it is the touch stone of the royal character. It motivated and illuminated the machinery of Nayaka Kingship in the most self-conscious and determined mode. Generally the foods are ranked in a hierarchical order within Hindu communities, as cooking techniques. The inscriptional references to Ghee, cow's milk and fruits such as bananas, jackfruit etc., make us understand that they rank among the purest foods. The inscriptional evidences are concerned with Hindu commensality issues in discerning how food transactions reflect ranking. To simplify a rather complex system, the general rule of thumb is that a Hindu takes cooked food from some one of higher or similar rank. The income derived from the temple lands were spent on the buying up of ingredients such as blackgram, rice etc. Here the deity is the supreme authority to whom the uncooked items are nominally offered. Foods cooked in ghee are considered superior to those that are boiled. The Dadhyojanamu, Pongali and Upuma are cooked in ghee, then transformed into prasada offered to the deity and then distributed to devotees. It is believed that gods and goddesses enjoy certain foods more than others and the naivedya offered to the deities often reflects their personal preferences. For example, Lord Narasimha is said to be fond of having panakamu, (a drink made of jaggery, ginger and cardamom) Dadhyodanamu and Pongali.

Here the historical determinants of cookery and food ways were environment, climate, changes due to urbanisation, economic history, religion etc. We may hypothesize that in the rice culture, the production, milling and storage of grain involve specific architectural structures such as mills, granaries, cooking vessels and specific tools such as querns or hand mills, husking pegs, pounding pestles etc. Based upon the inscriptional evidence, we can state that the temple acted as the centre for communal cooking and dining. The food offerings to the deities reveal the fact that food had a symbolic value which facilitated communication in their culture. This enabled the rulers to maintain

their social identity and legitimise their authority for several generations in their respective localities or regions.

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Language Endangerment and Endangered Languages of India

- S.Manoharan

ABSTRACT

Linguistic diversity in Southeast Asia is an established fact. Indian subcontinent and the Union of India, being part of Southeast Asia shows linguistic diversity to the maximum possible extent. The unique feature of the subcontinent is that the linguistic diversity is not in terms of the number of languages spoken but in terms the number of language families to which these languages belong to. Grammatical traditions of the known past, though is assigned to at least fifth century B.C., none of the works from Panini to the period of the arrival of the colonial comparative philologists paid due attention to the language of the indigenous tribes, whose co-existence, of course was known to all. Language related problems like the use of language in education and national language policy are attributed to the colonial establishments of the past. But, it was a boon in disguise for the tribal languages. The hitherto unknown languages of the sons of the soil came into light only through the initiations and efforts made by the administrators and the comparative philologists of the colonial era. The Linguistic Survey of India concluded that 179 languages and 544 dialects are spoken in India. The 1961 Census gave details for 1,652 mothertongues / languages. The same were classified under 186 language heads of which 101 were considered as tribal languages. The latest of the census series the 2001 Census has given an account of 122 languages and 234 mothertongues. Samuel (1994) has reported that 420 languages and dialects are spoken in Northeast India. The People of India project has given community details for 325 languages (Singh and Manoharan, 1993). So, what exactly is the number of languages spoken in India? Till today, it is an unfinished task. Article 29 (1) gave the right to conserve the distinct language, script or culture of the citizens of India. But, since 1971 Census, the

linguistic identity of the endangered languages are shadowed as the details of the languages spoken by less than 10,000 persons are not included in the Language Census. Linguistic minorities and the endangered languages have to be dealt separately as the problems faced by them are different. The active linguistic minorities, through their organized efforts, could preserve their languages. But, the passive linguistic minorities, because of their population size, could not voice their demands and their languages have suffered and many are at the verge of extinction. Based on the 1981 Census, Special Volume on Tribal Languages, the language situation of the tribal people of India has been discussed in terms of language maintenance, language loss and endangerment.

Southeast Asia is well known for its linguistic and cultural diversities. Linguistic plurality and cultural and religious diversities in India are well-established facts from the historical past of unrecorded to the well-recorded history of recent past. The region “with all the diversity of its conditions, has a good claim to be considered less as a country than as a collection of countries, or a continent” (Baines, 1893: 8). The unique features of the plurality and diversity are not in terms of the number of languages spoken by the various social groups both tribal and nontribal, but lies on the fact that the different languages belong to at least five different language families: the Andamanese family of languages, the Indo-Aryan subfamily of the Indo-European language family, the Dravidian, the Austro-Asiatic (both Western and Eastern) and the Tibeto-Burman subfamily of the Tibeto-Chinese or the Sino-Tibetan language family. But all the languages are considered to be the languages of the immigrants and not of the indigenous population of India. The period of migration of the Munda languages speakers has been estimated to be roughly about 3500 years back (Zide and Zide, 1973). The origin of the Munda languages, “lay somewhere in North and North-Western Asia from where they spread over to Central Asia, the Himalayan regions, Burma, Indo-China and further south” (Bhattacharya, 1975), and “the Korku and the Kherwari groups of Munda speakers appear to us to have entered India from the North-West, and the Central and the Southern Munda languages

from the North and North-East” (Bhattacharya, *ibid*). The Australoids are considered to be “responsible for the early stone cultures and they have been in this subcontinent for the last 50,000 years or so” (Malhotra, 1978: 50). The Dravidian speakers, the second oldest settlers are supposed to have been migrated from Mediterranean. Their external linguistic affiliations have been interpreted differently by different scholars - Elamite, Negro-African, Uralic and Altaic. The languages of the people of Mohanjo Daro and Harappan cultures are supposed to be Dravidian. Winters is of the view that “Ethnic and linguistic diversity stimulated the need for a lingua franca to facilitate communication and trade between the various groups. Due to the introduction of many items of civilization and trade into Central Asia by the Harappans, Dravidian probably served as an early lingua franca linking the urbanized Dravidian speaking people with the Dravidian and non-Dravidian speaking nomadic groups from Bactria in the West to China and Mongolia in the East” (Winters, 1989: 108).

The Indo-Aryan speakers are considered to have been migrated in the second millennium B.C., “probably comparatively early in the millennium, a band or bands of speakers of an Indo-European language, later to be called Sanskrit entered India over the northwest passes” (Emeneau, 1954). But, the Caucasoids in India are the result of several migrations at different times and perhaps from different regions of West and Central Asia. The Vedic Aryan society was in constant move from place to place expanding their territories and adjusting themselves to the new circumstances and the new people (Diwana, 1969). So, in spite of the borrowings from different languages other than their own, “at the other end of sociolinguistic spectrum, the expansionist character of Aryan society in a region full of other linguistic stocks has given rise to pidgins and Creoles and languages of every description” (Masica, 1991: 6). But all such pidgins and Creoles were absorbed into the newly emerging language group, the Indo-Aryan.

The Tibeto-Burman speakers (both Western and Eastern) are the last to appear in the subcontinent, having their concentrations at the Himalayan foothills and the seven North Eastern States of the Union of India. Their immediate neighbours are Siamese-Chinese

and other Thai group of languages speakers distributed over a vast regions like China and Burma. In India, the Tibetan languages with its several dialects are known at least from seventh century A.D. (Grierson, 1909: 10).

In spite of the linguistic diversities and pluralism, the different ethnic groups mixed freely without any social and linguistic prejudices. So, linguistic traits diffused across language family boundaries due to borrowing, resulting in the making up of the subcontinent, a linguistic area (Emeneau, 1956). Of all the languages Sanskrit alone could get a pan-Indian recognition, owing to the religious sanction it enjoyed. But, it also could not escape from the influences of other languages belonging to the Dravidian and Munda groups. When Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism started to influence the common people contradicting each other, Sanskrit as the language of the Vedic religion, later to be called Hindu religion, could influence each and every society inhabiting different regions and speaking different languages. The non-Aryan elements found in the earliest Sanskrit records like the Rig Veda during the period when Sanskrit speakers were localised no further east than the Punjab suggests the localization of Dravidian speakers and speeches of this area. The complete absence of Dravidian speakers in Western and North Western parts of India suggests that many of them have been absorbed into the composite Aryan society.

Present day linguistic geography of the Dravidian and Austroasiatic (Munda group) speakers suggests that for a long time they have been steadily retreating towards south due to the social and political pressures exerted by the invading Aryans of a much later period. Community names like the Bhil and the Mina though are cognated with Dravidian words *vil*-‘bow’ and *mîn* ‘fish’, now they speak Indo-Aryan languages (Manoharan, 1986:36). Presently, Central India and Eastern India are the storehouses of many tribal languages of Dravidian and Munda origin. The ethnic history of Central India reveals that “the Baiga-Bhuiya, Kolam and Nahal Clusters along with the Bhil group possibly represent an yet earlier wave or migration of people perhaps speaking Austro-Asiatic languages, the Baiga-Bhuiya cluster was subjected to major culture change including language

possibly only once, while the other two clusters atleast twice and the Bhil Group on several occasions” (Rakshit, 1980: 109-110).

Linguistic and social contacts of people speaking different languages belonging to different language families had resulted in the creation of pidgins like Sadri and Bhatari, which later became Creoles and became the mothertongue of different communities at the cost of their original languages. The etymological explanation given for Marathi language by Khokle (1994) also suggests that originally it was a pidgin used as a lingua franca by several communities inhabiting the forest. Marathi is derived by him from the Dravidian word *mara* meaning ‘tree, wooded area or forest’ and the Indo-Aryan word *hamma* meaning ‘trading place’. Parallel examples of modern time are the creation of the lingua francas like Nefamese and Nagamese used in Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland respectively. In Nagaland, the Naga Pidgin (Nagamese) is the de facto lingua franca and for the communities like the Kachari who have lost their mothertongue, Nagamese is the mothertongue now (Sreedhar, 1974: 14).

All the languages currently spoken in the Indian subcontinent are considered to be the languages of the immigrants. If it is so, was the Indian subcontinent a linguistic vacuum? After studying the loanwords found in the Rig Veda, the earliest text of Sanskrit, Kuiper (1992: 3) has observed that, “in individual cases it is often far from easy to distinguish between Dravidian and Munda: many word-groups are, indeed so wide-spread in both linguistic families as to make it nearly impossible to decide, on the evidence now available, whether they originate in Munda, or in Dravidian, or perhaps in a third substratum language now died out, which may have influenced both Munda and Dravidian”. Burrow (1958) has already mentioned that, “it is always important to bear in mind that numerous extinct languages were current in ancient times that such languages also influenced the Indo-Aryan vocabulary and that many of these must have belonged to families other than Dravidian or Munda”. Nahali or Nihali spoken by the Nahal tribal group inhabiting Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra is believed to represent such third substratum language family. Bhattacharya (1957) has pointed out that in spite of Nahali being heavily borrowed from Korku, the language of their neighbour, still it

has a substantial residue of non-Korku items which do not have cognates in Munda.

The linguistic history of India reveals that many communities have lost their original linguistic identity through the passage of their history, the languages belonging to the unknown language families or family of the unknown past to the known language families of the known past. In spite of the richness in languages, Sanskrit only dominated the entire subcontinent. Later, the regional languages, which carved out separate regions, started to dominate the communities of the respective regions, bringing down the dominance of Sanskrit considerably. But, throughout the history, the languages of the linguistic minorities; the tribal languages went on uncared and they could neither come out of the clutches of Sanskrit nor the dominant regional languages. So, the very existences of the tribal languages were on constant threat, which continued in the recent past continues till today.

Until the arrival of the European comparative philologists and the anthropologists, the very existence of the number of tribals and their languages were not known. The native scholars were engaged only with the established literary languages. For the western scholars, linguistic and cultural diversities of the Indian subcontinent was a new experience and challenge. Thereafter, India became the happy hunting ground of the philologists (Baines, 1893: 131). Studies conducted by them ultimately revealed the existence of different language families and the different tribal languages, but hitherto unknown, which also are related to one or the other literary languages of India.

Language census was though introduced in the census during 1881; the compilation of the same at all-India level was introduced in 1891, which reported about 115 languages in Table X (pp.130-150). The 1901 Census gave details for 185 languages. Inspired by the findings on the languages spoken in the Indian subcontinent, a resolution urging the Government of India to undertake ‘a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India’ was passed at the Oriental Congress held at Vienna in 1886. Sir George Abraham Grierson (1851-1941) who joined the Indian Civil Service in 1873, was made the Superintendent of Linguistic Survey of India in 1898.

He continued to be in office till the publication of the last volume in 1927. The Linguistic Survey of India identified 179 languages and 544 dialects, in all 723, but gave a classified list of 872 languages and dialects in Appendix I (Vol. I: 213-220).

The 1921 Census recorded 188 languages and 49 dialects. The 1931 Census, the last census of pre-independent India gave details for 225 languages. The first census conducted during 1951 for the Union of India gave details for 845 languages including the 63 non-Indian languages spoken by 226, 251 persons (1951 Census: 6-19). The 1961 Census, which attempted to get the names of the mothertongues as returned by the respondents and to record as faithfully as possible (Nigam, 1972:XV) listed as many as 1,652 mothertongues. The mothertongue has been defined as the “language spoken in the childhood by person’s mother to the person or mainly spoken in household” (Mitra, 1964:CCXLIII). Of these 1,652 mothertongues otherwise to be treated as languages as per the definition, only 101 have been considered as tribal languages. The foreign mothertongues were 103. Bulk of the entries, 527 in number have been treated as unclassified mothertongues. The remaining mothertongue entries have been classified under 186 language headings (Mitra, *ibid*, CCXX-CCXXVIII). From 1971 Census onwards, the languages spoken by less than 10,000 persons have not been given in the language details. The 1971 Census gave details only for 106 languages and the 1981 Census gave details for 109 languages. In the 1991 Census, a distinction has been made between language and mothertongue, though the instructions to the enumerator remained the same as that of earlier censuses. Details for 114 languages and 216 mothertongues (inclusive of languages) spoken by more than 10,000 persons are available in the 1991 Census. In 2001 Census, details of speakers for 122 languages and 234 mothertongues (inclusive of languages) are given (2007: 11-17).

The Linguistic Survey of India concluded that 179 languages and 544 dialects (in all 723) are spoken in British India. The Appendix I contains a classified list of 872 entries. But the Survey excluded many regions of the Indian subcontinent including major portions of Southern India. The People of India Project undertaken by the

Anthropological Survey of India has given details of 325 languages as per the informations collected from the Indian communities (Singh and Manoharan, 1993). Samuel (1994) has reported that around 420 languages and dialects are spoken in the seven states of Northeast India (Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura). What is known from the general informations available on the languages spoken in India is that though, different Censuses and Surveys could report the vast linguistic diversity, the exact number of languages spoken in India or the definite list of languages have yet to be achieved.

According to the 1961 Census, the Indo-European languages (including Indo-Aryan languages) were spoken by 73.29 per cent of the Indian population (574 languages/mothertongues and 321, 720, 700 persons); the Dravidian languages were spoken by 24.47 per cent of the Indian population (153 languages/mothertongues and 107, 410, 820 persons); the Austro-Asiatic languages were spoken by 1.41 per cent of the Indian population (65 languages/mothertongues and 6, 192, 495 persons) and the Tibeto-Chinese (including Tibeto-Burman) were spoken by 0.73 per cent of the Indian people (226 languages/mothertongues and 3, 183, 81 persons). According to the 1991 Census, the Indo-European languages were spoken by 75.28 per cent of the Indian population followed by the Dravidian 22.53 per cent, the Austro-Asiatic 1.13 per cent and the Tibeto-Burman 0.97 per cent. (Vijayanunni, 1997:27). The population covered during 1961 Census was only 438, 936, 918 persons and the population covered during 1991 Census was 838, 001, 987 persons. In spite of the increase in the size of the population covered by 399, 065, 069 persons; the Dravidian speakers and the Austro-Asiatic speakers have shown a decrease in size by 1.94 per cent and 0.28 per cent respectively (Manoharan, 2001(a): 113). The 2001 Census also has reported similar trend. As per the 2001 Census, the Indo-European languages are spoken by 76.86 per cent of the Indian population followed by the Dravidian 20.82 per cent, the Austro-Asiatic 1.11 per cent and the Tibeto-Burman 1.00 per cent. (2001 Census, 2007: 29). The population covered during 1961 Census was only 438, 936, 918 persons and the population covered during 2001 Census was 1,026,847,940 persons.

In spite of the increase in the size of the population covered by 587,911,022 persons; the Dravidian speakers and the Austro-Asiatic speakers have shown a decrease in size by 3.65 per cent and 0.30 per cent respectively. The language report of the People of India Project (Vol.ix) has reported that 2,553 communities speak the 109 Indo-Aryan languages, 1,033 communities speak the 34 Dravidian languages, 43 communities speak the 23 Austro-Asiatic languages and 179 communities speak the 122 Tibeto-Burman languages (Singh and Manoharan 1993).

Though various tribal languages have been studied and reported properly; still there are some areas wherein some problems in reporting their proper linguistic identities are observed. Especially among the tribes who are known by common nomenclatures but are of different linguistic groups. The Poroja or Paraja cluster of Orissa and the Adi, the Naga and the Mizo tribal clusters of northeast India, the Kurumba cluster of southern India, the Khond cluster of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa are major examples for such situation (Manoharan, 2001 (a) and 2001 (b)). It has been generally accepted that “the language problems of linguistic minorities are mainly relating to the language use and language maintenance” (Beg, 1993:12). In all the linguistically defined states, the dominance of the regional languages over the linguistic minorities mostly the tribals are observed. A study conducted on the tribal languages based on the data given in the 1981 Census (Special Tables for Scheduled Tribes on Mother tongue and Bilingualism, 1991) has shown that except the Tibeto-Burman languages speaking tribes of Northeast India most of the tribes speaking the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic languages have shown language loss at various degrees (Manoharan, 1999).

The formation of linguistic States were first mooted out by the Indian National Congress in 1908, when it formed the Provincial Committees and further gave emphasis for the same in 1921, when it created new provinces for its provincial units (Ram Gopal, 1966: 65-66). The all-party conference held in 1928, also approved the demand for the creation of provinces based on the dominant languages of the provinces. The put forth was that - “If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language,

it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continuously arise and the media of instruction and work will be two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis” (Report of the Nehru Committee: quoted by Ram Gopal, 1966: 66). The Simon Commission (1930) also gave the same view. The Government of India Act, 1935 (Section 290) gave the powers to His Majesty to create new Province or to increase or diminish or alter the boundaries of the provinces but did not explicitly spell out that such modifications is to be on linguistic principles.

The Indian National Congress also “had not yet prepared a rational plan for the reorganization of the provinces on linguistic basis” (Ram Gopal, 1966: 70). But, when it took the powers from the British on August 15, 1947 the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced his Government’s acceptance of the principle of linguistic provinces. The Four Men Commission, which was entrusted the task in 1948, could not arrive at possible conclusions. The Congress Election Manifesto of 1951 made it clear that “the reorganization of States (formerly called Provinces) would depend on the wishes of the people concerned” (ibid: 79). The voice of the Provincial Congress Committee or Committees, which were created on the basis of the languages spoken in an area, was to be accepted for such claims. The State Reorganization Commission (1953-54), having agreed to the linguistic principles, felt the need for the safeguards of the linguistic minorities in the newly proposed linguistic provinces.

For administrative conveniences, the States were reorganized based on the dominant language of the States. But, the linguistic minorities distributed over the modern state boundaries felt that their identity will be endangered as the regional languages are fast developing and ultimately will dominate over the speakers of other languages who happened to be comparatively in minority in the respective States. The State Reorganization Commission (SRC) was asked to give specific recommendations to safeguard the linguistic minorities of the States. Based on the recommendations of the SRC, the Constitution Seventh Amendment Act, 1956 introduced Articles 350A and 350B exclusively to protect the linguistic minorities apart

from the statutory safeguards kept in Articles 29, 30, 347 and 350 of the Constitution. The office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities (CLM) came into existence on December 29, 1953 “to examine the question of the reorganization of the States of Indian Union with the object of promoting the welfare of the people of each constituent unit as well as the nation as a whole” (25th Report of CLM: 1). A separate Minorities Commission was set up in 1978 to look into all such problems faced by the minorities either linguistic or cultural or religious. Now, both the Commissions are functioning.

The Constitution did not define more precisely the term “Linguistic Minority”, but took it for granted as any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part there of having a distinct language, script or culture (Article 29). The second report of the CLM defined the term as follows: “The language of the minority group need not be one of the fifteen languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. In other words a ‘Linguistic Minority’ at the state level means any group of people whose mother-tongue is different from the principal language of the State, and at the district and taluk levels, different from the principal language of the district or the taluk” (25th CLM Report: 10). The specific safeguards and the modes of their practical implementations are “intended primarily for the conservation and propagation of the mother-tongues of the linguistic minorities” (ibid: 10).

The resolution adopted at the Provincial Education Minister’s Conference held in 1949, defined mother-tongue as “the language declared by the parent or guardian to be the mother-tongue” and the same was accepted to be used as the medium of instruction in education. The meeting of the Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers held in August, 1961 took certain decisions on the safeguards for the linguistic minorities. The salient features are:

1. The right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mothertongue at the primary stage of education was reaffirmed.
2. The languages to be used in secondary education should be modern Indian languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule as well as English.

3. Three language formula to be followed is: i) the regional language and mothertongue when the latter is different from the regional language; ii) Hindi or in Hindi speaking areas another Indian language and iii) English or any other modern European language.
4. Wherever publicity is required, other languages in use in the area should also be employed, apart from the official language.
5. Wherever at least 60 per cent of the population of a district speak or use a language other than the official language of the State, the language of the minority group also should be recognized as an official language in that district. Recognition for this purpose may however be given ordinarily only to the languages included in the Eighth Schedule.
6. In a district or a smallest area like Municipality or Tehsil, if the linguistic minority constitutes 15 to 20 per cent of the population, important government notices and rules should also be published in the language of the minorities. Arrangements should also be made for the publication of translations of the substance of important laws, rules, regulations, etc., in minority languages in States and districts or wherever a linguistic minority constitutes 15 to 20 per cent of the population (25th CLM Report: 357-362).

For the use of minority languages in education, the following two preconditions have been mentioned: at the primary level there are not less than forty pupils speaking that language or ten such pupils in a class and at the secondary level a minimum strength of sixty pupils in the last four classes and fifteen pupils in each class for the first four years after the commencement of the facilities. But, this provision is only for the languages specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution (25th CLM Report: 19). It is evident from the decisions taken in 1961 that the minority language speakers to be safeguarded are from the dominant language speakers of the State languages who became linguistic minorities because of their domicile in other linguistic States. Neither the sixty per cent criterion at the district level nor the 15 to 20 per cent criterion at the district or tehsil level did accept the tribal languages of the area. Thus, the tribal languages

have been further discriminated, as they have not been extended the same facilities to be enjoyed by the languages included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The only concession extended to the tribal languages is the use of mothertongue education at the primary level of education.

The term linguistic minority is generally defined in terms of the numerical strength of particular language speakers when compared to the surrounding languages used in the modern linguistic States. That is why even the dominant language speakers of a State are minorities in other States, either bordering the State or immigrants, historical or recent. The United Nations Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (Report of 1950) explained the term minority as “those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population” (quoted by Beg, 1993: 2). Dua argues that, “the criterion numerical strength along with geographical distribution is inadequate as it does not show the functional role of minority language in the verbal repertoire of the community” (Dua, 1986: 6). Srivastava also opines that the simple statistical definition, “tells nothing about the social status of a minority group vis-à-vis a majority group” (Srivastava, 1984: 103). Ferguson’s three way classification of the languages as major language, minor language and language of special status, defines the minor language as the language spoken by 25 per cent of the population or by either more than five per cent or more than 100,000 people as a native language. It should be used as a medium of instruction above the first years of primary schools, having textbooks other than primers published in it (Ferguson, 1975: 310).

No culture is wholly isolated, self-contained and unique (Hoijer, 1962) and languages of the primitive people are not primitive (Greenberg, 1962). All languages fulfill the communicative needs of the social group in their own cultural and social environments. The binary classification of languages as developed and underdeveloped is based on the function of the languages in a larger context that “it has not been employed in all the functions that a language can perform

in a society larger than that of the local tribe or peasant village” (Haugen, 1972: 103). The function and use of the language is controlled by the indigenous cultural factors of the community; i.e., advanced, less advanced and least advanced. In the multilingual contact situation, its use and function may be either restricted to the intragroup communication or may be extended to cover intergroup communications also, depending upon the prestige and power that the language can exert over others whatever might have been the numerical strength of the language. In certain areas like the Nilgiris (Tamil Nadu) studies have proved that a minority language speakers like the Toda have enjoyed higher social status over other dominant groups of the area, the Kota and the Badaga (Emeneau, 1962). So, the numerical strength always does not decide the higher social status of the community. Employing a language in education is an organized human intervention. Examples are found in India which show that even a language, which developed literary traditions of its own, has given up the same in favour of an another language. Example of this is the literature developed by the Charan of Rajasthan in Dingala - “Dingala as a language of poetry was in use all over Rajasthan by the Charans” (Manohar Prabhakar, 1972: 73). But, when Rajasthan State was created, Hindi became the official language of the State. The Maithili language, which had its own script “till the nineteenth century disappeared from the scene in this century” (Misra, 1979: 76). In spite of the numerical strength and social status enjoyed by these languages, they could not ascertain their status in the changed socio-political situations.

The linguistic minorities in India are of active minorities and are of passive minorities. The active minorities irrespective of their population size try to maintain their linguistic identity through constitutional safeguards in an organized way. The passive minorities irrespective of their population size do not try to maintain their linguistic identity in an organized way. Moreover, many of such passive minorities are of numerically least dominant among the linguistic minorities who require special attention. But, active minorities becoming passive minorities and passive minorities becoming active minorities in due course of the social history have been witnessed in India. For example, the Sindhi language speakers were initially passive

minorities at the time of their migration from Pakistan after partition in 1947. But when the States were reorganised on the linguistic basis, “the Sindhi leadership and intelligentsia became aware of the consequence of the non-recognition of Sindhi” (Daswani, 1979: 67) and became active minorities and saw to that Sindhi language also is included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. But, a recent sociolinguistic survey conducted among the Sindhi language speakers spread over India reveals the negative attitude of the Sindhi speakers towards their language. The study has shown that the third generation Indian Sindhis do not generally identify themselves with their own language (Daswani and Parchani, 1978). So, it is observed that they are becoming passive minorities adjusting themselves to the dominant languages of the regions.

Similar kind of situation has been observed among the Maithili and Bhili languages speakers also. The Maithili language movement, a political cum language movement, initially activated the speakers promptly. The population claiming Maithili as mother-tongue rose from 87,674 persons during 1951 Census to 4,982,615 persons during 1961 Census (i.e., from 0.23 per cent to 10.73 per cent) in Bihar. But the movement as such for the demand for the creation of a separate Mithila State for the Maithili speakers withered away due to “lack of political mobilization and lack of mass support” (Misra, 1979: 76). Presently, Maithili is one of the 22 Scheduled Languages of India. The Bhil who enjoyed certain concessions under Rajput rulers also have raised a demand for the creation of a separate State for them, which of course has not been well articulated (Singh, 1991: 123). At the same time, many tribal communities irrespective of their population size have fought for their right of educating their children in their own languages. Many of them have not even accepted the script of the regional languages, to be used for their own tribal languages.

The Christian missionaries introduced education in the respective mother-tongues of the tribes in different parts of India. But most of their languages remained only at spoken level till recently, until the introduction of mother-tongue education in many tribal areas, mostly based on their demands. The linguistic minorities of India are of both active minorities who irrespective of their population size try to

maintain their linguistic identity through constitutional safeguards in an organized way and are of passive minorities who never try to have such organized movement. But, not all the tribes are active minorities. At the same time active minorities becoming passive minorities and passive minorities becoming active minorities also have been witnessed (Manoharan, 2001 c). Many of the tribes did not accept the script of the regional languages in the efforts put forth to reduce their languages to writing. The Bodo/Boro did not accept the Assamese script as “use of Assamese script for their language might blur their identity” (Pattanayak, 1981 (a): 53). The Khasi language is written in Roman script. The Meitei (Manipuri) speakers rediscovered their old script and want to replace the Bengali script which is currently in use. The different tribes of Northeast India have preferred the use of Roman script to have a separate identity of their own from that of Assamese, Bengali and Nepali languages. For them, “script is mother, language is father” (Singh, 1982:244). The situation in Chotanagapur region is entirely different. Each of them have tried to discover their own scripts. For Santali language Pandit Raghunath Murmu discovered the Ol Chiki script. The Ho discovered the Varang script. What is going on in the Chotanagapur region, “to evolve a script and to build up an indigenous literature in tribal language could be seen as part of an overall movement to define and assert tribal identity” (Singh, 1982: 235). It has been reported that, when Pandit Raghunath Murmu was requested by the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj to cease propagating the script because it was divisive, he had aptly replied to him that he would do so if the Maharaja would see to it that the Oriya script was also abandoned (Orans, 1965-quoted by Mahapatra, 1986).

Another kind of situation observed is coming together of communities speaking different languages under one banner to fight for their common causes. Formations of Chakhesang and Zeliangrong communities in Nagaland are examples for such movements. The Chakhesang are of three linguistic groups viz; the Chakru, the Khezha and the Sangtam communities (1961 Census: cxc; Sreedhar, 1974: 12). The Zeliangrong are also of three linguistic groups viz; the Zemi, the Liangmei and the Rongmei communities. The Zeliangrong movement is considered to be “a revivalist socio-religious reform movement” (Kabui, 1982: 56). The objectives of the movement are

to revitalize the traditional Zeliangrong religion by abolishing a number of irrational customs and taboos, and secondly to bring out the integration of the three kindred tribes. At the same time, “each of the three tribes wants to preserve their respective languages and develop their literature which is a natural urge or aspiration of a community” (Kabui, *ibid*: 62). The languages of the Chakru, the Khezha and the Sangtam communities, the three partners of the Chakhesang movement have been recognized by the Directorate of Education, Government of Nagaland and the Rongmei and the Zemi who are the partners of the Zeliangrong movement have made representations to the state government for the recognition of their respective languages (Sreedhar, 1974: 12).

The arguments for the linguistic minorities and the constitutional safeguards extended to such minorities recognized the existence of linguistic minorities who have to be protected from the influence of the dominant languages. Though, the linguistic minorities are defined in terms of numerical strength of a language speaker in comparison to the dominant languages, the same could not be applied to such minorities whose languages are at the verge of extinction as most of the community members have already switched over to the dominant languages leaving far behind their brethren who speak their own language till now and to other tribal groups, though speak languages of their own, are few hundred or few thousands only whose identity is negligible in the changed socio-political situation for voicing their demands. So, they need special protection and have to be treated as the speakers of “endangered languages”. The same provisions extended to the linguistic minorities may not be applicable to them as they neither form 15 to 20 per cent of the population of the area inhabited by them nor can voice for their needs as the population size of such minorities are negligible.

It is generally accepted that “the language problems of linguistic minorities are mainly relating to the language use and language maintenance” (Beg, 1993: 12). Studies conducted on the languages of the Scheduled Tribes of India, based on the data given in the Special Volume of the Languages Spoken by the Scheduled Tribes (1981 Census) show that many of the Dravidian and Austroasiatic languages

(except Khasi) speaking communities have lost their languages to a greater extent and now are spoken only by few hundreds or few thousands people. But, most of the Tibeto-Burman languages speaking communities have shown the language maintenance to greatest possible extent: 78 communities are having more than 90 per cent of their population speaking their languages, 18 are having 60 per cent to 90 per cent and six are having 50 per cent to 59 per cent (Manoharan, 1999). In spite of the Constitutional safeguards and introduction of education in the mothertongue at primary level of education, the influences of the dominant languages over the tribal languages are observed explicitly from the census returns.

The Indian subcontinent has witnessed the language loss of the indigenous population mostly the tribal groups from the undocumented past to the well documented recent past. The language loss and maintenance situation already has been pointed out in the 1891 Census itself, a comparison of the tribal strength and language strength are given for some of the tribes (1891 Census, 155-156). It has been reported in the 1931 Census (Reprint 1986: 351-352) that, if “the members of a tribe have no economic independence, Hinduization involves the loss of the tribal language. Thus, Gujarati is rapidly supplanting; if it has not supplanted, the Bhili dialects of the Dublas and Talavias, who are agricultural labourers dependent on Gujarati-speaking masters. But on the other hand where there is economic independence with a consequent social consciousness the tribal language survives Hinduization and the value attached its retention, as for instance by the Chodhras”. It is not only the lower rung of the society but also the ruling classes that have shown the change in languages. The Ahom, allied to the Shan, the Laos and the Siamese established their rule over Brahmaputra Valley and the adjoining tracts in 1228 A.D. They had their language and script. But their transformation with Assamese speaking Hindus have resulted in the complete loss of their original language (Chatterji, 1963:22).

A study of the languages spoken by the Scheduled Tribes of India as enumerated in the 1981 Census reveals that most of the Scheduled Tribes of India show language loss at various degrees. It is observed that all the tribes do not have a separate language of their

own. Many of them speak one or the other Scheduled or non-Scheduled languages either tribal or non-tribal. Name of the tribal communities speaking Scheduled and non-Scheduled languages are given against each language in Appendix I. The percentage of speakers of the language to the total number of all languages speakers of the community in concern is also given with in brackets against the name of the community. The present study does not include the following Scheduled Tribes – Gujjar and Bakarwal from Jammu and Kashmir and Naik (Nayak, Beda, Bedar, Valmiki) from Karnataka who were declared as Scheduled Tribes after 1981 Census.

From 1971 Census onwards, details of the languages spoken by less than 10,000 persons are not revealed in the census publications. But, such languages have to be considered as endangered languages which need special attention to save them from possible extinction. So, such languages have to be understood from the category of ‘others’ given under each tribal headings. All such languages returned from each State and Union Territory are given in Appendix II.

The languages of the early settlers before the arrival of the Dravidian and Munda group of language speakers is a myth. The Dravidian and Munda group of languages speakers switching over to the Indo-Aryan languages is a social reality. Many of the tribal languages like the languages of the Negritos of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Bondo, Diday, Toda, Kota, Singpho and Sulung need special attention as endangered languages. It is needless to say that the existing provisions for the linguistic minorities cannot protect such smallest populations from a possible extinction of the languages. Instead of treating such languages spoken by less than 10,000 persons as ‘others’ or ‘unclassified’ they should be treated as ‘endangered languages’ and a separate volume for such endangered languages should be brought out by the census organization. They require not only special attention but also separate constitutional safeguards apart from the constitutional safeguards extended to the linguistic minorities.

Language is not only a communicative medium but also is a storehouse of the knowledge that a society has accumulated from its inception. The knowledge gathered by each community through their

experiences are handed over to the younger generations by the elder generations. It includes the different techniques developed by these communities at various fields through their experiences gained from the earliest history to the modern days. Such knowledge system reflects the cultural and social glory of not only the particular community but also the social and cultural heritage of the Indian subcontinent and in no way the tribal languages are inferior to the so called developed languages, which could get a recognition in the changed social, political and educational scenario. The contributions of the lesser known and least known tribal communities in the evolution and the development of the amalgamated social, linguistic and religious fabrics of the Indian subcontinent cannot be ignored as way ward incidences. Language loss is a cultural loss and cultural loss is a loss in the world views and the value systems of the individual communities speaking a particular language. Let us not only honour it but also make means to the preservation and the continuity of the same.

Appendix – I

Languages spoken by the Tribal Communities of India

I.SCHEDULED LANGUAGES

Assamese : Dimasa, Kachari (51.08), Kachari (30.16), Khamiyang (70.69), Man (Tai Speaking) (91.02).

Bengali : Bedia (25), Bhumij (60.71), Chakma (98.38), Gorait (20.87), Hajong (89.25) Kharwar (11.18), Kora (51.13), Lodha, Kharia (36.84), Lohara, Lohra (12.5), Mahali (28.31), Mal Pahariya (21.25), Mru (43.46), Parhaiya (38.26), Rabha (23.40), Rajaur (32.28).

Boro/Bodo : Dimasa, Kachari (44.20), Mech (78.85), Kachari (31.32).

Gujarati : Bavacha, Bamcha (75.83), Bharwad (99.8), Charan (70.9), Chaudhri (70.8), Chodara (94.19), Dhanka, Tadvi, Valvi

(69.91), Dhodia (92.86), Dubla, Talavia, Halpati (99.59), Gamti, Gavit, Mavchi, Padvi (31.02), Hakkipikki (55.22), Kokna, Kokni, Kukna (18.56), Koli (77.88), Koli Dhor, Tohri Koli (30.11), Naikda, Nayaka (17.40), Padhar (94.82), Pardhi (17.85), Pardi, Advichincher (16.31), Patela (98.07), Pomla (50.10), Rabari (99.88), Rathawa (99.67), Siddi (91.90), Vaghri (90.33), Varli (17.61), Vitolia, Kotwalia, barodia (52.76).

Gorkhali / Nepali : Bhutia (37.49), Lepcha (41.48).

Hindi : Agariya (97.76), Asur (45.93), Baiga (96.13), Banjara (39.56), Bedia (61.39), Bhaina (96.73), Bharia Bhumia (96.38), Bhotia (53.49), Bhunjia (24.81), Biar (98.85), Binjhia (78.03), Binjhar (72.83), Birhor (33.98), Birjia (28.03), Buksa (96.61), Chero (97.15), Chik Baraik (95.21), Dhanwar (33.39), Gaddi (96.85), Garasia (63.29), Gond, Arakh, Raj Gond (52.62), Gorait (58.41), Gujjar (87.67), Halba, Halbi (40.32), Jad, Lamba, Khamba (17.28), Jaunsari (99.76), Karku (66.31), Kamar (34.97), Karmali (88.61), Keer (99.63), Kavar, Kanwar (97.57), Khairwar (86.21), Kharwar (87.62), Kharia (13.83), Kol (96.06), Kol Loharas (12.43), Kora (14.63), Korku, Bopchi, Mouasi (13.42), Korua (15.42), Korwa (74.08), Lahaula (26.20), Lodha, Kharia (36.55), Lohara, Lohra (71.96), Mahali (36.69), Mahli (50.35), Majhi (91.80), Majhwar (99.77), Mal Pahariya (16.66), Mawasi (46.62), Mina (93.32), Munda (19.96), Mru (16.25), Nagesia (89.48), Pahariya (84.66), Oraon (32.75), Pangwala (99.43), Panika (99.55), Pao (97.88), Pardhi (24.52), Pardhi, Baheli (63.59), Raji (85.92), Rona, Rena (47.21), Sahariya (99.90), Saonta (88.50), Saur (87.60), Sawar, Sawara (59.35), Sehar, Sahariya (99.48), Sonr (96.43), Sugalis, Lambadis (92.89), Thakur, Thakar (12.27), Tharu (97.95).

Kannada : Barda (31.11), Godalu (78.16), Hasalaru (50.6), Iruliga (90.13), Jenu Kurumba (97.54), Kadu Kurumba (97.45), Kaniyan (33.21), Koraga (39.33), Kurumbas (46.34), Kuruba (97.58), Kurumans (31.99), Maleru (84.47), Meda (82.81), Naikda, Nayaka (61.77), Soligar (79.82), Uraly (21.67), Yerava (10.86).

Malayalam : Adiyan (46.49), Aranadan (40.68), Inhabitants of Laccadive (85.00), Kadar (63.31), Kanikaran (86.53), Kaniyan (31.35), Kattunayakan (10.91), Kochu Velan (18.87), Kurichchan (74.38), Kuruman (48.39), Malai Arayan (98.12), Malai Pandaram (47.70), Malayan (53.65), Malayarayar (99.45), Paniyan (98.31), Ulladan (99.96), Uraly (44.45), Yerava (89.06).

Marathi : Andh (98.82), Barda (55.99), Dhanwar (64.24), Halba, Halbi (27.50), Kamar (57.78), Kathodi, Katkari (99.35), Kokna, Kokni, Kukna (47.32), Kolam (19.94), Koli Dhor, Tokri Koli (21.62), Koli Mahadev (95.11), Koli Malhar (95.35), Maratha (62.15), Marathi (82.54), Pardhi, Advichincher (45.9), Pardhan (79.12), Thakur, Thakar (85.31), Thoti (37.80), Varli (60.27)

Oriya : Banjara (55.41), Bathudi (98.81), Bhattra (60.47), Bhottada (98.82), Bhunjia (47.75), Bhuniya, Bhuyan (98.35), Bhumia (88.59), Binjhal (97.61), Bondo Poroja (52.57), Dal (99.94), Desua Bhumij (84.70), Dharua (63.34), Didayi (56.17), Gadaba (49.01), Gandia (51.92), Ghara (91.25), Goudu (31.67), Holva (69.21), Juang (32.82), Kandha Gauda (83.24), Kharia (17.22), Mankirdia (58.81), Matya (70.85), Mirdhas (76.69), Omanatya (97.52), Parenga (94.62), Paroja (86.33), Pentia (94.84), Rajaur (53.07), Rona, Rena (36.91), Savaras (55.46), Sawar, Sawara (38.97), Shabar, Lodha (69.02), Sounti (99.85), Tharua (84.04).

Santali : Bedia (8.93), Birhor (26.27), Birjia (2.45), Karmali (7.37), Kora (11.56), Mahli (34.32), Mankirdia (14.33), Mru (30.63), Munda (1.57), Parhaiya (32.98), Santal (95.92), Tharua (7.54).

Sindhi : Koli (21.75), Pardhi (53.35).

Tamil : Aranadan (58.75), Eravallan (93.65), Godalu (14.20), Irular (87.41), Kadar (28.39), Kanikaran (13.37), Kaniyan (35.31), Kattunayakan (38.47), Kochu Velan (32.07), Konda Reddis (13.65), Kurumbas (28.26), Kuruman (11.07), Maha Malasar (87.40), Malai Pandaram (34.38), Malai Vedan (73.83), Malakkuravan (66.18), Malasar (96.40), Malayali (99.74), Malayan (46.66), Mannan (99.01), Muthuvan (34.63), Mudugar (97.84), Palleyan (91.84), Palliyan (91.04), Palliyar (85.70), Toda (13.22), Uraly (32.95), Yerukulas (28.36).

Telugu : Bagata (86.90), Chenchu (95.41), Gadaba (16.25), Jatapu (71.24), Kammara (88.88), Kattunayakan (33.77), Kuchuvelan (49.06), Kolam (20.68), Konda Dhoras (81.47), Konda Kapus (93.65), Konda Reddis (85.16), Koya (44.09), Madia (21.48), Malakkuravan (13.11), Malis (19.09), Manna Dhora (99.17), Mukha Dhora (77.97), Naikda, Nayaka (16.90), Nayaks (96.16), Reddi Dhoras (98.71), Savaras (7.27), Sugalis, Lambadis (6.73), Valmiki (77.95), Yenadis (98.17), Yerukulas (70.99).

II. NON-SCHEDULED TRIBAL LANGUAGES

A. INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

Bhili : Bhil Mina (54.83), Bhil, Bhilala, Barela, Patelia, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil (39.57), Charan (23.07), Chaudhri (29.03), Damor, Damaria (82.30), Dhanka, Tadvi, Valvi (19.91), Dhodia (6.50), Gamit, Gavit, Mavchi, Padvi (66.48), Garasia (32.32), Kokna, Kokni, Kukna (26.13), Mina (4.97), Koli Dhor, Tokre Koli (3.06), Pardhi, Advichincher (25.21), Varli (19.18), Vitolia, Kotwalia, Barodia (42.94).

Khandeshi : Koli Dhor, Tokri Koli (20.86), Kunbi (81.42).

Kinnauri : Kinnara, Kanaura (96.31).

B. DRAVIDIAN

Gadaba : Gadaba (31.48).

Gondi : Gond (24.66), Pardhan (6.89), Thoti (67.01).

Jatapu : Jatapu (21.78).

Khond : Khond (17.82)

Kisan : Kisan (61.46).

Kodagu : Kudiya, Melakudi (33.79).

Kolam : Kolam, Mannevarlu (57.65).

Konda : Konda Dhoras (3.69), Khond, Kond, Kandha (1.48).

Koya : Bhie Koya, Rajkoya (49.53).

Kui : Jatapu (3.19), Kantha Gauda (9.12), Khond, Kond, Kandha (40.34), Kolah Loharas, Kol Loharas (7.58), Kotia, Benthoriya, Bartia (19.23), Mundari (5.55), Paroja (6.64).

Kurukh : Orang (36.40), Oraon (53.79)

Malto : Mal Paharia (58.08), Sauria, Sauria Paharia (86.25).

Parji : Dharua (32.69).

Tulu : Hasalaru (48.88), Koraga (56.15), Kudiya, Melakudi (31.36), Malakudi (93.47), Malaye Kandi (51.26).

C. AUSTRO-ASIATIC

Bhumij : Bhumij (7.95).

Ho : Ho (94.99), Munda (3.56), Kolha (56.61).

Juang : Juang (62.14)

Khasi : Khasi, Jaintia, Synteng, Pnar, Khasis (99.20).

Kharia : Kharia, Kharian (61.25), Korua (13.18), Lodha, Kheria, Kharia (14.38).

Korku : Korku, Bopchi, Mouasi (72.10), Korwa (3.19), Mawasi (51.63)

Korwa : Koru (18.55), Korku, Bopchi, Mowasi (12.84), Korwa (8.57)

Kora / koda : Kora (14.18)

Munda : Kolha (26.09), Mankirdia (13.23), Munda (17.95), Mundari (5.08).

Mundari : Munda (42.83), Mundari (58.80)

Nicobarese : Nicobarese (97.95).

Savara : Shabar, Lodha (26.14)

D. TIBETO-BURMAN

Adi : Adi (98.93), Adi Gallong (99.75), Adi Minyong (99.83), Adi Padam (98.82), Adi Pasi (63.73), Ashing (89.39), Bagi (91.03), Bogum (33.33), Bokor (99.88), Bori (99.10), Gallong (99.14), Khowa (51.36), Komkar (99.82), Kongbo (60.00), Libo (100), Millang (94.43), Minyong (99.44), Padam (99.84), Paili Bo (100), Pangi (99.32), Pasi (91.34), Ramo (97.80)

Anal : Anal (99.34), Moyon (98.72).

Angami : Angami (64.27), Chakhesang (61.32).

Ao : Ao (95.9)

Bhotia : Bhot, Bodh (10.78), Bhotia (16.56), Bhutia (27.6), Jad, Lamba, Khamba (13.27).

Chang : Chang (97.92).

Garó : Garó (99.09).

Halam : Halam (62.90).

Hmar : Hmar (91.22).

Kabui : Kabui (98.76).

Kacha Naga : Zeliang (15.13), Kacha Naga (97.20).

Khezha : Chakhesang (27.05).

Khiemnungan : Khiemnungan (95.86).

Kom : Kom (97.07).

Konyak : Konyak (90.44).

Kuki : Kuki (23.80), Sahte (14.89)

Lahauli : Bhot, Bodh (41.95), Lahaula (68.30), Swangla (86.82)

Lakher : Lakher (95.22)

Lepcha : Lepcha (56.14).

Lotha : Lotha (98.99).

Lushai /Mizo : Lushai (98.58), Mizo (Lushai) (99.23), Pawi (48.97), Ralte (90.83)

Mao : Mao (98.06).

Maring : Maring (97.04).

Mikir : Mikir (88.61).

Mishmi : Digaru /Taraon Mishmi (93.75), Mishmi (90.48), Idu Chulikata /Mishmi (99.47), Kamam, Miju Mishmi (85.61).

Mogh : Mag (87.85)

Monpa : But Monpa (97.41), Dirang Monpa (60.13), Momba (65.81), Monpa (95.33), Panchen Monpa (99.40), Tawang Monpa (92.36), Lish Monpa (77.73)

Naga : Zeliang (59.40).

Nissi /Dafla : Apatani (93.08), Bangni (99.73), Dafla (96.82), Nishang (99.72), Nissi (99.71), Tagin (98.35).

Nocte : Bogum (38.89), Nocte (98.53), Liju Nocte (99.21).

Paite : Paite (96.39).

Pawi : Pawi (50).

Phom : Phom (99.05).

Rabha : Rabha (65.02).

Rengma : Rengma (98.03).

Sangtam : Sangtam (96.27)

Sema : Sema (99.03)

Sherpa : Bhutia (14.76)

Tangkhul : Tangkhul (98.79).

Tangsa : Havi Tangsa (99.74), Monsang (98.24), Mosang Tangsa (99.13), Rongrang Tangsa (99.23), Tangsa (67.5), Tikhak Tangsa (98.29), Yougli Tangsa (92.20), Yongkur Tangsa (96.61), Kemsin Tangsa (57.36), Longchang Tangsa (43.17), Longphi Tangsa (99.42), Longri Tangsa (22.08).

Thado : Thadou (87.99), Longchang Tangsa (19.37).

Tibetan : Bhutia (8.68), Jad, Lamba, Khamba (50.37), Meyor (99.57), Khamba (94.44), Sherdukpen (99.33).

Tripuri : Bhotia (23.27), Halam (31.92), Jamatia (99.81), Kuki (49.54), Noatia (99.69), Riag (99.71), Tripura, Tripuri, Tippera (98.35), Uchai (99.92).

Vaiphei : Vaiphei (90.59).

Wancho : Wancho (99.86).

Yimchungre : Chirr (90.58), Makware (94.12), Yimchungre (93.76), Tikkhir (98.41).

Zemi Naga : Zeliang (24.04).

Zou : Zou (95.01).

Appendix – II

States / Union Territories and the Languages of the Tribal Communities to be known from the category of others

Tribal Name	All Languages	Others	Percentage
Andhra Pradesh			
Bagata	87,994	3,171	3.60
Chenchu	28,434	377	1.33
Kammara	36,548	713	1.95
Kolam	21,842	119	0.54
Konda Dhora	139,238	9,082	6.52
Konda Kapu	28,033	141	0.50
Konda Reddi	54,685	199	0.36
Kondhs / Khonds	39,408	1,945	4.94
Kotia, Benth Oriya	31,466	9,558	30.38
Koya	359,799	146	0.04
Malis	2,467	239	9.69
Mukha Dhora	17,456	2,200	12.60
Porja, Parangiperja	16,479	2,661	16.15
Valmiki	42,944	4,430	10.32
Yerukulas	300,557	358	0.12
Bihar			
Birhor	4,377	782	17.87
Birjia	4,057	2,683	66.13
Kora / Koda	33,951	836	2.46
Korwa	21,940	111	0.51
Lohara / Lohra	169,089	971	0.57
Mahli	91,868	1,244	1.35
Mal Paharia	79,321	325	0.41
Munda	845,886	2,441	0.29

Oraon	1,048,065	3,539	0.34
Parthaiya	24,012	282	1.17
Santal	2,060,729	3,836	0.19
Sauria Paharia	39,270	137	0.35
Himachal Pradesh			
Bhot, Bodh	22,635	6,645	29.36
Gaddi	76,860	141	0.18
Kerala			
Hill Pulaya	3,091	142	4.59
Irular	18,697	1,062	5.68
Kanikkar	13,725	119	0.87
Kurichchan	22,215	361	1.63
Kurumans	20,740	532	2.57
Paniyan	56,952	379	0.67
Madhya Pradesh			
Agariya	55,757	181	0.32
Baiga	248,949	3,918	1.57
Bharia Bhumia, Paliha, Pando, etc.	195,490	923	0.47
Bhunja	9,524	2,494	26.69
Binjhwar	92,079	154	0.17
Birhor	561	306	54.55
Gond, Arakh, etc.	5,349,883	8,940	0.17
Kawar, Kanwar, Kaur	562,200	1,344	0.24
Korwa, Kodaku	15,340	255	1.66
Maharashtra			
Bhil. Bhil Garsia, Dholi Bhil	993,081	17,770	1.79
Dhanka, Tadvi, Tetaria, Valvi	55,881	2,436	4.36
Gamit, Gavit, Mavchi, Padhvi	110,828	3,003	2.71
Gond, Rajgond, Arakh	1,162,735	43,878	3.77

Halba, Halbi	242,819	332	0.14
Kamar	5,940	107	1.80
Kathodi, Katkhari	174,602	398	0.23
Kawar, Kanwar, Kaur	20,321	217	1.07
Koli Mahadev, Dongar Koli	787,448	111	0.01
Koli Malhar	177,368	104	0.06
Naikda, Nayaka	35,053	230	0.66
Oraon, Dhangad	70,983	1,148	1.62
Pardhan, Pathari, Sarothi	98,685	155	0.16
Pardhi, Advichincher	95,155	1,126	1.18
Thakur, Thakar	323,191	1,200	0.37
Varli	361,273	774	0.21
Manipur			
Aimol	1,862	1,754	94.20
Angami	566	486	85.87
Chiru	3,744	3,704	98.93
Chote	1,687	1,679	99.53
Gangte	7,891	7,211	91.38
Hmar	29,216	203	0.69
Koiro	919	915	99.56
Koireng	948	945	99.68
Lamgang	3,452	3,424	99.19
Mao	50,715	695	1.37
Maram	6,544	5,982	91.41
Maring	11,910	285	2.39
Paite	30,959	118	0.38
Purum	447	414	92.62
Sema	24	10	41.67
Simte	5,034	4,484	89.07
Sahte	282	199	70.57
Thadou	56,467	191	0.34

Vaiphei	15,463	216	1.40
Zou	12,576	210	1.67
Meghalaya			
Any Kuki Tribe	2,917	2,410	82.62
Mikir	8,129	768	9.45
Nagaland			
Kachari	7,212	2,499	34.65
Naga	7,965	6,954	87.31
Angami	62,555	21,412	34.23
Ao	104,578	3,419	3.27
Chakhesang	60,771	823	1.35
Khiemnungam	18,080	637	3.52
Konyak	83,652	6,810	8.14
Orissa			
Banjara, Banjari	10,925	219	2.00
Bhottada	247,710	1,636	0.66
Bhuiya, Bhuyan	207,793	293	0.14
Bhumia	75,221	7,428	9.87
Bhumij	157,614	1,605	1.02
Bhunja	9,077	571	6.29
Binjhal	98,631	376	0.38
Binjhia, Binjhoa	8,042	2,734	34.00
Bondo Porja	5,895	2,683	45.51
Didayi	1,978	864	43.68
Gandia	2,263	361	15.95
Gond, Gondo	602,749	142	0.02
Ho	44,496	100	0.22
Juang	30,876	265	0.86
Kharia	144,178	256	0.18
Khond, Kond, Kandha	989,342	9,439	0.95
Kisan	227,992	1,431	0.63

Kolha	326,522	1,246	0.38
Konda Dora	17,442	897	5.14
Kotia	19,136	184	0.96
Lodha	5,100	197	3.86
Madia	1,066	513	48.12
Matya	12,122	109	0.90
Mirdhas	28,177	5,610	19.91
Munda, Munda Lohara	338,936	2,890	0.85
Mundari	24,667	173	0.70
Omanataya	19,465	320	1.64
Oraon	215,336	1,485	0.69
Paroja	267,185	2,886	1.08
Pentia	7,908	103	1.30
Santal	530,776	2,734	0.52
Saora, Savar	370,060	14,459	3.91
Shabar, Lodha	329,209	12,236	3.72
Rajasthan			
Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil	1,840,966	1,500	0.08
Garasia	118,757	2,850	2.40
Mina	2,086,692	1,409	0.07
Seharia, Saharia	40,945	202	0.49
Sikkim			
Bhutia (Chumbipa, Dophapa, Dukpa, Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tremopa, Yelmo)	48,665	7,058	14.50
Lepcha	24,952	373	1.49
Tamil Nadu			
Kota	604	251	41.56
Toda	875	792	90.51

Tripura			
Bhil	838	134	15.99
Chaimal	18	12	66.67
Halam	28,970	908	3.13
Kuki	5,502	3,676	66.81
Mag	18,230	874	4.79
Orang	5,217	962	18.44
Uttar Pradesh			
Bhotia	32,311	1,228	3.80
Buksa	31,806	776	2.44
West_Bengal			
Asur	4,286	485	11.32
Bedia, Bediya	29,396	2,038	6.93
Bhumij	233,906	531	0.23
Bhutia, Sherpa, Tota, Dukpa	40,192	1,952	4.86
Birhor	658	170	25.84
Birjia	913	346	37.90
Kharwar	11,726	121	1.03
Kora	96,833	694	0.72
Lodha, Kheria, Kharia	53,718	451	0.84
Lohara, Lohra	23,799	389	1.63
Mahali	50,288	368	0.73
Mal Pahariya	17,020	353	2.07
Mech	26,959	312	1.16
Munda	230,016	4,635	2.02
Nagesia	7,745	202	2.61
Oraon	437,574	6,547	1.50
Santal	1,666,610	3,303	0.20
Andaman and Nicobar Islands			
Andamanese	42	25	59.52

Jarawas	31	31	100.00
Onge	97	97	100.00
Shompens	223	215	96.41
Arunachal Pradesh			
Aka	2,947	2,919	99.05
Apatani	16,580	1,092	6.59
Bangro	954	748	78.41
Darok Tangsa	22	17	77.27
Deori	3,608	3,350	92.85
Dirang Monpa	3,599	1,428	39.68
Hill Miri	6,936	5,712	82.35
Janbo	6	6	100.00
Kemsin Tangsa	129	52	40.31
Khamiyang	812	230	28.33
Khampti	6,181	6,099	98.67
Khowa	625	295	47.20
Lish Monpa	1,567	349	22.27
Longchang Tangsa	857	321	37.46
Longri Tangsa	154	119	77.27
Miji	4,085	3,886	95.13
Mishing/Miri	5,201	4,728	90.91
Mishmi	8,373	729	8.71
Moglum Tangsa	1,917	1,885	98.33
Momba	2,679	791	29.53
Monpa	21,619	870	4.02
Morang Tangsa	92	68	73.91
Muktum	84	67	79.76
Nocte	19,606	158	0.81
Ponthai Nocte	44	35	79.55
Singpho	2,353	2,274	96.64
Sulung	4,227	4,128	97.66

Tangsa	9,896	2,401	24.26
Tawang Monpa	6,503	473	7.27
Tutcha Nocte	3,289	3,285	99.88
Lakshadweep			
Inhabitants of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	37,030	5,907	15.95
Mizoram			
Chakma	39,900	164	0.41
Any Kuki Tribe	20,785	318	1.53
Any Mizo (Lushai) Tribe	351,340	108	0.03
Pawi	22,997	120	0.52

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Importance of Soft Skills and Training for Young Graduates

- Ch. B. Jacob

Abstract

Soft skills play a significant role in one's success in life especially in one's profession to meet the demands of the complexity of modern life. In other words, soft skills are essentially people skills – personality specific skills that determine one's strength as a leader, listener, negotiator and conflict mediator. Soft skills include various sub-skills like communication skills, analytical skills, team work, human values and positive thinking. In short, soft skills refer to social skills, personality traits and negotiating skills. Soft skills are behavior skills and hard skills are technical skills. Unless people know the difference between these skills it becomes difficult for them to improve themselves. Soft skills not only help the people at an entry level but also at the senior level as these interpersonal skills are essential from bottom to top. Hard skills are useful in a specific area of activity. There is a limit for hard skills but not for soft skills. Besides, soft skills are useful not only in one's professional life but also in personal and social life. Hard skills may get defunct over a period of time due to change in technology but soft skills stay on forever. The importance of soft skills will increase due to the growing complexity as people need to be dealt with lot of care and caution to get the task executed effectively and efficiently.

Introduction:

Soft skills play a significant role in one's success in life especially in one's profession to meet the demands of the complexity of modern life. In other words, soft skills are essentially people skills – personality specific skills that determine one's strength as a leader, listener, negotiator and conflict mediator. Soft skills include various sub-skills like communication skills, analytical skills, team work, human values and positive thinking. In short, soft skills refer to social skills, personality traits and negotiating skills.

Soft skills refer to all aspects of generic skills that include the cognitive elements associated with non-academic skills. Soft skills are identified as the most critical skills in the current global job market especially in a fast-moving era of technology. The reorientation of education which is one trust of education for sustainability also relates the importance of these so-called soft skills. The term soft skills is being used to describe skills that leaders and managers use that are subjective in nature, such as creative thinking, dealing with people issues, coaching for performance and so on.

Soft skills play a significant role in one's success in life particularly in one's profession. They help to excel in the work place and their importance cannot be denied in this age of information and knowledge. Soft skills in the highly corporate world will help you stand out in a crowd of regular job seekers with ordinary skills and talent.

Need for Soft Skills:

Nowadays, organizations are taking interest in developing soft skills of their employees. Most corporate houses and organizations have made it an important part of their management training programme. The Standard Research Institute reports that 75 per cent of long-term job success depends on soft skills and only 25 per cent depends on technical skills. There is no denying that lack of competence in soft skills in one of the prominent reasons for poor rate of employability of young graduates.

The same applies to a job seeker. Soft skills not only help in improving the flair for communications inculcating team spirit, but also enhancing leadership qualities, time management, group discussions and interpersonal skills. Apart from these, professionals trained in soft skills are well equipped to face Interviews, participate in group discussion and deal effectively with placement consultant. Soft skills apply to both, those who are seeking job and those who want to be promoted in their respective organizations. Both need to constantly sharpen their soft skills.

Soft skills help become a successful professional. These skills help in fine-tuning of one's personality. These are the skills that help

people to present themselves professionally. These are the skills that make leaders stand out from the pack. Being good at soft skills promotes better relations among the people. It minimizes the gap across various department in an organization thus promoting effective communications and performance.

Soft skills close the barriers and build the bridges among the people at work place. All these things ultimately lead to better productivity and performance. At the personal front, soft skills build self-esteem and self-confidence among the individuals. These ensure both personal and professional advancement for the individuals. At the professional front, these create lot of opportunities both for the employees and the employers. Soft skills are those that are crucial to an employee's ability to work 'smarter'. Handling and negotiating with clients promotes business opportunities for the employers. For students, these skills enable employment opportunities as the recruiters look for plug-and play recruits. All well established Multinational Companies have created very good number of employment opportunities and what they wish to test in any professional graduate is the proficiency in the use of the English language and soft skills.

Current Status:

Indian students are quite talented but when it comes to technical knowledge, the fresh graduates are found to be lacking in soft skills. People still believe that the best fields of specialization can only be in engineering, software, architecture and so on. In today's competitive world just acquiring a degree does not guarantee success..

Currently Indian youth have unemployability rather than unemployment problem. Although there are employment opportunities students are not able to grab jobs as they are not equipped with employability skills. Indian education system has not kept pace with the changing technology. In this cut throat competition everyone should possess soft skills. It is rightly said that people rise because of hard skills and fall due to soft skills.

Soft and Hard Skills:

Soft skills are behavior skills and hard skills are technical skills. Unless people know the difference between these skills it becomes difficult for them to improve themselves. Soft skills not only help the people at an entry level but also at the senior level as these interpersonal skills are essential from bottom to top.

Hard skills are useful in a specific area of activity. There is a limit for hard skills but not for soft skills. Besides, soft skills are useful not only in one's professional life but also in personal and social life. Hard skills may get defunct over a period of time due to change in technology but soft skills stay on forever. The importance of soft skills will increase due to the growing complexity as people need to be dealt with lot of care and caution to get the task executed effectively and efficiently. The most important soft skills to be acquired by young graduates are as follows.

Effective Communication Skills:

The word 'Communication' is derived from the Latin term 'Communicare' which means 'to share'. But communication is not only transmission of meaning from one person to another through symbols but also implies that the system of communication is commonly owned, accepted and recognized by the members of a community.

In the era of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization effective communication skills are the keys to unlock the doors of success. In the global context, students of Engineering and Technology need a specific set of language skills for their success in education and professional career.

Industries are also voicing their concerns about the need for better communication skills among students of engineering. Professional having strong hold on communication skills are considered an asset for any business or industrial organization. Language is the most important medium of communication among human beings. Man

has been using language as a tool of communication since time immemorial. It has enabled him to interact with the environment and to regulate his social behavior. Man reciprocates his feelings, ideas, thoughts, notion etc. with others employing language as the most widely used instrument. It enables them to acquire, exchange, store, retrieve and process information. Therefore, communication is essentially a social affair.

It has been found that basically Engineering students need effective communication skills for the following reasons:

1. To express and share their knowledge, ideas, thoughts and experiences in an effective manner.
2. To aspire a bright academic career growth.
3. To sharpen presentation, writing, negotiation, intrapersonal skills.
4. To be successful in the job interviews and to pursue higher level of studies.
5. To work in a globalized and multilingual culture and to lead the team from the front.

Importance of verbal Communication:

Communication by using language or words is called verbal communication. It is subdivided into oral communication, written communication and communication through listening and reading. Oral communication happens when we communicate with the help of spoken words. In this way, we can say that the conversations, conferences, public announcements, public speaking etc. are all forms of oral communication, it can be used effectively to inform, praise, criticize and for many other purposes.

Written communication is also a type of verbal communication, with help of writing, we express ourselves. The human language is expressed by means of visible signs. Communication through listening and reading is done in our day to day life. We communicate mostly

through listening. Effective listening is an art of communication, which is often taken for granted and ignored. No communication process is complete without listening. Effective listening improves the working condition and nurture harmony and unity among the friends, workers and colleagues.

Importance of Nonverbal Communication:

Nonverbal communication is usually understood as the process of communication through sending and receiving wordless messages. Such messages can be communicated through gesture, body language, facial expression and eye contact; object communication such as clothing, hairstyles or even architecture. If the words, the tone and the body language are all in synchronization, then the communication is said to be congruent. Nonverbal communication provides clues and hints to the real meaning behind the words used. The English teachers should make students realize the importance of nonverbal communication from the beginning of their professional career.

Interpersonal Skills:

Interpersonal skills include the ability to lead, motivate and delegate. They are important at every level of organizational responsibility and should always be evident. Being the most technical person in your field is not always enough to succeed unless you have the ability to convince other that what you are doing is important.

Leadership Skills:

To be a leader, one needs an exclusive set of human relations and interpersonal skills. To influence, one needs a number of component skills. Some are fairly easy to develop while others take a long time to learn. Good leaders create a vision, articulate the vision, passionately own the vision and relentlessly drive it to completion. Years of experience has shown that, good leadership is a result of the careful application of the following skills that any individual who wishes to climb the ladder of success has to adapt: understanding the needs and characteristics of the job, knowing and using the resources

of the group optimally, controlling and evaluating group performance, representing the group, planning, setting an example, sharing leadership, counseling and effectively communicating. Professional students are supposed to nature these leadership qualities in the beginning of study.

People Management:

The modern-day diverse work milieu includes dealing with difficult people whether in terms of bully as a boss, a contentious colleague or an irate customer. You have to be very careful not to step on their toes while interacting with such people. By mastering soft skill, you can effectively handle such people.

Time Management:

Time management is vital to keep one going on the right track, on schedule and on top of things. At work, time management and organizational skills are two qualities that employers typically look for in their workers. Time management skill is one's ability to recognize and solve personal time management problems. With good time management skills one is the control of one's time and life, of one's stress and energy level. They make progress at work, maintain balance between work, personal and family lives. They have enough flexibility to respond to surprises or new opportunities.

Stress Management:

Stress happens to be a part and parcel of our professional life. However, a proper stress management programme can help create a balanced and effective life style. Stress management is a precious soft skill that includes among others self-awareness, personal accountability, creating work ethics, risk taking, following your intuition, getting noticed and being assertive.

Critical Thinking:

It is the ability to identify and analyse problems in difficult situation and make justifiable evaluation. It is an ability to expand and improve thinking skills such explanation, analysis and evaluate discussion. It

is an ability to find ideas and look for alternative solutions. It is also an ability to build a good rapport, interact and work effectively with others.

Conclusion

In the present scenario it is understood that the acquisition of soft skills are more imperative than technical skills for an individual to succeed in life. Through soft skills overall attainment of life skills is made possible in the era of sweeping changes of globalization and industrialization.

With the globalization taking firm roots in the Indian scenario, the academic institutions will realize the importance of churning out well groomed and well-heeled professionals of tomorrow. Right from the time students enter the institution till they embark on a career honing the communication and presentation skills is must. Presently the soft skills are in the lips of policy makers in India. It is time to convert words into deeds to make Indian youth employable. Well structured, systematic and sustained effort and commitment by all the stake holders such as Universities, educators, student recruiters and parents is the need of the hour for spreading the importance of soft skills and for enhancing the employability of the youth.

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John Osborne's Luther—A Heroic Reformer or a heretic Revolutionary?

- Syed Hussain Mian

Abstract

This article deals with John Osborne's Luther (1961) which is the saga of Martin Luther, the father of Protestantism whose personal quest for salvation, certainty and perfection had set in motion the Protestant Reformation, a religious, impetuous upheaval that tore Europe apart in the sixteenth century. Martin, much against the wishes of his father Hans enters into the Augustinian Order and becomes an Eremite in 1506.

The article apart from giving an insight into the nature of Martin Luther, a historical personage as cast in the moulds of Osborne's 'Angry Young Man' also helps in creating a deeper understanding and awareness of the milieu of the sixteenth century Europe and the unscrupulous practices in 'religion', particularly that of the sale of 'Letters of Indulgences'. Religion, instead of guiding people to the 'sublime heights of enlightenment' drove them to 'abyss of ignorance.'

It also makes an attempt to analyze the conflict between the idea of man as an individual and the idea of man as an integral part of the society and the impact of the external framework on the internal constitution of a man. The article finally seeks to provide an answer to the debatable question whether Luther was a heroic reformer or a heretic revolutionary and the extent to which he was influenced by the milieu around him.

John Osborne (1929-1994), a renowned English dramatist, screenwriter, actor and critic of the Establishment who had helped initiate a new era in the British theatre in which aggressive social criticism, authentic portrayal of working-class life and larger-than-life ego-centric protagonists became important elements. In a

productive career which spans over four decades, Osborne explored several themes and genres. Some of his best known plays are *Look Back in Anger* (1956), *The Entertainer* (1957), *Epitaph for George Dillon* (1957), *Luther* (1961), *Inadmissible Evidence* (1964), *Patriot for Me* (1965), *West of Suez* (1971).

Osborne's play *Look Back in Anger* was a sensation and marked the turning point in the history of modern British Drama. It was staged on 8th May, 1956. J.R. Taylor says, "...the Osborne generation' proved only the first of several waves, 8 May 1956 still marks the real breakthrough of 'the new drama' into the British theatre, and Osborne himself remains, one way and another, one of its most influential exponents, as well as representing for the general public the new dramatist par excellence, the first of the angry young men and arguably and biggest shock to the system of British theatre since the advent of Shaw."¹

Osborne was iconoclastic and was notorious for the ornate violence of his language. He was one of the first writers to create an awareness of Britain's purpose in the Postimperial age. His plays are often dominated by strong articulate protagonists whose tirades express disgust with bourgeois complacency and materialistic social values. In an interview, he had said, ".....i wanted to write a play about religious experience and various other things, and this happened to be the vehicle for it. Historical plays are usually anathema to me, but this isn't a costume drama. I hope that it won't make any difference if you don't know anything about Luther himself, and I suspect that most people don't. In fact the historical character is almost incidental..."²

Osborne himself had been influenced by Erikson's psychobiography *Young Man Luther* and hence he wanted to delineate before the audience the personality of Luther, his tormenting conscience, the trials and tribulations within. It was also that it was this personal conscientious obstinacy which could not be contented with anything less than absolute truth and absolute perfection that kindled the spark into fire when the papal authorities began to mislead.

Osborne, in his play *Luther* takes us to those times where religion and politics dominated the thoughts of people. Art, Science and even

Literature were relegated and were made subordinate to religion. Philosophers, even if there were, were actually quacks and conjurers. Astronomy was confused with astrology. The physicians' medicines were supposed to be powerless, unless the priests said prayers over them. James Anthony Froude says, "The disturbers of settled beliefs were regarded as public enemies who had placed themselves beyond the pale of humanity, and were considered fit only to be destroyed like wild beasts, or trampled out like the seed of a contagion."³ It was a fact that any attempt to go astray from the religious dogmas enunciated by the Church was considered blasphemous.

The play opens with the sacred proceedings of Martin's absorption into the Augustinian Order. The Convent becomes the workshop for him and he is relentlessly engaged in it with the 'Tools of Good Work'. However, he has 'over-stimulated conscience' due to which he begins to magnify even his trivial mistakes and subjects himself to severe penance. He wants to get assured and re-assured about the 'Word of God' and the "Will of God". One should be 'guided aright' before guiding others. Hence, Luther is seen crying, in what appears almost like a supplication to God – "I am a worm and no man, a byword and a laughing stock. Crush out the worminess in me, stamp on me." (19) This seems to reflect the crystallized wisdom of ages – "Illumine thyself before thou illumine others." Even Mahatma Gandhi never was said to have preached what he himself did not practice.

Martin says to brother Weinand, "What's the use of all this talk of penitence if I can't feel it". (26) It is this 'experience of feeling' that is central to the plays of Osborne. He himself had stated that through his plays, he wanted to give 'lessons of feeling'. The reformers, with their own experience of 'feeling' and 'empathizing' with the suffering lot around them can only undertake the arduous task of setting the things right. His problem is that he begins to have a growing sense of isolation and exorbitant guilt which cannot be redeemed by confession, penitence, communal religious practices or submission to the path enunciated by the church authorities. He cannot deceive himself by merely thinking that he has been redeemed. Salvation is a rigorous spiritual process which can be attained only by staunch internal

'faith'. This actually sets the ground for Martin taking cudgels against the authority, the very crux of the play itself being the 'justification of faith' rather than by works. Martin discovers that the convent is a petty place of compromises and complacencies. He knows that he knows what others do not.

If Act I provides a psychological interpretation of the private world of Martin Luther, then Act II unfolds the public world, giving an ostentatious chronicle of the period. The scene is set in a market place, Juterbog in 1517. Tetzel, Dominican, inquisitor, sub-commissioner to the Archbishop of Mainz, successful vendor of indulgences of his day, an ecclesiastical huckster, a trained orator and a dedicated professional knowing all the tricks of the trade and with an uncanny perception of the people of his times comes out with a red cross with the arms of the Pope suspended. Tetzel says –

..... Yes, my friend, the Pope himself has sent me with indulgences for you.... They're only the most precious and noble of God's gifts to men, that's all they are! ... I tell you I wouldn't swap my privilege at this moment with that of St.Peter in Heaven because I've already saved more souls with my indulgences than he could ever have done with all his sermons... For every mortal sin you commit, the Church says that after confession and contrition, you've got to penance-either in this life or in purgatory... There isn't any one sin so big that one of these letters can't remit it... Not only am I empowered to give you these letters of pardon for the sins you've already committed, I can give you pardon for those sins you haven't even committed but, which, however you intend to commit! ... It's so that we can restore the ruined church of St.Peter and St.Paul in Rome! ... Will anyone dare to say that the cause is not a good one?... buy yourself one of these letters, so that in the hour of death, the gate through which sinners enter the world of torment shall be closed against you, and the gate leading to the joy of paradise be flung open for you? And, remember this, these letters aren't just for the living but for the dead too. There can't be one amongst you who hasn't at least one dear

one who has departed and to who knows what? Why, these letters are for them too... As soon as your money rattles in the box and the cash bell rings, the soul flies out of purgatory and sings! ... Get your money out! ... I shall take down the cross, shut the gates of heaven. The Lord our God reigns no longer. He has resigned all power to the Pope. (48-51)

Martin delineates before Johann Von Staupitz, the sympathetic Vicar General of the Augustinian Order, a dreadful picture of the very fundamental fabric of Christianity getting torn off as people have begun to swerve even from the customary Mass intended to repose the souls of the dead on the pretext that they have purchased the indulgences and as such the souls are already out of purgatory. Dr.Martin Luther, on All Saints' Day in the Castle Church of Wittenberg on October 31st, 1517 enlightens the masses on the truths written in Scriptures by saying –

We are living in a dangerous time... We Christians seem to the wise outwardly and mad inwardly... A man is not a good Christian because he understands Greek and Hebrew... A man without Christ becomes his own shell. We are content with shells... Today is the eve of All Saints, and the holy relics will be on show to you all... Your emptiness will be frothing over at the sight of a strand of Jesus' beard, at one of the nails driven into His hands, and at the remains of the loaf at the Last Supper. Shells for shells, empty things for empty men. There are some who complain of these things, but they write in Latin for scholars. Who'll speak out in rough German? Someone's got to bell the cat!... "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed, from faith to faith; as it is written, the just shall live by faith." No man is just because he does just works. The works are just if the man is just... I need no more than my sweet redeemer and mediator, Jesus Christ... If we are going to be deserted, let's follow the deserted Christ (61-63)

Luther nails his ninety-five thesis to the Church door. He is eventually summoned to Fugger Palace before Thomas De Vio, known as Cajetan, General of the Dominican Order and Rome's highest

representative in Germany. Cajetan is smoothly cunning and tries to persuade Luther to retract. Luther, having resolved to steadfast says that he rests his case entirely on 'Holy Scripture' and that even the Pope cannot be above the Scripture. He feels that Christendom is threatened not due to his repudiation but by the pathogenic discrepancies and infiltration of indulgences. Cajetan says to Luther to allow the people to have their sins and indulgences in return to the comforts they are getting. Luther says – "Comfort! It – doesn't concern me!" (73) Osborne, thus, portrays Luther as the one who has renounced the earthly glory and is deeply committed to the cause of establishing the 'faith', 'creed' on the basis of the Holy Scriptures and as such **is certainly a hermit, not a heretic**.

In the next scene, we find that Luther has written an epistle to Pope Leo, the Tenth. Luther begins by wishing eternal salvation to the Sovereign bishop and says that his name is in bad odor and **he is called a heretic, apostate, traitor but he has got a pure and peaceful conscience**. The complaints and grumbling in the taverns about the avarice of the priests and talk about the attacks on the power of the keys aroused zeal in hi to protect the glory of the Christ. He had warned several princes of the Church about his, in vain as either they sneered at him or ignored him. He was thus compelled to publish his disputation and nail it to the Church door of Wittenberg and that he cannot retract.

The Pope's intensity of animosity towards Luther is best reflected when he says, "There's a wild pig in our vineyard, and it must be hunted down and shot." (78) It was not strange for such kind of indictments in those days when the Church was at its summit of power. In fact, those who professed a faith not in sync with the one practiced by the Church were burnt down to cinders after getting branded as heretics. Osborne succeeds in depicting a faithful picture of religious bigotry that was prevalent during those times. Luther consigns the indictment of the Pope to flames at Elster Gate, Wittenberg in 1520 saying, "... papal decrivals are the devil's excretal's..." (79)

The third and final act begins with the scene set in the Diet of Worms on April 18th, 1521. There is a unique gathering of princes,

electors, dukes, ambassadors, bishops, counts, barons, etc. the emperor Charles, The Fifth, Aleander, the Papal Nuncio; Ulrich Von Hutten, Knight; the Archbishop of Trier and His Secretary, John Von Eck, The Chancellor of Ingolstadt are present. The day on which Luther made his presence in the Diet of Worms was decisive in the history of human civilization as has been gloriously observed in the words, "no more notable spectacle had been witnessed in this planet for many a century-not, perhaps, since a greater than Luther stood before the Roman Procurator."4

Luther says that all the books displayed there are his and that not all the books are of the same kind. There are three groups of books-the first which quite simply deal with the values of faith and morality and hence there is no need for him to condemn them. The second attack the power of the keys that has ravaged Christendom and no one can deny this as the evidence is every where and everyone complains of it. The third is against certain, private, distinguished, and apparently-highly established-individuals, who are all defenders of Rome and enemies of his religion. He agrees that he has been violent in these books which is strange for a monk like him but that he has never set out to be a saint and he has not been defending his own life, but the teaching of Christ and hence he cannot retract on his own. He says that he, like his Saviour Christ would ask, "If I have spoken lies tell me what the lie is." (p.83)

Eck, unconvinced, says to Luther that he should cut out those passages which are blasphemous or those which are heresies or those which are construed to be heresies and that he should delete any passage which might be considered hurtful to the Catholic faith. If he still is reluctant to do that, everything he has written, right or wrong, will be forgotten and all about him will be blotted out. He further tells Luther that he should not throw doubt on the most holy, orthodox faith, the faith founded by the most perfect legislator known to them and spread by his apostles throughout the world, with their blood and miracles and that his faith has been defined by sacred councils, and confirmed by the Church. Martin is not moved and quite resolutely goes on to say.

Unless I am shown by the testimony of the Scriptures-for I don't believe in popes or councils-unless I am refuted by Scripture

and my conscience is captured by God's own word, I cannot and will not recant, since to act against one's conscience is neither safe nor honest. Here I Stand; God help me; I can do no more. Amen. (85)

In these words, lied the heart of the matter, conscience first, everything next, the whole meaning of the Reformation and that is whether men should go on to believe forever anything to be true just because it was said by Pope or were even his decrees be judged like the words of other men-by the ordinary laws of evidence. There was a silent revolution in the minds of the younger laity. A generation had grown to manhood of whom the Church authorities knew nothing; and the whole air Germany, unsuspected by pope or prelate, was charged with electric fervor of protest.

The next scene is set in the ransacked Wittenberg in the year 1525, four years after Luther defended himself in the Diet of Worms. The scene achieves its desired theatrical effect as it is quite dreadful with shouts of mutilated men, smoke, a shattered banner bearing the cross and wooden shoe of the Bundschuh, emblem of the Peasants' Movement, a peasant's corpse. A Knight stands fatigued, despondent, stained and dirty. He is a symbolic figure and it is only through his long monologue, we get the revelation of the uprising, the course of the movement, the result and Luther's stand in it.

The Knight, understandably aggrieved accuses Luther for not aiding the civil armed uprising and for siding with the Princes in crushing the movement. He says, "...weren't we all redeemed by Christ's blood? (pointing to the peasant) Wasn't he included when the scriptures were being dictated? Or was it just you who was made free, you and the princes you've taken up with, and the rich burghers and," (89) They felt betrayed as it is the thought-provoking speeches of Luther in vernacular German that had unfolded the esoteric nature of the Scriptures and had given them the real essence of the Scriptures and made them revolt.

It is interesting to recall the words of Cajetan, who, in a way had warned Martin for the conceited opinion that he himself may be unconsciously nurturing about his own capabilities as a leader and driving the same image of himself into others and making them believe

that a savior has come in his form. He cannot be an iconoclast because he himself is unsure about the course of the events that were to follow if he upholds the scriptures as they are and if he is going to demolish the papal image and his decrees. Cajetan had said, "...some deluded creature might even come to you as a leader of their revolution, but you don't want to break rules, you want to make them. You'd be a master breaker and maker and no one would be able to stand up to you, you'd hope, or ever sufficiently repair the damage you do." (73) He had even said, "... You're not a good old revolutionary, my son, you're just a common rebel, a very different animal." (p.73)

Even his mentor Staupitz allegorises to his troubled belly and constipation and says, "Are ye so foolish, that ye have begun in the spirit, you would now end in the flesh." (52) This can be interpreted at a different level. Staupitz appears to be having an insight into the nature of Martin, the nature of the contemporary Church and the nature of the society. He opines that what was a one man's personal quest for 'faith' may turn out to be a bloody revolution in flesh and blood claiming the lives of several.

Luther washes off his hands from the bloody cause saying that the revolution had become disorderly and that "...Christians are called to suffer, not fight," (89). "Osborne does not seek to portray Luther as any more certain of his role at this stage than he was as a novice monk. The fact that people came to see him as a leader was not of his choosing, yet he is left with the consequences."5 Luther gets married to Katherine Von Bora, a formerly nun and begets a child Hans. The final scene is set in 1530 in the same Eremite cloister of Wittenberg which has become Luther's abode and where he is having domestic bliss. Osborne hints that Luther was not a revolutionary. This scene clears the ambiguity in the reason behind Luther's stand.

Luther tells Staupitz that he, while preaching his doctrines cannot be so subtle as Erasmus who likes to walk on eggs without breaking any and because of this, he is utterly incomprehensible and beyond the reach of minds. However, in a way, Luther himself was so subtle and esoteric in his theological arguments that the peasants were muddled and misunderstood that Luther wanted them to have an armed struggle to overthrow the institution of Church. Little were

they aware that **Luther was against the choir and not the hymn**. He merely wanted the people to become aware of the spirit of Scriptures and not to fall a prey or be guiled by the discrepancies, including indulgences.

When Staupitz feels that Luther should not have encouraged the princes in butchering the rebels and curbing the movement which was based on a just cause, Luther, recalls that it was Staupitz who had told him to remember that he has started all this in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and hence should never go astray. He unfolds the reason as thus, “..the world can't be ruled with a rosary. They were a mob, a mob, and if they hadn't been held down and slaughtered, there'd have been a thousand more tyrants instead of half a dozen. It was a mob, and because it was a mob it was against Christ.” (99) To connect it to our own times, even Mahatma Gandhi was similarly incident and withdrew himself from it. The masses had become disillusioned by his decision.

Luther knew that there cannot be any liaison between God and man claiming on behalf of him the right to give salvation as that man has confessed his sins. When he himself, with all the self-inflicting rigors was unable to seek the contact of God and get his guilt redeemed, he finds it naturally quite ridiculous that the papal authorities could provide salvation to people so effortlessly by the sale of indulgences. Luther, by any standards was a 'man of faith' and he was not dogmatic. His cult, though he resisted to be termed it as such, was a 'belief in goodness', in 'justice', in 'righteousness', in 'peace' and above all in 'truth'. He believed that 'conscience', which is the silent whispers of God in man, should gain precedence over knowledge or rationality. **Luther was misread, misinterpreted and misjudged.**

The papal authorities may have branded him as '**heretic**' as a way of defending themselves in their desperate attempt to cover their blemishes once Luther began to expose them. The peasants and the common masses may have looked up to him as a '**revolutionary**', but, in reality, Luther was neither a heretic nor a revolutionary. He was, indeed a **heroic reformer**. The work he has done confirms this as to what Staupitz, at the end of the play acclaims as the unprecedented noble work that none but Luther was able to

do, “you've taken Christ away from the low mumblings and soft voices and jeweled gown and the tiaras and put Him back where He belongs in each man's soul. We owe so much to you,” (100)

Though Luther is a historical personage, he, very well gets cast into the moulds of an 'Angry Young Man', the Osbornian hreo. He denounces the authorities for their gross exploitation of the ignorance of the masses and for manipulating the 'faith' and the 'scripture' of the God. He craves for 'real faith', 'real belief', 'real feel', very much similar to Jimmy Porter who laments and torment themselves unable to find their 'ideal world'. Osborne succeeded in offering a perspective to look at Luther from the view point of an 'Angry Young Man'. Though it may appear to be an anachronism, Luther displays several characteristics of the “Angries” and thus has become the fondest personage for Osborne who had borrowed Luthers' flesh and added to the skeletal structure of his own 'Angry Young Hero'.

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Lineage and Surnames of Yerukala Tribe – A Study

- Chinnam Rajaram

Abstract

Yerukalas, the Dravidian tribe, settled across a state of Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Maharastra, West Bengal and Orissa have surnames depending upon a region. The aim of the article is to analyze lineage and surnames of Yerukala tribe across these regions.

1. INTRODUCTION:

The Yerukalas are the Dravidian Tribes. They are wandering tribe settled in plains in the State of Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharastra, West Bengal (Culcutta) and Orissa. Yerukalas have different nomenclature in different states. They are called yerukalas in Andhra Pradesh, Koravas or Koragas in Tamilnadu, Korchas in Karnataka and Kaikadis in narmada regions of Maharastra.

The Koravas of Tamilnadu and Yerukalas of Andhra Pradesh do not intermarry or eat together. But according to one extracted notes, dated 1895, marriages took place between the Southern Koravas of a gang from the Madura district of Tamilnadu and the Yerukalas of Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh. In Nellore of Andhra Pradesh and other districts, Yerukalas purchase their wives. The price varies from thirty to seventy rupees, but money is rarely passed on to the party on such occasions and more importantly the transactions are done in the form of asses or cattle.

2. ETYMOLOGY:

There are four established names for this tribe, i.e, Yerukala, Korava or Koraga, Korchas and Kaikadi.

1. **Yerukala:** According to Cain.J (1880), the Elakava: nDlu are the people who eat rats, hence their name, elaka = a rat; although the Erakalava:nDlu will not disdain the flesh of the mangoose and cat.

Amongst themselves they call each other Kuluva:ru, but the Telugu people call them Erakava:ru or Erakalava:ru, and this name has been derived from the Telugu word eruka, which means knowledge or acquaintance, as they are great fortune tellers.

Edger Thurston (1909) says, “the name of this tribe comes from their professions of ‘fortune telling’ YERUKO AMMA YERUKA, means ‘Prophecies mother! Prophecies!’ know as Koravas. Koravas have usually been traced as being the same as the Yerukala. Both castes are wandering gypsies, both live by basket making and fortune telling, both speak a corrupt Tamil and both may have sprung from one original stock”.

2. KORAVA:

According to Dr.Aiyappan, “This tribes is called KORACHA and YERUKALA in the Telugu districts. In the Tamil districts, these people are called KORAVA. The Kuravar or Kunravar is the name by which the kurunilam fold or hill people were called. The Koravar tradition connects them with Muruga, the Tamil Hero-god, through valli, a Korava girl whom he married.” The Yerukalas call themselves as Kurru and their languages as Kurruva:tt means Kurru speech. Kurru is the shortened form of Kunru, which means ‘hill’ in Tamil. The people who live on the hill is known as Kunravar or Kuravar.

Yerukalas are called yerukalo:llu in Telugu, Kuravar in Tamil, Korchas in Kannada and Kaika:Di in Marathi. According to Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, Yerukala (<P.Dr.*ar-DED 265) means knowledge. The contextual meaning was later extended to fortune telling.; Kuravar (<P.Dr.*kunt-DED1414) means hill tribe. Koracha (<p.Dr.*Kur-DED 1544) means a large branch cut off a thorn bush. Kaika:Di (<p.Dr.*kai-DED 1683+P.Dr.*Katt-DED 1206) means a hand worker in the forest. That names of these tribes came into existence in accordance with their occupation and dwelling is evident.

3. LINEAGE:

Lineage is called in Sanskrit go:tramu. There are many sub divisions or classes of Koravas or Yerukalas. They obtain their names from their traditional occupations. According to Main waring, they largely fall within three divisions.

1. Sakai, sampathi, sa:thupa:Di
2. Ka:va:Di or Gujjula
3. de:varakonDa, me:nDragutti or me:napa:Di

The members of the first two divisions are the legitimate descendants of Koravas who have not married outside the caste, whereas the third division represents and includes the mixed marriages, and the off spring there off.

The Koravas are said to be divided into two large clusters of families, which they call po:thu and penTi, meaning male and female. All the families included in the first division noted above are po:thu, and those in the second penTi. The families in the third division, being the product of mixed marriages, and the position of females being a lowly one, they are also considered to be penTi. The po:thu section is said to have arisen from men going in search of brides for themselves, and the penTi from those going in search of husbands for their daughters. When a Korava, a male or a female, wishes to marry, a partner must be sought in a division other than their own

3.1 The Major division of Koravas of Yerukalas:

The major divisions of Koravas or Yerukalas are four in number and according to their gradation they have corrupted Tamil words in their speech. That the four lineages are Sa:ttupa:Di, ka:vaDi, me:napa:Di, me:nDragutti.

1. **Sa:ttupa:Di:** Sa:ttupa:Di means adorning a Hindu deity with flowers, jewels and vestments.
2. **Ka:va:Di:** Ka:va:Di means a pole carried on the shoulders with two baskets, pendant from its two ends, in which are contained offerings for a deity or temple.
3. **Me:napa:Di:** Me:napa:Di means singing in praise of God, when is worshipped in a temple.
4. **Me:nDragutti:** _ Me:nDragutti means stitching a pair of shoes, and presenting them to the temple – a custom still prevalent at Tirupati and in other important shrines.

The above four Lineages are analysed as follows. Ka:va:Di and Sa:ttupa:Di are original lineages. And the other Lineages me:nDragutti and me:napa:Di are developed in the later period. Ka:va:Di and me:nDragutti are of one clan. No marriage alliances are allowed between the internal lineages, if any one happens to marry in ones own clan, then they will be loose their regular go:tra and such people are treated under me:napa:Di go:tra. Ka:va:Di and me:nDragutti go:tra:s are lineages. But, me:nDragutti clan can have alliances with other three clans, which the community in general consider as improper.

These four go:tra:s (Lineages) constitute two social groups. One the higher and the other lower. Sa:ttupa:Di, me:napa:Di and me:nDragutti are the higher group Po:ttuko:lom, while ka:va:Di the lonely go:tra forms the lower group ki:ttuko:lom

4. SURNAMES: Each of these clans is sub-divided into a number of house names of surnames and are placed under their respective go:tra:s.

1. **Surnames of Sa:ttupa:Di:** AngaTi, de:vara, sadav, Kumbha, Da:sari, bande:ru, Pa:lapa:Ti
2. **Surnames of Ka:v:Di:** Badana:puri, Kojja, Uyya:la, KonD:reDDi, bo:gini, me:Da, UllagaDla, Madaga:ri, Mogili, KaTTa, Pe:ram.
3. **Surnames of me:napa:Di:** ce:ra, valapu.
4. **Surnames of me:nDragutti:** nalgonDla, de:varakonDa (These two names represent the places in Telanga:na of Andhra Pradesh), ra:siri.
5. **Surnames of Uppara Yerukalas:** da:sari, kampa, tho:ka, banDi, mogili, ra:gala, Ka:Ta:ri, Samudr:la, sukka, a:vula, Ka:naga, gajjala, Uyya:la, pu:la, ambo:jala, VenkaTagiri (A town in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh)

Conclusion:

The Yerukalas have different names in different states. They are wandering tribe. Their names are derived from their occupation. They give more prominence to their go:tra than the surname. They are not allowed matrimonial alliances between internal lineages. In between the divisions of their community, there were no inter-marriages nor eat together. The surnames, marriage customs, ceremonies, festivals are also same as in Hindi religion. We can find mixed language system in the community.

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Social and Economic Conditions in Kadapa Region during the period of Kayastha Chief of Kakatiyas

- K.Narasimhulu

ABSTRACT

An attempt is made in this paper the role played by the Kayastas feudatories of Kakatiyas to protect the Social order and the Economic conditions of Kadapa region under their rule. On the basis of epigraphical evidences the Kadapa region was developed under the rule of the Kayastha chiefs like their overlords the Kayasthas protect the social order based on *Varnas*. They protect the Varna system. Temples, *brahmapuris* and *agrahara* villages were the main centers of education. Rulers granted lands and some gifts for the maintenance of *Vidyamandirs* and *agraharas*. Land revenue was the main income to the government. Several taxes were collected during this period. For the promotion of cultivation they provided artificial irrigation facilities. Tanks were built in Kadapa region during this period.

An attempt is made in this paper the role played by the Kayastas feudatories of Kakatiyas to protect the Social order and the Economic conditions of Kadapa region under their rule.

The Kakatiyas were one of the major dynasties that ruled over Andhradesa. To begin with, they were the feudatories of the Eastern Chalukyas, but later shifted their allegiance to the western Chalukyas of Kalyani. Taking advantage of the disturbed Political condition of the Deccan in the 11th century A.D, the Kakatiyas established their power in 1000 AD. Gradually, they brought Andhra Pradesh, part of Orissa and Tamilnadu under their control. Their rule ended in 1323 A.D. In the part of Andhradesa, Kadapa region was ruled by Kayasthas, the feudataries of Kakatiyas.

Kadapa lies 13°41¹ and 15° 15¹ middle of the northern latitude and 77° 55¹ and 79° 30¹ middle of the eastern longitude. It is bounded on the north by Kurnool district, on the east by Nellore district, on the

south by Chittoor district and on the west by Anantapur district. It is having an area of 15,373 Sq Km. According to 2011 census it has 28, 84,524 lakhs population. At the beginning of the Kaliyuga period Krupacharya visited this region. So, it was known as Kripanagara, i.e, the town of Mercy. After that, it was changed as Kadupayi and Kadapayi. Gradually, it was named as Kadapa. Ptolemy visited this area in second century AD and named it as Karipe. The famous Chinese traveler Heiun-Tsang recognized this area as Chiriya-Chola region. After the downfall of Vijayanagara Empire the Senapati of Golkonda Nawab named as Nek-nam-khan expanded Kadapa town.

SOCIAL HISTORY:

As in the other part of country, the society in Kadapa region the Kayastha rule was basically divided into the four main castes, the Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. But there were several sub-castes in each of these castes. The society in general is represented in the inscriptions by the term *ashtadasa-praja* or eighteen sects of people. Most of these seem to have originated according to their profession.

The foundation of four castes or *Varnas* was the foundation pebble of the Hindu social organization. A close study of the society in all ages show that the *varnasrama-dharma*, at least in its essentials existed in India as distinct from Hinduism irrespective of the dominant religion. The *varnasrama-dharma* explained very roughly as a certain unique classification of the society into various castes or *Varnas*, viz. Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. The *Dharmasastras* emphasize that the primary duty of a king was to maintain the social order based on the *varnas*. Manu states that the kingdom can prosper only as long as the purity of castes was maintained. The Naradasmriti enjoins that if the king does not dictate punishments to any castes, when they have left the path, the created beings of the world would perish. The royal responsibility to uphold the *varna* system is echoed in the literary and epigraphic records of the period¹.

An inscription² at Pondaluru in Rajampet taluk of Kadapa district dated 1260 AD referred Kayastha Jannigadeva described as *Chaturvarna Samuddharna*. An inscription³ at Tripurantakam dated 1290 AD referred that Kayastha chief Ambadeva Maharaja described

as *Chaturvarna Samuddharana*. It would thus appear that the Kings, Samantas, Mahasamanthas, Rajagurus, merchant guilds and private individuals also protect the *varna* system. The four *varnas* are stated to be in a flourishing state during the period of the Kakatiyas of Warangal.

In this section focus on the social mobility of various social groups apart from discussing their functional role. Among the social groups were included the ruling groups, the religious groups, agrarian groups, mercantile groups, artisans and women who figure in inscriptional sources, as donors, recipients, witnesses and executors of the grant. Besides these various groups, the social structure during the medieval period also constituted administrative group appointed by the ruling groups to dispense law and order in the localities under their jurisdiction.

The *Brahmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Sudra* inhabited the farming zone. *Brahmanas* adhered to the duties assigned to them by the *Dharmasastras*; some undertook certain vows in order to lead a simple and exemplary life and were honored for the same by the kings. With the consent of the king, even the administrators of small region made such gifts, thereby foregoing revenue. Unless the *Brahmanas* really reserved such endowments, administrators and rulers would not have made such gifts and forgone precious revenue. Some *Brahmanas* who held important positions in royal services gifted lands, villages to temples. The *Kshatriya* denoting the ruling class was appropriated by different communities who were able to assume power over the land. The third section of society was the *Vaishyas*. Their main occupation was trade and commerce. Being skillful in commercial activities, these successful merchants amassed wealth. By virtue to their qualities, they commanded respect in society. Agriculture was the chief profession of many *sudras*; almost all people in different professions received some stipulated share in agricultural produce from the villagers as remuneration for the services rendered by them.

While the pastoralists' *gollas*, *lambadis*, *erukalas*, *chenchus* and *boyas* were spread over the pastoral landscape and forests. *Sugalis* formed another group hunter-gatherer community inhabiting

the Palakondas and Seshachalam hills where large hamlets located like Sugaliipalli, Sugalitanda, and Sugalimitta. The Kurabas were a tribe of hunter gatherers, evenly populated in the upper and middle Pennar basin. The tribe *erukalas*, who tended pigs and cattle, also formed part of the population as *yanadis* hunter-gatherers and fishermen, found mainly in the Gunjanvally. The chenchus, hunter-gathers were concentrated in the Nallamalas, Seshachalam and Erramala hills. The *Gollas* or *Yadavas* who had hitherto reared sheep and were divided into *Adavi gollas* and *Uru gollas*, became cultivators as well. The *Adavi gollas* inhabited remote settlements closed to the forest as did the Sugalis a forest tribe. The *gollas* were actually pastoralists and cattle keepers⁴. The inscription⁵ from Chagaleru in Pulivendla taluk of Kadapa district mention the cattle keepers.

Rural society comprised the lineage groups of Kurabas or the Gollas, Erukakas and Chenchus. The Chenchus, were hunter gatherers and were concentrated in the Nallamallas, Seshachalam and Erramalla hills. The Chenchulakshmi Narasimha myth obviously reveals the interaction of Chenchus with pastoral communities such as the Gollas and Kurabas who established alliances with the forest tribes. The Chenchulakshmi Narasimha myth in the light of oral tradition and textual references underlines the process of political integration of forest tribes as Narasimha was a pastoral god. Social relations and advancements in the medieval society can be inferred from status titles such as *raju*, *nayaka*, *preggada*, *lenka* and *bantu*.

The Number of inscriptions in Kadapa district mention, the cattle keepers. The social base forming chiefly hunter-gatherer-pastoral community is rarely mentioned in the inscriptions. The interaction between these tribes and the settled communities formed a continuing factor in the evolution of the society. Social relations and advancement in the medieval society can be inferred from prefixes and suffixes added to indicate status. People, other than *Brahmanas*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* belonged to *Sudra* community, which consisted of several endogamous groups of communities.

Some inscriptions refer to *Reddis* or *Raddis* as agriculturists, businessmen and administrative officials. They were also known as *rattadu*, *rattodi*, *ratagullu*, *reddi* etc. *rattarudi* or *rattagudi* seems

to have been made up of two words *ratta* and *gudi*. An inscriptions⁶ from Chilamakuru in Kamalapuram taluk of Kadapa district mentioned about *ratagullu*. Different communities comprising people practicing various professions viz. Carpenters, Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Stone-cutters, Oil-mongers, weavers, Potters, Basket makers, Shepherds, Barbers, Washer men, Dommaris and a host of other were making it the largest section of society. An inscription⁷ at Dongalasani in Siddhavatam taluk of Kadapa district referred to the *Panchanam* community. The *Panchanamvaru*, it consists of five groups viz; goldsmith, carpenters, blacksmiths, braziers and stone-cutters are collectively played a very important role in the society. They were engaged in the construction of temples and preparation of icons of metal, ivory and wood. Another inscription⁸ at Peddamudiyam in Jammalamadugu taluk of Kadapa district mentions two names of stone-cutters mentha *vaddavi* and bramma *vaddavi* at that time who was working digging a well and ditch. Another inscription⁹ at Pagadalapalli in Badvel taluk of Kadapa district mentions about artisans (kammaris).

EDUCATION:

Education always engaged a high place in the society. It was preliminary to one's starting his vocation as a student and to acquire *Vidya*. A much regimented life was laid down by the medieval digests for students receiving brahmanical education. By the time a boy attained the age of sixteen years, he was expected to be the master of all sciences and arts. It is held in the *nitisataka* that a man devoid of education and wisdom is nothing but a beast. Different institutions had put in their efforts to educate the people during the medieval period.

Epigraphs present *brahmapuris* as settlements of learned Brahmanas consisting of poets, philosophers, disputants and orators. Gifting of *brahmadeya* lands to the learned Brahmanas yielding sufficient produce, being exempted from the payment of taxes and fines was not merely a reward for learning, but an honorarium for imparting of their knowledge. Land grant to a single or a few Brahmanas is usually known as *bhattavrittis* and when a whole village was settled by a number of learned Brahmanas it was commonly

known as an *agrahara*. While the instruction in the *agrahara* was reveal to the study of the *Vedas* and other traditional Sanskrit learning, in the temples provision was made for the study of several branches of knowledge including the fine arts. The records inform us that the *ghadiya* was a Brahmin endowed with *yama*, *niyama* and *dharma* and well-versed in all the sastras.

Temples, brahmapuris and *agrahara* villages were the main centers of education. Rulers granted lands and some gifts for the maintenance of *Vidyamandirs* and *agraharas*. While the instruction in the *agraharas* was confined to the study of the *Vedas* and other traditional Sanskrit learning, in the temple provision was made for the study of several branches of knowledge including fine arts. A *matha* is a monastic establishment and was meant to propagate different religious creeds of Hinduism. Several teachers are mentioned in the Kakatiya inscriptions. Rulers granted lands for the maintenance of *Vidyamandirs*. An inscription¹⁰ at Pondaluru in Rajampet taluk of Kadapa district dated 1260 A.D. mentions that Ganapatideva's subordinate, Jannigadeva the ruler of Kayastha granted the villages Purundaluru in Pottapinadu included in Pakanadu of Adhirajendra Cholahamandala to his spiritual *guru* Santasivadesika of Abhinava Golakimatha of Sriparvata, for maintaining the *Vidyamandapa* (education institution) and feeding the *atithis* (guests) at Sivalingamatha. The deceased exposed *Vidyamandapa* under the control of Santasivadesika.

An inscription¹¹ from Itigullapadu in Badvel taluk of Kadapa district seems to record a gift of the village Mudamala in Sakali-sima to a Saiva *guru* named Santa Sivadesika of the Abhinava Golakimatha of Srisailam for maintaining Sivalimma *matha*, *Vidyamandapa* (education institution) and feeding the *atithis* (guests) by Jannigadeva, a Kayastha chief of Ganapatideva who bears the titles *Gandapendaru ariraya (bhayamkara)* and *mandalika (brahmarakshasa)*. Another inscription¹² at Somireddypalle in Badvel taluk of Kadapa district records the grant of the village Madanapalli in Siddhavata-sima in Sakali paya as *agrahaara* by Mahamandalesvara Gundayadeva Maharaja, renaming it as Jyotirajapura after Jyotiraja (the father of the donor), to his preceptor

(Guru) Srimat Aghora Sivacharya ayyagaru who is praised to have possessed great qualities of *yama*, *niyama* etc, and who bears the little of Raya-Raja guru (the preceptor of the Rayaraja).

The Saiva teachers are said to be experts in *Yoga* and have possessed the eight *siddhis*, viz. *anima*, *mahima*, *garima*, *laghima*, *prapti*, *prakamya*, *isvata* and *vasikarana*¹³. Many of their disciples donated grants to their teachers for their maintenance as well as for feeding the students, who were the residents of all educational institutions run by them.

ECONOMIC HISTORY:

. Agriculture dominated the economic life of the people in other parts of Andhradesa during this period. It was the main occupation of the rural population in the medieval period. The economic progress of the people depended very much on the rulers. The extension of agriculture received a major thrust from the state. More land was brought under cultivation until the majority of the people engaged in agriculture during the Kakatiya period. The kings and their subordinates encouraged the extension of agriculture by granting tax concessions to those who brought land under cultivation. In due course, the forests were cleared, villages founded, more lands cultivated and better irrigational facilities were provided.

To promote agriculture the Kakatias on special occasions granted villages rent free to the inhabitants themselves. Prataparudra appointed his son's subordinate, Gonkayareddi, to govern Gandikota and the Mulkinadu country. While so governing Gonkayareddi gave away the village of Gandikota rent free to its residents.

All lands were classified into wet and dry, according to the crops grown. A low lying land irrigated by means of water from a tank, canal, well etc. was called wet land or *nirunela*. Rice, sugarcane etc. were grown on such soils. In contrast, we have the *velipolamu* or *velichenu*. It was on comparatively high level, depending on rain. This type is now called dry land. Cotton, oil seeds etc. were grown on such soils. Garden crops like betel leaves, betel nuts, cocoanuts etc. depended on irrigated water. An extent of land fit to sow one putt of grain was called a *putti* or *khanduka* if the soil was dry, it was called *marturu* if it was wet.

IRRIGATION SYSTEM:

The rulers of his times took the necessity of digging of tanks on such a large scale seriously. The Kakatiya period witnessed great development in agriculture. The Kakatiya period witnessed more dynamic activity in the construction of irrigational works than the earlier times. During this period that we come across a number of Epigraphical references to the construction of artificial tanks, wells and canals.

Irrigational works may be classified into two types, natural and artificial. The natural sources of water have been through the rivers and rains. The artificial irrigation works were of three categories.

- (1) Wells including doruvu wells and river banks.
- (2) River-channels, rivulets, tanks and reservoirs or dams.
- (3) Streams and canals.

The people supported their efforts enthusiastically. Ambadeva, who had provisionally occupied Pottapinadu in the Kadapa district, carried out under the direction of his subordinate, Peddinayaka, a land survey of the division. The lands were measured and divided into various categories, and on the basis of their fertility taxes were levied and collected. The district seems to have made great advances in irrigation and other spheres during the Kakatiya rule. An epigraph¹⁴ at Attirala in Rajampet taluk of Kadapa district dated 1279 A.D reveals that Ghoderaya Gangadeva, the prime minister of Ambadeva had a river channel called “Rayasahasramallukaluva” dug at Lembaka and another canal named “Gandapendarakaluva” at Tadlapaka (Tallapaka) and tanks called Ambasamudram at Utukuru in the name of his master Obali (Bali). A number of villages called Ambapuramulu were constructed.

The residents of Pottapinadu on their part met together in the Parameswara temple at Attirala and “decided to raise one *madai* from every village in the district to construct an embankment on the south of the river Cheyyeru and prevent any possible danger from the floods to the temple of Parasurameswara”¹⁵. The Tripurantakam inscription refers Ambadeva built two tanks in the village of

Pedapulacheruvu¹⁶ and another tank named as Ganapasamudram at Ganapapuram¹⁷. Another epigraph¹⁸ of Ambadeva at Brahmanapalli in Siddhavatam taluk of Kadapa district dated 1290 A.D records the construction of a tank at Ravulakolanu and the demarcation of its boundaries at the instance of the minister, Mahapradhani Goderaya Gangadevayamgru.

The Kakatiyas introduced a new system of tenure called *Dasabandham*, according to which an inam or copyhold was granted to a person for repairing, maintaining or constructing a tank on condition of paying in money or kind one-tenth of its produce to the king.

TAXE:

There were many sources of revenue. Land tax was one of the primary sources of the income to the government. Taxes were collected by regular officials. The rulers of all times are entitled to collect taxes from the people, as remuneration for the protection they provide to the latter. Generally, the taxes were collected in cash and kind. All sources of earning and items that came under property professions like lands, cattle, profession, industry, trade and a number of miscellaneous items as ferry, road, marriage and all kinds of commercial activities are subjected to taxation. An inscription¹⁹ from Varikunta in Siddhavatam taluk of Kadapa district dated 1304 AD registers the grant of the village Varikunta in Sakali-*bhumi* with all *Sada*, *sumkana* and *shashtaya* as *sarvanamya* for the *anga bhogas* of the god Siddhanathadeva, the diety of the abode called the southern gateway of Sriparvata by Mahamandalesvara Tripurarideva of Kayastas. The inscription²⁰ from Nandaluru dated 1309 A.D during the reign of Prataparudra registering the remission of taxes like *sunkamu*, *sadamu* and *avanaya* levied till then in five villages of Nandaluru, Adupuru, Mandaram, Hastavaram and Mannuru.

A similar proclamation was issued by Prataparudra’s palace gate-keeper Erryalenka. He remitted all the unlawful collections like *kanika* and *gadduga mada* on temple *vrittis* and the *putti-pahindi*, *putti-koluvu*, *upakriti*, *Sunkamu*, *pasula pullari* and *kanika* on the *vrittis* of the mahajanas in the 22 villages of his *nayamkaram*²¹. The word *kanika* stands for a present on customary payment to the king or his officials. *putti-pahindi* means a fee paid in cash on the

produce of a *putti* of land. *putti-koluvu* is a measured quantity of grain to be presented on the produce of a *putti* of land. *upakriti* signifies a payment consecrated by long use not only to the king but also to his officials, in acknowledgement of some benevolent.

The inscriptions also refer the tax *kanika* on agricultural lands. *Kanika* tax was exempted on temple lands. *Kanika* and *Katnamu* were paid in cash when either the king visited the village. These taxes were paid by the land holders. Another inscription²² at Chanduvayi in Siddhahavata taluk of Kadapa district dated 1319 A.D refers itself to the prosperous reign of Mahamandalesvara Kakatiya Prataparudradeva. While the king's subordinate (*mahapradhani*) Juttayalenka was administering pottapi-*bhumi*, sakali-*bhumi*, and mulkinati-*bhumi* his younger brother Rudraya-*lemka* stationed at Kadapa in Mulkinadu visited (the temple) on the occasion of the lunar eclipse and made a gift of all income like *rachasto triyamu*, *ari*, *goru* (or *koru*), *pannulu kanikalu* due from within the four boundaries of Chanduvaya village including in Sakali-*bhumi* for the midday offerings to the god Siddhanathdeva the presiding deity of the southern gate of Sriparvata.

Generally, taxes in kind were paid to the government in two installments, one in the month of *kartika* (October-November) and the other in the month of *vaisakha* (April-May) evidently being the two main crop seasons. The officers of the kings went around the villages to collect the government share of grain from the people. The government share of house holders income in kind was called *putti-koluchu* and that of their share in cash, *putti-pahidi*. The tax on wet land was paid both in cash and kind²³.

Sunkamu is a term of broad import. It is used in inscriptions to denote taxes on duties, exports and imports, customs duties collected on articles of Merchandise brought to and taken from the *petas* or market towns or places, and excise duties. The tolls, either customs duties or other, collected on articles of trade, including salt, were farmed out to merchant guilds or associations comprising members of the trading community like the *Vira-balanja samaya*, *Nanadesi*, *Ubhaya-Nanadesi*, and the *Ayyavali* guild of merchants, on payment of a fixed sum to the government. It is not known whether the right

of collecting taxes was sold by auction, or the length of the term. The tax farmers had their own branches in different localities, and their own officials, office establishments, and accountants to keep records of their transactions, receipts, and remissions in the course of the collection of tolls and duties. The tax collectors were called *sunkarulu* and their accountants' *sunkaranalu* or *Sunkadhikari*. The *Sunkadhikari* might be responsible for remitting the levies to the royal treasury. *Sunkadhikari*, an officer incharge of commercial taxes was stationed. Probably with the common consent of the members of the local branch, the money collected as duty on certain articles of trade in the locality was sometimes bestowed as a gift for charitable or religious purposes such as the setting up of light before gods in temples and other places. The duty collected on sales affected in the *peta* on articles of trade was called *pemta sunkamu* or *magama*. The guilds of the tax collectors were held allowed full freedom to manage their own affairs without any interference by the government or its officials²⁴.

The taxes like *Angadi*, *ganuvula* (oil mills), *Aridhilavadi*, *Kanika*, *Addavattu sunkamu*, *peruka-edla Sunkamu*, *Appanamu*, *Ellari*, *Revasunkamu*, *Pangayamu*, *Thota Sunkamu*, *pasulapullari*, (grazing tax) *darisenamu*, *pendli ayamu*, *uppu-sunkamu*, *yeda-sunkamu*, *Darisenamu*, *Bogarapannu*, etc. were imposed in other parts of Andhradesa in Kakatiya period. But these taxes may be collected from the people of Kadapa region.

TRADE AND COMMERCE:

Trades both inland and foreign were carried by Vaisya (*Settis* or *Komatis*) community in the Kakatiya age. Agricultural produce had to move from one place to another place depending upon the needs. Naturally, trade flourished, although the commodities of trade were limited mostly to the agricultural produce and its accessories, hence, trade guilds were formed. The regulation of trade was also one of the recognized functions of the state market prices were to be regulated by the king, and by such a rate, the sale and purchase were to be made every day. An inscription²⁵ at Tangaturu in Rajampeta taluk of Kadapa district dated 1315 A.D refers the king Prataparudra was ruling the earth from Orugallu-pattana and his nayamkara namely

Gonkaya, gave permission to the merchants *salumula-samasta-pekkamdrui* to make a gift of tools due from them to the god Siddhanathadeva of Tangaturu as *magama*. The rates of levies are mentioned with respect to *perukas*, ox-borne *perukas* and *simas* the meaning of which is not clear. Merchant guilds were organized during the Kakatiya rule. The merchant guilds, the Nanadesis and Ainnurruvar, etc. continued to function.

To conclude on the basis of epigraphical evidences the Kadapa region was developed under the rule of the Kayastha chiefs like their overlords the Kayasthas protect the social order based on Varnas. They protect the Varna system. Inscriptions did not mention about Sati system in Kadapa region. Womwn were not forced to perform sati. But the condition of widow was vary miserable. Mathas and temples were the educational institutions. Land revenue was the main income to the government. Several taxes were collected during this period. For the promotion of cultivation they provided artificial irrigation facilities. Tanks were built in Kadapa region during this period

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Speech and Text Language of Telugu - A Study

- Chigicherla Thirupal Reddy

ABSTRACT

Introduction: This paper is related to the Telugu speech corpus a practical research done by me. While I was working on speech segmentation of Telugu speech text, I had found some differences between the written text of Telugu and the Telugu spoken Language. This paper is limited to the pronunciation differences, replacements, Loss of vowel lengthening and incomplete pronunciations, mispronunciations. Some of these differences are limited to one or two speakers only.

(a) Pronunciation differences: No native language speaker is perfect in pronouncing each and every form as it is in the written text. It is very difficult for a speaker to read a written text as it is. During such an attempt the speaker or the reader makes many pronunciation differences without knowing himself. Such pronunciation differences can be discovered by a keen observation. Some of such pronunciation differences are given here.

I. Pronouncing aspirated sounds as unaspirated sounds: Almost all the aspirated forms of Telugu are pronounced as unaspirated. This was the first difference noticed by me during Telugu speech segmentation in almost all the speakers.

i. $k^h \rightarrow k$ ii. $g^h \rightarrow g$ iii. $c^h \rightarrow c$ iv. $t^h \rightarrow t$ v. $d^h \rightarrow d$
vi. $th \rightarrow t$ vii. $dh \rightarrow d$ viii. $p^h \rightarrow p/f$ ix. $b^h \rightarrow b$

Due to the pronunciation of aspirated sounds as unaspirated sounds there

will be semantical differences in some conditions like 'thaggulu' (thieves) if we pronounce it as 'taggulu' (downs) but it can be traced out by the context.

(b) Replacements: Many written forms of Telugu are replaced by some other forms

while speaking. This can be treated as personal difference because it was noticed only in one or two speakers. Here are some of such replacements.

i. $\bar{a} \rightarrow h$ ii. $k \rightarrow g$ iii. $c \rightarrow s/s$ iv. $t \rightarrow t$ v. $t^h \rightarrow d^h/d/t$
vi. $d \rightarrow d/t/t$ vii. $b^h \rightarrow p$ viii. $\acute{s} \rightarrow s$ ix. $s \rightarrow \acute{s}$ x. $s \rightarrow s$

(d) Loss of vowel lengthening: This was noticed only in the last form of the sentence endings. The long vowel is pronounced as short vowel. Here are some of such forms. This can also be treated as personal pronunciation difference because it was noticed in one or two speakers only.

(i) Incomplete pronunciation: The final consonant of the sentence is partly pronounced but here there is no loss in the vowel lengthening.

(ii) Loss of vowel lengthening and incomplete pronunciation: In the last form of the sentence endings the long vowel is pronounced as short vowel and the final consonant of the sentence is partly pronounced although it is written completely in the written text.

(c) Mispronunciations: Beyond all this some mispronunciations were also noticed.

This can be purely treated as personal pronunciation difference because this was

noticed only in one or two speakers.

Conclusion: Even today the teaching of pronunciation is not systematic in Telugu. The language teacher is always concentrating on the teaching of the alphabet. Though the student learns the alphabet, he doesn't have any proper understanding about the pronunciation, or the phonemic representation of the script symbols.

The mother tongue speaker is greatly influenced by the foreign language. The contacts between different societies and countries have

been expanding rapidly. In this process, people of different languages meet each other and exchange information each other. With the result many words enter into the languages in contact. In this way about 22 (Vowels-7 and Consonants-15) extra symbols were created in Telugu to accommodate the Sanskrit words.

The consonant symbols, which are created for Sanskrit words have distinct pronunciation in Sanskrit and this is retained in the cautious reading of a Telugu scholar. But the retention might be less than 30% even in the careful speech also. So the pronunciation of all the borrowed phonemes of Sanskrit is not properly taught to the learners at the school level, since it involves some technical description and requires some maturity of mind.

Many teachers do not make clear distinction between aspirated and unaspirated sounds. There must be proper training to the language teachers in the teaching of the alphabet. The mistakes may generally be seen as speaking short vowels as long vowels, aspirated as unaspirated consonants and alveolar for palatals and retroflex sounds, and vice versa.

Source: Telugu Speech data LCDCIL, CIIL, Mysore.

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The Margin Stays Decentered: A Dalit Appraisal of Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*

“...power will remain the guarded possession of the highborn, striving to ensure that an outcaste remains a lowly outcaste. Paralyzed by the system, the outcaste will never dare to question it.”¹

- I.A. Pani

Abstract

*For millennia, dalits have been kept beyond the pale of human development. Indian society makes every effort to keep the marginalized beyond the margins forever. When such is the treatment meted out to one sixth of the Indian population, it is but natural to find expression in the literature of the country. One of the very few literary works in English that deal with dalit themes is Arundati Roy's *The God of Small Things*. Here an attempt is made in this article to put in juxtaposition the following contrasts: living style at Mammchi's house vs. appalling living conditions at Vellya Paapen's hovel; educational and globetrotting opportunities enjoyed by high-borns like Chacko vis-à-vis lack of them in dalit castes despite their innate talent as in the case of Velutha; and opportunities of livelihood available to those on the top rung of the caste ladder and the absence of such breaks in case of dalits. Towards the conclusion, Arundati Roy's handling of the relation between Rahel and Estha is discussed. Their union symbolizes the incestuous nature of the exclusivist caste system and the offshoot of which is the inbreeding and the unhealthy progeny.*

The epigraph to George Orwell's novel *Keep the Aspidochelone* talks about the futility of having any number of virtues or supernatural powers without possessing money. In Indian milieu, one may have all the desirable virtues enumerated in the epigraph and money to boot, but if one is not a highborn all the desirable trappings will be of little avail. Such is the sway the caste system holds on the lives of people in India. A dalit's plight can never be expressed adequately in words. He/she is oppressed endlessly and every effort is made to keep him/her away from the center in a marginalized condition forever. The caste system condemns the dalits to carry on an existence of invisibility and inconsequence though their contribution to India's predominantly agricultural economy cannot be called inconsequential by any stretch of imagination. Possessing no landholdings of their own, dalits eke out their living as mere farmhands and, as they consist of one-sixth of Indian population, their contribution to the agricultural economy of the country cannot be something to be sneered at.

Arundhati Roy in her Booker Prize winning novel, *The God of Small Things*, portrays a poignant picture of how dalits are pushed away beyond the margins of society into oblivion and not infrequently into death. The leitmotiv that has been woven into the fabric of the novel is: "*he left no foot prints.*"² It describes aptly the dalit condition in Indian society wherein they are denied social visibility.

The title character Velutha is a dalit and his name in Malayalam means white colour. In reality Velutha is dark skinned and his name is a sarcastic reference to his skin colour. This goes to show that dalits get no decent names but only derogatory cognomens in most of the cases. Arundhati Roy through the character of Velutha shows how it is futile for dalits to be born with intrinsic worth and natural skills. Their accidental birth into a despised low caste deprives them of proper education in proper schools. In Velutha's case, only on persuasion from Mammachi, Vellya Paapen sent him to the Untouchables' School founded by Mammachi's father-in-law Punnyan Kunju. Even as a boy, his abilities effloresced and he was like a little magician:

He could make intricate toys-tiny windmills, rattles, minute jewel boxes out of dried palm reeds; he could carve perfect boats out of tapioca stems and figurines on cashew nuts (74).

On entering adolescence, he learnt carpentry from a foreign carpenter and became an accomplished carpenter with a "*distinctly German design sensibility*" (75). Added to his credit as a carpenter are the creations of "*a Bauhaus dining table with twelve dining chairs in rosewood and a traditional Bavarian chaise longue in lighter jack*" (75). He got many other achievements to his credit the most important of which was the designing and building of "*the sliding-folding door that later became all the rage in Ayemenem*" (75).

Nature endowed Velutha with other abilities too. Apart from carpentry skills, he had got a perfect understanding of machines:

He mended radios, clocks, water-pumps. He looked after the plumbing and all the electrical gadgets in the house...Velutha knew more about the machines in the factory than anyone else (75).

In fact, as far as technological aspects of Paradise Pickles and Preserves were concerned Velutha must be considered as the most important of the founding fathers of the pickle factory since it was he who reassembled and set up the Bharat bottle-sealing machine. In a way, he was the Engineer-in-Chief of the pickle factory because:

It was Velutha who maintained the new canning machine and the automatic pineapple slicer. Velutha who oiled the water-pump and the small diesel generator. Velutha who built the aluminium sheet-lined, easy-to-clean cutting surfaces, and the ground-level furnaces for boiling fruit (75-76).

In spite of all these skills, Velutha had to be paid not his rightful full salary but via-media wages only. Mammachi could not afford to let resentment crop up among the other Touchable factory workers

according to whom Untouchables were not meant to be carpenters howsoever competent they might prove themselves to be:

To keep the others happy, and since she knew that nobody else would hire him as a carpenter, Mammachi paid Velutha less than she would a Touchable carpenter but more than she would a Paravan. (77).

This shows the typical uppercaste attitude to the issue of dalit livelihood. They feel that dalits should be kept in a state of permanent deprivation notwithstanding the skills exhibited by the dalits. Velutha's contribution to the prosperity of the Ayemenem house is analogous to the contribution of dalits in general to the prosperity of India's agricultural economy till the advent of farm machinery. The Ayemenem house and the pickle factory on which the Ayemenem house depended financially remained in a state of good health as long as Velutha's low-priced services were available. The moment they ceased on account of his state-sponsored death, the pickle factory "*slumped softly to the floor without so much as a murmur.*" (281)

Notwithstanding their native intelligence, dalits stay marginalized in respect of educational opportunities. It is considered even safe for a dalit to remain untouched by the reading and writing skills. This Arundhati Roy shows through Kuttappen who unlike his brother Velutha was considered a good, safe Paravan just because he could neither read nor write. On the other hand, highborns are afforded umpteen opportunities to get first-class education and sometimes in educational institutions beyond the borders of the country. The author makes it a point to highlight this aspect by showing many of the highborn characters having their education in foreign lands: Chacko studied in Oxford; Baby Kochamma, at the University of Rochester in America; and Ammu's father-in-law, at Cambridge. Not only in respect of educational opportunities, but also in respect of employment opportunities too upper caste people enjoy a privilege which Arundhati Roy presents in the novel in a successful fashion. Chacko, after his failed attempts at being a college lecturer first and as a pickles baron next, conveniently migrated to Canada to try his

hand at antiques business and to fail. Rahel's father Baba could relocate to Australia and get there a job as Chief of Security in a ceramics factory. Rahel herself could live for sometime in the US because of her short-lived marriage with Larry McCaslin. But in contrast, dalits are confined to the locality of their birth without much educational or employment opportunities. With all his limited education and not so limited skills, it was only up to Trivandram that Velutha could traverse, that too, only because he had been enticed by the communist ideology.

There is a vast difference in the abodes and living conditions of dalits and highborns. Arundhati Roy touches upon this aspect by giving suitable descriptions of Vellya Paapen's hovel and of the Ayemenem House. Their poverty forces dalits to live in small crudely built dwellings and for the same reason, "*Velutha, Vellya Paapen and Kuttappen lived in a little laterite hut, downriver from the Ayemenem house*" (78). The hut and its door were so small that even tiny children like Estha and Rahel could not walk into it with their heads held up. "*Small as they were, they had to stoop a little to go in*" (207). Arundhati Roy uses the image of the wasp very effectively to accentuate the smallness of the dalits' dwelling. The wasp, which devoutly followed Rahel from her afternoon nap in the bedroom to the door of the hut via mangosteen tree - under which she found a boat - and via the river, stopped short of entering the hut and instead chose to wait "*outside on the lamp*" (207) only because the hut was too crowded for it. The only embellishments found in the hut were the

"things from the Ayemenem House that had either been given to them or salvaged from the rubbish bin. Rich things in a poor house. A clock that didn't work, a flowered tin waste-paper basket. Pappachi's old riding boots (brown, with green mould) with the cobbler's trees still in them. Biscuit tins with sumptuous pictures of English castles and ladies with bustles and ringlets" (209).

On the other hand, the Ayemenem House was a sprawling house with a front garden the charge of which was given to Baby Kochamma

on her return from her studies in the subject of Ornamental Gardening at the University of Rochester in America. She raised there “a fierce, bitter garden that people came all the way from Kottayam to see” (26). In the spacious verandahs oil paints were hung. The house was equipped with all the desirable varieties of furniture. Owing to Velutha’s creativity, the house enjoyed even the distinction of possessing the latest varieties of trappings like sliding-folding doors. To complete its appearance of opulence, there was a skyblue Plymouth parked in front of the Ayemenem House.

Arundhati Roy in her narrative of the tragic tale of Velutha shows how both “state control” and “state power” work against the dalit interests. Peter Barry in his book *Beginning Theory* discusses Althusser’s ideas of “state control” and “state power.” He says that “state power is maintained by what Althusser terms ‘repressive structures’, which are institutions like the law courts, prisons, the police force, and the army, which operate, in the last analysis, by external force.”³ He goes on to explain that

the power of the state is also maintained more subtly, by seeming to secure the internal consent of its citizens, using what Althusser calls ‘ideological structures’ or ‘State ideological apparatuses.’ These are such groupings as political parties, schools, the media, churches, the family, and art (including literature) which foster an ideology - a set of ideas and attitudes - which is sympathetic to the aims of the state and the political status quo (Barry, 164).

Vellya Paapen’s reaction to Velutha’s behaviour and to his affair with Ammu serves as the quintessence of the influence of Ideological State Apparatuses. From times immemorial dalits themselves as well as highborns have been conditioned to believe that only a submissive and cowering type of behaviour is permitted to dalits. When an odd dalit goes against that conditioning, it raises everyone’s hackles. Even his/her father is likely to frown on such behaviour. Vellya Paapen disapproved of Velutha’s air of self-assurance though he was unable to state it in specific terms owing to his muddle-headedness which also emanates from conditioning only:

Perhaps it was just a lack of hesitation. An unwarranted assurance. In the way he walked. The way he held his head. The quiet way he offered suggestions without being asked. Or the quiet way in which he disregarded suggestions without appearing to rebel (76).

Vellya Paapen was sure that these qualities were perfectly acceptable in Touchables but in a dalit they would only be construed as insolence and would inevitably invite trouble. He cautioned his son to the best of his ability against this undesirable-in-a-dalit quality of self-assurance and then held his peace. But when he found his son having an affair with the daughter of his “Modalali” herself, he was terror-struck. The influence of the Ideological State Apparatuses was such that he simply proceeded thoughtlessly to Mammachi to tell her of the affair and to offer to take action against his son.

Believing in superstitions is also a part of conditioning by Ideological State Apparatuses. It was a rainy day when Velutha’s father in a drunken state approached Mammachi with a confessional blurting out about his son’s affair. Though it was December, it was raining as though it was June. Vellya Paapen was frightened that the torrential rain had come down to punish him and so he went to the kitchen door of the Ayemenem House to make a clean breast of it:

To a superstitious man, the relentlessness of that unseasonal downpour could have seemed like an omen from an angry god. To a drunk superstitious man, it could have seemed like the beginning of the end of the world. Which, in a way, it was (254).

Vellya Paapen first recounted how her family had helped his family for generations. Even before the communists thought of it, Reverend E. John Ipe had given his father, Kelan, title to the land on which their hut now stood. How Mammachi herself had paid for his artificial eye and how she had sponsored Velutha’s education and how she had employed him after his education. Mammachi was pleased to listen to these bardic stories recounted by him but was

annoyed by his drunkenness. After making it clear how he and his family were indebted to her family, he told her that he had come to tell her about the affair between Ammu and Velutha even before the news reached her through someone else. *"As a Paravan and a man with mortgaged body parts, he considered it his duty"* (256). He even offered to *"kill his son. To tear him limb from limb"* (256). After his mission of informing Mammachi about the affair was over, he waited outside his hovel with a weapon for Velutha's arrival. Such was the grip of Ideological State Apparatuses even over fathers which Arundhati Roy has brought out so successfully.

Another instance of the operation of Ideological State Apparatuses is the declining of help by K.N.M. Pillai when Velutha approached him with his problem. In spite of his political ideology which claimed to champion the cause of the poor and the downtrodden, Pillai was totally inaccessible to Velutha in his hour of crisis. Though Pillai claimed to be intellectually wedded to the ideology of communism, he was unable to break free of the Ideological State Apparatuses, in other words, his conditioning with regard to dalits. He simply advised Chacko to send Velutha somewhere else since he was receiving complaints from other Touchable workers of Paradise Pickles and Preserves. Though Velutha was the only card-holding member of his party, Pillai had to side with the Touchable workers under the influence of his conditioning. He even cited the example of his wife:

See her, for example. Mistress of this house. Even she will never allow Paravans and all that into her house. Never. Even I cannot persuade her. My own wife. Of course inside the house she is Boss' (278).

He went on to buttress his thesis on caste issues:

But see, Comrade, any benefits that you give him, naturally others are resenting it. They see it as a partiality. After all, whatever job he does, carpenter or electrician or whateveritis, for them he is just a Paravan. It is a conditioning they have from birth. This I myself have told them is wrong. But frankly speaking. Comrade. Change is one thing. Acceptance is another. You should be cautious. Better for him you send him off... (279).

It was an irony that he was talking about a conditioning from which he was unable to free himself. When Velutha faced him with an explanation of his problem, he managed to stay inaccessible though he was physically in front of him:

Velutha heard his own voice beat back at him as though it had hit a wall. He tried to explain what had happened, but he could hear himself slipping into incoherence. The man he was talking to was small and far away, behind a wall of glass (287).

In actuality, instead of making an attempt to find a solution to Velutha's problem, Pillai launched a chiding act against Velutha. Party was not constituted to support workers' indiscipline in their private life. He argued that it was not in the Party's interest to take up such matters. He went on mouthing incomprehensible generalities. Arundhati Roy's concluding words about the meeting of Velutha and Pillai serve to show how human nature is a prisoner of this conditioning perpetuated by the Ideological State Apparatuses: *"And there it was again. Another religion turned against itself. Another edifice constructed by the human mind, decimated by human nature"* (287).

According to Althusser, the police force is one of the 'repressive structures' which function to maintain the political status quo. This the author shows through the character of Inspector Thomas Mathew. As a police officer, it was his duty to protect the downtrodden. But in connivance with Baby Kochamma and Comrade Pillai, the inspector made arrangements for brutal killing of Velutha just to inoculate *"a community against an outbreak"* (309). A community which is prohibited by Love Laws from making love to members of upper castes. When Baby Kochamma approached the inspector with a fake complaint of molestation against the dalit Velutha, the first thought that crossed his mind was about the necessity of protecting the Touchable wombs:

Inspector Thomas Mathew, receding behind his bustling Air India moustache, understood perfectly.

**He had a Touchable wife, two Touchable daughters
- whole Touchable generations waiting in their
Touchable wombs...(259)**

Even when Ammu approached him with her twins to clarify about the innocence of Velutha, he refused to take any statement stating that he knew what he had to know and that he would not take statements from *vesyas* (prostitutes) or their illegitimate children. The only thing on his mind was “*to instill order into a world gone wrong*” (260), a world that had gone wrong on caste issues. He did not mind to put to death people in order to set the world right. Before sending his men to attack Velutha, he took one important precaution. He sensed that Velutha was a communist party member and so he parleyed with the party leader Pillai and took a ‘no objection certificate’ of sorts from him and then only he proceeded to impose the death penalty on the ‘erring’ dalit. They could not see eye to eye on any single issue because Pillai was a communist whereas the inspector was a Congress sympathizer. But when it came to teaching lessons to dalits, they were in perfect agreement with one another:

They understood each other perfectly. They were both men whom childhood had abandoned without a trace. Men without curiosity. Without doubt. Both in their own way truly, terrifyingly adult. They looked out at the world and never wondered how it worked, because they knew. They worked it. They were mechanics who serviced different parts of the same machine (262).

Thus the state structures of political parties or the police force let down the dalits very frequently.

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One more significant aspect of the caste system that the author deals with is the question of inbreeding. “*An understanding of genetics is necessary for the diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of hereditary diseases and the breeding of plants and*

animals.” This science of breeding of plants and animals advises against inbreeding in humans. Breeding within the caste is also one sort of inbreeding which will have adverse side effects. Arundhati Roy highlights this issue too. Mammachi herself - who disagreed to Chacko's comments on the ill effects of inbreeding - said that madness ran in her family: Pathil Ammai would take off her clothes and run along the river singing to the fish, Thampi Chachen would search his excreta every morning with a knitting needle for a gold tooth he had swallowed years ago, and Dr. Muthachen had to be removed from his own wedding in a sack. According to Chacko, this high incidence of insanity among Syrian Christians was “*the price they had to pay for Inbreeding*” (223). On another occasion, “*Chacko said that Estha and Rahel were indecently healthy. And so was Sophie Mol. He said it was because they didn't suffer from Inbreeding like most Syrian Christians. And Parsees*” (61). Obviously the message the author is trying to give is that inbreeding is something that should be discouraged. It is also suggested through the sexual encounter between Rahel and Estha that the exclusivist caste system and the marriages-within-the-caste forced by this system are in a way incestuous. Rahel and Estha who were separated after Sophie Mol's death met again after many years. All these years they had suffered from the excruciating pain of guilt for the death of Velutha. Ultimately when they came face to face with one another, they found communication broken down. They could share their hideous grief by breaking Love Laws only. Through this incestuous encounter between the twins the author is trying to show the incestuous nature of caste system the offshoot of which is inbreeding and unhealthy progeny.

Thus Arundhati Roy portrays a poignant picture of the caste system and how it operates against the people who occupy the lower rungs of the caste ladder. How the Touchables always ill-treat their binary opposites of Untouchables and try to keep them away from the center in every aspect of human life. And how the marginalized stay decentered on a permanent basis as a result of the Touchable machinations.

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CONTRIBUTORS

1. **Dr.M.P.Terence Samuel**
Assistant Professor, Dept. of Philosophy and Comparative Religion, Viswa-Bharathi, Santiniketan, West Bengal.
2. **Dr. E. Dileep**
Assistant Professor, Dept. of English, Dravidian University, Kuppam.
3. **Dr.K.Shyamala**
Assistant Professor, Dept. of Folklore & Tribal Studies, Dravidian University, Kuppam.
4. **S.Manoharan**
Central Institute of Classical Tamil, Chennai, Tamilnadu.
5. **Dr. Ch.B.Jacob**
Associate Professor, Dept. of English, Kottam Karunakara Reddy Institute of Technology, Kurnool.
6. **Dr. Syed Hussain Mian**
Junior Lecturer in English, Govt. Junior College, Alur, Kurnool.
7. **Dr. Chinnam Rajaram**
Academic Consultant, Dept. of Telugu, Vikrama Simhapuri University, Nellore.
8. **K.Narasimhulu**
Ph.D.Scholar, Dept. of History, Archaeology and Culture, Dravidian University, Kuppam.
9. **Dr.Chigicherla Thirupal Reddy**
Academic Consultant, Dept. of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati.
10. **I.A. Pani**
Government Polytechnic College, Kavali, Nellore.

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