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Volume 7, Issue 3, September 2020

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Quondam in the Treatises of Tacitus

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Dagaare-English Code Switching: An Analytical Survey



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Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER



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Comparison between the Grammar of Greek Sapphic and Tamil Seppal Songs

By D Pugazhendhi*

Sapphic stanza is a peculiar poetic form in Greek literary world. It gives more important to the structure. This form was tried in many languages; but this form was grammatically explained only at the later period. Resemblance with this format is also seen in Tamil literary world, and the grammar book also belongs to the same period as that of Sapphic stanza. So the grammar that is explained in this Tamil grammar book is compared with the grammar of Sapphic stanza. The comparison is made in different perspectives such as the letter count, light and heavy syllables, formats of the syllable, sequences between two syllables, syllable formation in a line, the length of each line and the lyric. It highlights that the Greek Sapphic stanza seems to resemble one type of seppal songs which are mentioned in the grammar book. Comparing the Greek literature with the grammar book of same era will lead to better understanding and clarify the concepts that were misunderstood and spread by the later critics.

Keywords: comparison, grammar, Sapphic, seppal, structure.

Introduction

The Greek literature includes prose, poetry and dramas. In the Greek field of poetry comprises of various form of poems among which the Sapphic stanza stands unique from others in its forms. This Sapphic stanza originated from the Greek poetess Sappho of Lesbos who lived sometime around 630 BC. It was written in vernacular form of Greek, the Lesbian-Aeolic dialect. In the 9th century A.D., the poems of Sappho disappeared. After that, only in the 16th century Sappho's poems regenerated in the literary world. Apart from all obstacles Sapphic poems and their stanzas still embrace a special place in the literary world.

Sappho in Greek Literary World

Sappho, the founder of the sapphic songs has some remarkable place in the literary world of the Greek. According to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Atlantic Essays, 1871, Sappho is represented as “divinely tongued” or “spoke like gods.”

“Out of a long list of Greek poetesses there were seven women who were, as a poem in the Greek Anthology says, “divinely tongued” or “spoke like gods.” Of these Sappho was the admitted chief. Among the Greeks “the poet” meant Homer, and “the poetess” equally designated her. “There flourished in those days,” said Strabo, writing a little before our era, “Sappho, a wondrous creature; for we know not any woman to have appeared, within recorded time, who was in the least to be compared with her in respect to poesy.”¹

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¹Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Atlantic Essays, 1871.

The distinctive feature in Sapphic form created interest for numerous poets from various languages to experiment and try this form. To mention some are the Greek poet Alcaeus, the Roman poet Catullus and Horace and the English poet Algernon Charles Swinburne. Since Sapphic stanza gives much importance to the form, it can very easily be categorised by the form. There are also evidences to show that this unique form created interest among poets to try-out them in different languages like the Greek, Latin, Polish, English and Chinese. Some of the evidences to show this are, one Greek sapphic poem, one among the three Sapphic Poems which was tried by the Chinese poetess of 19 century, two Latin sapphic songs, Wu Tsao, one sapphic poem in Polish and one sapphic song in English.

Figure 1. Sapphic Songs in Different Languages

GREEK SAPPHIC SONGS		Chinese
φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν ἔμμεν' ὄνηρ, ὅττις ἐνάντιός τοι ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἄδυ φωνεί- σας ὑπακούει		严复曾在《天演论》讲到：译事三难乃信、达、雅。“信”是指翻译要准确，“达”是指不拘泥于原文，“雅”是指语句要得体适当。此句翻译可谓“信达雅”具备矣。
	Latin	Latin
Ille mi par esse deo videtur, ille, si fas est, superare divos, qui sedens adversus identiden spectat et audit		Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum semper urgendo neque, dum procellas cautus horrescis, nimium premendo litus iniquum.
	Catullus	- Carmina, Od. 2.10, Horace
	Polish	English
Nieszczęściu kwoli a swojej żalości, Która mię prawie przejmuję do kości, Lutnią i wdzięczny rym porzucić mus Ledwe nie duszę.		All the night sleep came not upon my eyelids, Shed not dew, nor shook nor unclosed a feather, Yet with lips shut close and with eyes of iron Stood and beheld me.
		- Algernon Charles Swinburne

This Sapphic stanza is also found in the Tamil literature in a form very similar to this.

TAMIL

வாடை நலிய வடிக்கண்ணாள் தோள்நசைஇ
ஓடை மழகளிற்றான் உள்ளான்கொல் - கோடல்
முகையோடு அலமர முற்றுளரி போல்பொங்கிப்
பகையோடு பாசறை உளான்.

This Tamil poetic form has a very specific name called the Seppal songs. The Tamil word Seppal also has phonetic resemblance with the Greek word Sapphic. It is also called as *venba* (literal meaning white stanza means to represent purity) in

Tamil, meaning that this form is unadulterated and pure which means that this form does not allow even a tiny piece of other forms be mixed with it. So there is a necessity to compare the grammar of these forms of two different languages that are spoken by people of geographically far-off places.

The Grammar of Greek Sapphic Stanza

The Sapphic poems are related with the music. There was no evidence of any grammar or linguistic book or rules with which one could understand the grammar of the Sapphic stanza found available that belonged to the same era. In this regard, a Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities that belonged to 1890 explains the problems behind this issue.

“The existing remains of ancient music consist of three “hymns,” none of them probably earlier than the middle of the second century A.D., and a few fragments of instrumental music (apparently of the nature of exercises) preserved by an unknown writer of uncertain date [see MUSICA]. These, though they furnish some important data, are yet too fragmentary and too late to throw much light on the rhythms of the classical period of Greek music. Of the writers on rhythm whose works have been at all preserved, the first in order of time and importance is Aristoxenus (fourth century B.C.). Though he lived more than a century later than the time at which Greek poetry and music attained their highest development, he was still thoroughly acquainted with the music of that time; but, unfortunately, his rhythmical works are preserved only in a fragmentary condition. The writings of later theorists are chiefly valuable in so far as they are based on Aristoxenus.”²

The grammar related with Sappho songs which existed in 630 BC., was available only in 400 BC., through Aristoxenus; but his explanation was only about the Greek music. Though it is related with the music in poems, it does not deal with the poem in totality. So, there is a need to explore for a grammarian who has mastery with only the poems that can be sung with music. Here the words of Plato shall be considered.

[400β]

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ μετὰ Δάμωνος
βουλευσόμεθα, τίνες τε ἀνελευθερίας καὶ
ὑβρεως ἢ μανίας καὶ ἄλλης κακίας πρέπουσαι
βάσεις, καὶ τίνες τοῖς ἐναντίοις λεπτέον
ῥυθμούς;/ οἶμαι δέ με ἀκηκοέναι οὐ σαφῶς
ἐνόπλιον τέ τινα ὀνομάζοντος αὐτοῦ σύνθετον
καὶ δάκτυλον καὶ ἠρωϊόν γε, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως
διακοσμοῦντος καὶ ἴσον ἄνω καὶ κάτω τιθέντος,
εἰς βραχὺ τε καὶ μακρὸν γιγνόμενον, καί, ὡς ἐγὼ
οἶμαι, ἴαμβον καὶ τιν' ἄλλον τροχαῖον ὀνόμαζε,
μήκη δὲ καὶ...

[400b]

“Well,” said I, “on this point we will take counsel with Damon,¹ too, as to which are the feet appropriate to illiberality, and insolence or madness or other evils, and what rhythms we must leave for their opposites; and I believe I have heard him obscurely speaking of a foot that he called the enoplios, a composite foot, and a dactyl and an heroic foot, which he arranged, I know not how, to be equal up and down in the interchange of long and short and unless I am mistaken he used the term iambic,³ and there was another foot that he called the trochaic,³

²Rhythmica, A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1890).

³Plato, Republic.

[400ξ]βραχύτητας προσήπτε. καὶ τούτων τισὶν οἶμαι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἤττον ψέγειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς αὐτούς—ἦτοι συναμφοτέρον τι: οὐ γὰρ ἔχω λέγειν —ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, εἰς Δάμωνα ἀναβεβλήσθω: διελέσθαι γὰρ οὐ μικροῦ λόγου. ἢ σὺ οἶε; μὰ Δί', οὐκ ἔγωγε.

[400c] and he added the quantities long and short. And in some of these, I believe, he censured and commended the tempo of the foot no less than the rhythm itself, or else some combination of the two; I can't say; but, as I said, let this matter be postponed for Damon's consideration. For to determine the truth of these would require no little discourse. Do you think otherwise?" "No, by heaven, I do not."⁴

So, Plato, who lived around 428 BC, has done research in many fields did not get into this form since this required much discourse as explained by himself.

Thus, there was difficulty in searching the data related with poems sung with music as in the case of Sapphic songs sung during this era. If it is not available in Greek language then it is to be searched in some other languages which belonged to the same era. In this connection, the notions mentioned by Greek Geographer Strabo in his work called Geographica which belonged to 7 BC., seeks attention and so, may be discussed in detail.

[17]ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέλους καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων καὶ ἡ μουσικὴ πᾶσα Θρακία καὶ Ἀσιᾶτις νενόμισται. δῆλον δ' ἐκ τε τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς αἱ Μοῦσαι τετίμηνται: Πιερία γὰρ καὶ Ὀλυμπος καὶ Πίμπλα καὶ Λειβηθρον τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Θράκια χωρία καὶ ὄρη, νῦν δὲ ἔχουσι Μακεδόνες: τὸν τε Ἑλικῶνα καθιέρωσαν ταῖς Μούσαις Θράκες οἱ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐποικήσαντες, οἵπερ καὶ τὸ τῶν Λειβηθριάδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον καθιέρωσαν. οἱ τ' ἐπιμεληθέντες τῆς ἀρχαίας μουσικῆς Θράκες λέγονται, Ὀρφεύς τε καὶ Μουσαῖος καὶ Θάμυρις, καὶ τῷ Εὐμόλῳ δὲ τοῦνομα ἐνθένδε, καὶ οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅλην καθιέρωσαντες μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὴν πολλὴν μουσικὴν μεταφέρουσι: καὶ ὁ μὲν τίς φησιν 'κιθάραν Ἀσιᾶτιν ῥάσσων,' ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἀυλοὺς Βερεκυντίους καλεῖ καὶ Φρυγίους: καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων ἓνια βαρβάρως ὠνόμασται νάβλας καὶ σαμβύκη καὶ βάρβιτος καὶ μαγάδις καὶ ἄλλα πλείω.

From its melody and rhythm and instruments, all Thracian music has been considered to be Asiatic. And this is clear, first, from the places where the Muses have been worshipped, for Pieria and Olympus and Pimpla and Leibethrum were in ancient times Thracian places and mountains, though they are now held by the Macedonians; and again, Helicon was consecrated to the Muses by the Thracians who settled in Boeotia, the same who consecrated the cave of the nymphs called Leibethrides. And again, those who devoted their attention to the music of early times are called Thracians, I mean Orpheus, Musaeus, and Thamyris; and Eumolpus too, got his name from there. And those writers who have consecrated the whole of Asia, as far as **India**, to Dionysus, derive the greater part of music from there. And one writer says, "striking the Asiatic cithara"; another calls flutes "Berecynthian" and "Phrygian"; and some of the instruments have been called by barbarian names, "nablas," "sambyce," "barbitos," "magadis," and several others.⁵

This shows that during the period of Dionysus, the Indian music, musicians and the musical instruments got familiarised in the Greek land in the name of Thracians. Twentieth century classical scholar White also attested the relationship between Sapphic stanza and India.

'Thus, by the early twentieth century, some classical scholars were looking back to the Indo-European roots of Sapphic meter. In 1909 John Williams White

⁴Plato, Republic.

⁵Sec.17, Chap. 3, Book 10, The Geography of Strabo.

published “The Origin and Form of Aeolic Verse” White suggests these syllables were regulated into patterns by a “rhythmicizing instinct that gave melodic form to the second half of the primitive dimeter first in India,” and then among the Ionian poets,” and then their brothers, who in course of time made their way and settled Aeolis and metrized differently.”⁶

So, from the words of Strabo and John Williams White, the data related with Sapphic songs may be available in Asian languages, in particular, in Indian languages. One such Indian Language is Tamil.

Tamil Language

Like that of the Greek language, Tamil language also has very vast literary heritage. Further, the Tamil language has separate grammatical tradition. The first, the grammar book available in Tamil language finds its place earlier than 600 BC. The book is called *Tholkappiam*. *Thol* means ‘ancient’. *Kappiam* means book or grammar. This book explains the grammar of the language and the theme of the literature with linguistics approach. In the language point of view, it deals with mora, syllable, structure of words, formation of words in a line and formation of one poem by several lines. In all these concepts, it also deliberates the grammar of seppal songs, which has resemblance in its overall view with that of Sapphic stanza. So, there exists a space to compare the concepts of Tamil Tholkappiam with the Sapphic stanza. To understand the stanza, knowledge of letters, mora, syllable, feet and many more related with the formation of it are very important.

Letters

The Greek Alphabets consist of 24 letters. The vowels are α, ε, η, ι, ο, ω, υ. The remaining letters are consonants. And the phoneme /w/ which was in the Aeolic dialect of Sappho, at the fore part of the words disappeared in the present-day Greek. Besides, in Greek language the vowels ε and ο are always short, whereas η and ω are always long. It is understood that η[H], ω[Ω] are long vowels for the short vowels ε, ο respectively. The vowels α, ι, and υ, are either short or long depending upon the place of its occurrence in a word. In case if they happen to be long a line is drawn above it like the ones shown here $\bar{\alpha}$, $\bar{\upsilon}$.

Tamil

Tamil language has three letter system consists of 247 letters. Letters exists separately for vowels, consonants and vowel consonant. In vowels there are separate letters for short and long. Here the comparison between the letter system seem two languages is tabulated.

⁶Yopie Prins (2019)

Table 1. Comparison of Letter System

Greek	Tamil
24 letters	247 letters
Some vowel may be pronounced either short or long	Separate letters for short and long vowels
Letters for vowels and consonant	Letters for vowels, consonants and vowel consonants.

Here in Tamil the vowel consonant contribute for the difference in the letter count. For universal understanding, let us take English letters which are equal to Greek letters.

Letter Count

Normally a, b, c, d and e are counted as five single letters and so, 'ba' is counted as two letters and 'de' is counted as two letters.

Tamil Tholkappiam

In Tamil language, consonant 'b' is written as 'ப' and vowel 'e' is written as 'ஐ'; but 'be' is written as 'பை'. So, in European language 'be' = two letters and in Tamil language 'be' = பை = one letter.

Mora

Mora is the basic unit of time for the verse. In Greek verse, a short syllable is a single mora and a long is two. For universal understanding, the English phonemes of consonants and short vowels like a, b, c, d, e, f and so on have single mora whereas long vowels like aa, ee, and so on have two mora; but it is not that very simple to understand as it is mentioned. The difficulty can be felt in its time measurement as illustrated by the ancient Greek scholars.

“Aristoxenus also speaks of a quantity which is intermediate between the normal long and the normal short, which, if the short syllable be taken as=1, will be represented by 1 1/2. A foot in which the thesis is to the arsis in the “irrational” proportion of 2 : 1 1/2 is called by Aristoxenus χορεῖος ἄλογος, and is probably to be identified with the spondee, which is often found in trochaic and iambic metres in the even and odd places respectively. If this be so, the long syllable in the arsis of trochaic and iambic feet is of abnormal value = 1 1/2 instead of 2. According to Bacchius (εἰσαγωγή τέχνης μουσικῆς, the exact measurement of the ἄλογος χρόνος is difficult to determine; but it is shorter than the normal long, and longer than the normal short.”⁷

This definition, in Greek, that is related with music, is difficult and obscure to understand for the poetic persons. The way in which it is explained in Tamil Tholkappiam, purely as literature makes one to understand it easily.

⁷Aristoxenus Rhythmica, A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1890).

Tamil Tholkappiam

In Tamil Tholkappiam, Mora is called as '*Maathirai*'. The measurement of *Maathirai* is to some extent related with Mora in Greek. In addition to that, there is a separate consonant which has only ½ mora in Tamil which ascertains that a separate consonant does not count as neither a short nor a long syllable. According to Tholkappiam, the short and long syllable are only related with vowels and vowel-consonant (in Tamil it is called as *uirmai yeizhuthukal*) combined letters.

Therefore, for better understanding it is explained separately for consonants and vowels since Greek and English language do not have 'vowel- consonant' combined letters. For this, first consider the vowels, 'a, e, i, o, u' that has each 1 mora and when two vowels are combined like that of 'aa, ee, ii, oo, uu' two short vowels (though two short vowels cannot be equated with one long vowel; but in this place they are joined only to symbolise the representation of long vowel) each has 2 mora. These are same in Tamil. Further, single consonant say b, c, d,...has ½ mora [in the places like **b** in **crab**, **c** in **lock** and **d** in **God**] in Tamil and that of consonant-vowel joined letters like that of ba, ca, da,... has 1 mora in Tamil [Here, though b has ½ mora, when it is combined with vowel the consonant loses its mora and retains only the mora of vowel. This rule shall also be applied to long vowels like baa, caa, daa,...has 2 mora. So the definition given by Tamil Tholkappiam is not obscure and unambiguous.

Syllables

The knowledge of syllable is important in understanding of the poetic stanzas. It is a unit of speech, either a whole word or parts by which a word can be separated with a pause. There are certain rules for making the pause in a word which are related with syllable weight.

Syllable Weight

In Ancient Greek, syllables were divided into two types. They are called as longum and brevis. For universal understanding let us denote the longum, as a heavy syllable and the brevis, as a light syllable.

Light Syllable

Light syllable is the small unit of a word. The light syllable is associated with certain rules.

Rule 1: A syllable ending in a short vowel without consonant

Example 1: ἄτη /ä:.tɛ:/

Atom /'a.təm/

Here the syllable ä and A are short vowels. After that a pause has occurred. The occurrence of a short vowels followed by pause make it to be treated as separate syllables. As they are Vowels it is denoted using the first letter as 'V'.

Rule 2 : A syllable ending in a short vowel along with a consonant

Example 2: λέγω /λέ.γο:/ → /'le.γo/ → /'le.γo/

Penetrate /'pe.nitɪeɪt/

Here the syllable λέ and Pe are consonants with a short vowels. After that there is a pause. The short vowels up to the pause together are treated as one separate syllable which is in the format of combination of Consonant and Vowel, and so it is denoted as 'CV'. The Greek grammarians called these light syllables as θέσει μακρά. For easy understanding, the syllables that are light weight are denoted by the symbol .

Heavy Syllable

Syllables longer than the light syllables are called as heavy syllables. These are connected with some specific set of rules.

Rule 1: A syllable ending with a long vowel and without a consonant

Example 1: ὤτος /ὄ:.tos/ → /'o.tos/ → /'o.tos/

ὠτός (ōtós) /ὄ:.tos/ → /'o.tos/ → /'o.tos/

eel ēl

Here the syllables ὤ, ὠ, ee occur as long vowels. After that there is an occurrence of a pause. So, the long vowel up to the pause are treated as one separate syllable which falls in Vowel Vowel format and is denoted as 'VV'.

Rule 2: A syllable ending in a long vowel along with a consonant

Example 2: σωτηρία /σῶ:.τε:.ρί.α:/

Road - rōd /rɔd/

Here the syllables σω, Ro occur as long vowels with consonant. After if there is a pause and hence up to the pause it is treated as one separate syllable that is in the format of Consonant Vowel Vowel and which is denoted as 'CVV'.

Rule 3: A short vowel followed by one or more consonants make a pause. This type of syllable is called as closed syllable. The end of the consonant is called as coda.

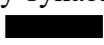
Example: ἀνδρῶν /an.drō:n/

Here the syllables ἀνδ, occur as a short vowel, followed by two consonants. It makes a pause and become separate syllable. They are in the format of Vowel Consonant. So it is denoted as 'VC'. In classical Greek, this format is considered as heavy; but in some languages it is considered as light syllable.

Though ρ being a third consonant it is not joined with the previous syllable because it is followed by a vowel. Hence ρ joins with the vowel that follows it to form another new syllable.

Rule 4: A consonant with a vowel followed by one or more consonants. It makes a pause and it is treated as one separate syllable. They are in the format of Consonant Vowel Consonant. So it is denoted as 'CVC'. This is also called as closed syllable. The end of the consonant is called coda.

Examples: πέλτας, Current

The Greek grammarians called these heavy syllables as φύσει μακρά. Here these heavy syllables are denoted by the symbol .

In moraic theory, heavy syllables are analysed as containing two morae, and the light syllables have one mora; but the Greek scholars themselves raise a doubt in this explanation.

“The writers on metre (i.e. that species of rhythm which is exhibited in the measurement of syllables) are all of late date, and are for that reason to some extent untrustworthy.”⁸

From this, it is clear that there exist certain difficulties like, the authors on metre (which is a species of rhythm) is out-dated and so it cannot be trusted and also the time gap between the poem and the researcher cannot be matched. This may be explained by the Tamil grammar book that prevailed during the same era called Tholkappiam.

Tamil Tholkappiam

The light syllable form  and the heavy syllable form  were also explained in Tamil Tholkappiam. The light syllable  is called as ‘*Nēr asai*’ and the heavy syllable  is called as ‘*Nerai asai*’. Here ‘*asai*’ means syllable. In ancient Greek it is denoted as ‘*ῥσµα*’, in Latin ‘*āsthma*’, There are many rules related with ‘*Nēr asai*’ and ‘*Nerai asai*’.

Table 1. Rules

<p><u>Rules for  ‘<i>Nēr asai</i>’⁹</u></p> <p>1. One short vowel - form ‘V’ [ex. <i>ά</i>]</p> <p>A = ]</p> <p>2. One short vowel and one consonant - form ‘VC’ [ex. <i>ές</i>]</p> <p>ap in appeal /ə'pi:l/ = ]</p> <p>3. One long vowel - form ‘VV’ [ex. <i>ώ</i>]</p> <p>ō = ]</p> <p>4. One long vowel and one consonant - form ‘VVC’ [ex. <i>ώς</i>]</p> <p>oak <i>ōk</i> [/oʊk/] = ] ,</p> <p>5. One consonant with one short vowel - form ‘CV’ [ex. <i>σε</i>,</p> <p>ca = ]</p> <p>6. One consonant with one short vowel and one consonant - form ‘CVC’ [ex. <i>πάρ</i>]</p> <p>get = ]</p> <p>7. One consonant with one long vowel - form ‘CVV’ [ex. <i>τὸ</i>]</p> <p>ba = ]</p> <p>8. One consonant with one long vowel and one or two consonants - form ‘CVVCC’ [ex. <i>μητρός</i> /met. rós/]</p> <p>Feel = ]</p>

⁸Rhythmica, A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1890) .

⁹Tholkappiam, seiyulial - 1261

Rules for ████████ 'Nerai asai' ¹⁰
1. One short vowel and consonant followed by long or short vowel - form 'VCV' or 'VCVV' [ex. ὀχέων - /oxe.on/ [Ani in Animal [/'æni.məl/]= ████████]
2. One short vowel and consonant with long or short vowel and Consonant - form 'VCVC' or 'VCVVC' [ex. ἔχοντες - /'exon.tes/ [Identical /aɪden.tɪk - Here Iden = ████████]
3. Consonant with one short vowel and consonant with long or short vowel – form 'CVCV' or 'CVCVV' [ex. φάτο - /'fato/ [Come (/kʌm/) = ████████]
4. Consonant with one short vowel and consonant with long or short vowel and one consonant - form 'CVCVC' or 'CVCVVC' [ex. Φύλον - /'fɪlon/ [River (/ˈɪvə/) = ████████]

Thus the rules for both  and ████████ are defined in Tamil Tholkappiam. Also, it is necessary to discuss, whether two  join and make one ████████, for which the knowledge of division rules is important.

Table 3. Rules

Division rules ¹¹
1. In a word if the first letter is a vowel and it is pronounced long, then it has to be treated as separate short syllable in the form of light weight  . And it should not be joined with the following letter to make it heavy weight ████████. [ex. ἡμεῖβερ' - /e:.mē:.bet/ Here ἡ is a long vowel. It itself is a separate syllable with light weight and also it won't join with the following μεῖ and be made heavy weight. Since this rule is applicable also for a word with consonant and a long vowel, for universal understanding the word wooden is taken and it has to be separated as Woo.den and here Woo becomes light weight syllable.
2. In a word if the first letter is a short vowel, it will not stand as a separate syllable if followed by a consonant and with short or long vowel then it should be joined together to make a long and heavy syllable in the form of ████████. [ex. ἐλάαν Animal – [Ani. mal] Here ἐ and A are short vowels. The followings are λάαν for ἐ and ni for A. So ἐ and A won't make a light syllable ; but joining with the following letter like ἐλάαν and Ani to form a heavy syllable.
3. In a word if the first letter along with a vowel, which is pronounced either long or short and after that there is a consonant or more and is without any vowel, then all of the letters are joint together; but will make only a separate light syllable  . [ex. ὦς =  τῆν =  Ball =  Here in the word ballpoint pen, the syllable ball don't get separated; but remains a single light syllable and also it is not joined with point to make a single syllable.
4. In a word if the first letter is a vowel which is pronounced short, it should be joined

¹⁰Tholkappiam, seiyulial - 1261

¹¹Tholkappiam, seiyulial - 1261

with the next letter followed by a vowel either long or short and after that there is one or more consonant without vowel, then all are jointly treated as separate mono syllable in the form of ██████.

[ex. Ὀλύμπια - Ὀλύμ. πια
Olimpia – Olim. pia

Here O is a short vowel so it joined with li and after that m occurs without vowel, so all are joined to make a only a single syllable with heavy weight.

Olim = ██████

These are the important rules in the division of syllables. Here, the long pronunciation and the occurrence of a consonant without vowel play an important role in separating the syllables. To understand this in a better way, instead of taking different words as examples to explain the difference, it is better to take one word as an example just without considering its original meaning with the assumption that the long and short pronunciation should be separate phonemes. The phonetic symbol - above the letter denote the long pronunciation. The line drawn below represents the join of syllables. The different combination of syllables are explained in an imaginary way only for clarifying the rules.

Figure 2. Imaginary Example

Manager = {[Ma] [na] [ger]}

1. {[Ma] [na] [ger]} =  { Mana – Two short vowels with consonants joined
2. {[Ma] [nā] [ger]} =  { Mana – one short, one long vowels with consonants joined
3. {[Mā] [na] [ger]} =  { Ma – long - separated, nager -Two short vowels with consonants joined
4. {[Mā] [na] [gēr]} =  { Ma – long - separated, nager -one short, one long vowels with consonants joined
5. {[Mā] [nā] [gēr]} =  {All long - separated

Thus the rules used for the separation of syllables in Tamil are explained by considering the English word ‘manager’. Here, if the word manager is pronounced in different ways that gives different assumed meanings, then long and short pronunciations will become different phonemes, and so the same word can get different syllable forms. Hence, this is very important because poets join the words as per the rules; but without this knowledge if it is dealt then it won’t serve the actual purpose.

For example, கற்க கசுடற  is the phrase represented with the forms as shown below; but without the awareness of this form and for the purpose of easy reading and understanding, the second form of the word sometimes gets split into two forms as கற்க கசுற அற . This may seem to be very simple; but it very badly affects the poetic forms. It is to be noted here that seppal

poetic structure follows very strict rules. Without knowing the rules of the structure, if anyone handles it, then it loses its originality. So the knowledge of syllabic forms is important.

The rules in Tamil and Greek are compared here. As per the rules given in Tholkappiam in the mono syllabic format the number of the light syllables are more when compared with that of the Greek rules. Besides, the rules for the mono syllabic heavy syllables which are mentioned in Tholkappiam are treated as disyllabic according to the Greek rules.

Table 4. Tamil and Greek Syllabic Format

	V	VV	CV	CVV	VC	VVC	CVC	CVVC	
Greek	◡	◡◡	◡	◡◡	◡	◡◡	◡	◡◡	
Tamil	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	
	VCV	VCVV	VCVC	VCVVC	CVCV	CVCVV	CVCVC	CVCVVC	
Greek	◡◡	◡◡	◡◡	◡◡	◡◡	◡◡	◡◡	◡◡ or ◡◡	
Tamil	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	

In this way the rules for light and heavy syllables are more in Tholkappiam.

Table 5. Tamil and Greek C and V format

Light Syllable

Greek	Tamil
V	V
CV	CV
	CVC
	CVV
	CVVC

Heavy Syllable

Greek	Tamil
VV	
CVC	
CVV	
	CVCV
	CVCVV
	CVCVC
	CVCVVC

In this way the Greek and Tamil rules have a lot of differences in the syllable representation.

Greek Feet

The combination of short and long syllables makes mono-syllabic, di-syllabic and tri-syllabic forms. Tetra-syllabic form is also possible; but normally up to three syllabic forms are only used in poetry.

Aristotle, who lived in the 335 BC in his work called Poetics, mentions the convention behind the Greek system of form.

[1447β] μέτροις καὶ τούτοις εἴτε μιγνῶσα μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶθ' ἐνὶ τινὶ γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων ἀνόνομοι τυγχάνουσι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν:

[1447b] [1] either in one kind of metre or combining several, happens up to the present day to have no name.¹²

After that, Greek scholars coined the technical terms for the different types of syllable forms. Even now in Greek language there are words to denote these syllabic forms. Pyrrichios [πυρρίχιος], Iamb [ἴαμβος], trochee [τροχός], spondee [σπονδή], dactyl [δάκτυλος], amphibrach [ἀμφίβραχυς], anapest [ἀνάπαιστος] are some of the poetic words for these syllabic forms.

Among these forms, the Sapphic stanza uses only trochee [τροχός] and Dactyl [δάκτυλος] forms. Whether understood by means of the voice modulation or any other means, it does not compromise on the strict usage of these syllables.

Table 6. Types of Syllable and their Structures

Greek	Pronunciation	Meaning	Structure
πυρρίχιος	pyrrichios, pyrrhus, dibrach		
ἴαμβος	Iamb	Greek minor goddess of verse	
τροχός, χορός, χορεύς	trochee, choree, choreus	Wheel or "rolling" rhythm	
σπονδή,	Spondee	libation	
	Tribrach		
δάκτυλος	Dactyl finger		
	Antibacchius		
ἀμφίβραχυς,	Amphibrach	"short on both sides".	
ἀνάπαιστος,	anapest, antidactylus	"struck back" (a dactyl reversed)	
	Bacchius		
	cretic, amphimacer		
	Molossus		

Like that of the Greek, Tamil language also has the mono-syllabic forms, di-syllabic forms and tri-syllabic forms. It also has separate poetic words to denote these syllables. These words are not to be considered as mere words being used in the language; but here words are constructed by means of a formula and it is seen

¹²Aristotle, Poetics,

inbuilt with its structure having the respective syllabic format. For this specific reason they find a place of mention here with its Greek equivalents.

Tamil Tholkappiam

Table 7. Names of Greek and Tamil Syllable and their Structures

Greek	Tamil [Pronunciation]	Tamil [Structure]
pyrrichios,	Tēmā	தே/மா
Iamb	Kūviḷam	கூ/விளம்
trochee,	Puḷimā	பு/ளிமா
Spondee	Karuviḷam	கரு/விளம்
Tribrach	Tēmānkāy	தே/மா/ங்காய்
Dactyl	Puḷimānkāy	பு/ளிமா/ங்காய்
Antibacchius	Karuviḷaṅkāy	கரு/விள/ங்காய்
Amphibrach	Kūviḷaṅkāy	கூ/விள/ங்காய்
anapest,	Tēmāṅkaṇi	தே/மா/ங்கனி
Bacchius	Kūviḷaṅkaṇi	கூ/விள/ங்கனி
amphimacer	Puḷimāṅkaṇi	பு/ளிமா/ங்கனி
Molossus	Karuviḷaṅkaṇi	கரு/விள/ங்கனி

The mentioned words are some of the poetic words to represent the syllabic forms. In these formulas, the letters which have dot on top of it are figured small because they are pure consonant sounds, and they are not counted in the syllable; but makes a pause in the syllable. In addition to all, the grammarians coined the poetic technical words by using the name of trees.

Among these general forms, Tamil seppal songs have all the two syllable forms of pyrrichios, trochee, iamb and spondee and in three syllable forms, it has all that which ends with .

Table 8. Comparison of Syllable in Greek and Tamil Poems

Greek Sapphic		Tamil Seppal
Two Syllables		
trochee		trochee [τροχός]
		pyrrichios [πυρρίχιος]
		iamb [ἴαμβος]
		spondee [σπονδή]
Three syllables		
dactyl		dactyl [δάκτυλος]
		tribrach
		antibacchius
		amphibrach [ἀμφίβραχυσ,]

In two syllabic forms, both the Greek Sapphic and the Tamil seppal have trochee forms. In addition to that the Tamil seppal also has all the two syllabic forms. The same thing is seen in the three syllabic format that is both the Greek Sapphic and the Tamil seppal have the dactyl form. Still more the Tamil seppal has all the three syllabic forms which end with  and both the Greek and the Tamil do not use the three syllabic forms which end with . Though the boundaries of the forms may be seen broad in the Tamil when compared with that of the Greek, they both strictly adhere not to use any other forms than that prescribed in its unique structure.

But how these trochees and dactyls found in lyrics forms are related with rhythmic is a big question that exists in front of us.

“There is, however, a class of metres of very frequent occurrence in which feet of different metrical value, viz. trochees and dactyls (or iambics and anapaests), e. g. $\bar{\sim} | \bar{\sim}$ [breve-macr] | $\bar{\sim} \sim \sim | \bar{\sim} \sim | \bar{\sim} \sim$ are combined in the same κῶλον. These metres are called “mixed” (μικτά), or logaedic (λογαιοδικά). The latter name was probably given to these metres because, from their apparent irregularity, they seemed to be intermediate between prose (λόγος) and poetry or song (ᾠοιδή). The explanation of this union of trochee and dactyl, and the rhythmical relation between them, is uncertain,”¹³

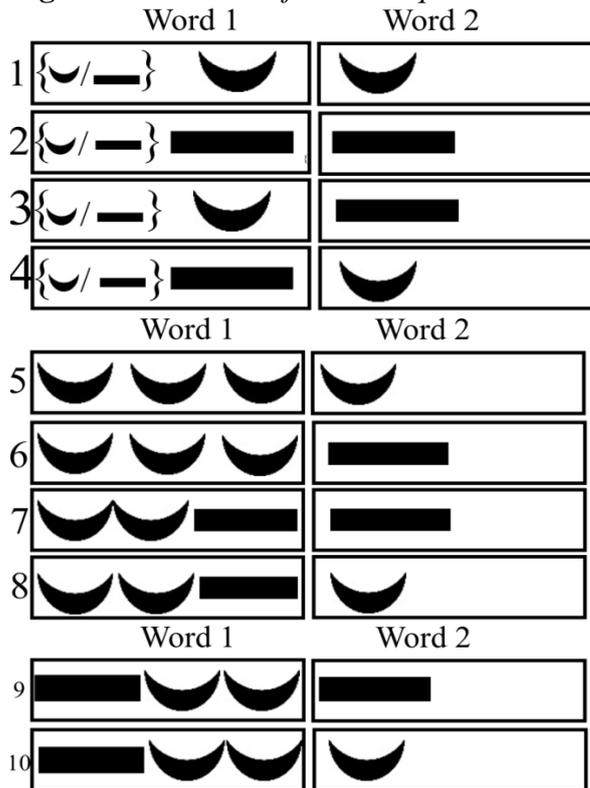
So, the thought that the union of trochee and dactyl itself makes rhythmic poem which is seen obscure even to Greek scholars is to be explored. That is this format alone does not suffice the existence of rhyme; but there is yet another important factor in making of it. That factor lies in the sequence that is followed in the usage of trochee and dactyl in constructing a line.

Word Sequence

In poetic stanzas, the sequence of the word formation is an important feature. The relation between the concluding syllable of the existing word and the opening syllable of the word that follow the existing one are taken into account.

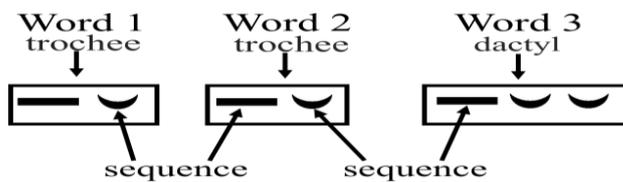
¹³Rhythmica, A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (1890)

Figure 3. Structure of Word Sequences



Tamil Tholkappiam tells about many form of sequences using syllables, The grammatical name of these structures is called ‘thalai’. There are separate names for each of these that are mentioned in Tholkappiam.¹⁴ Among these sequences, the sequence which is numbered 3 is only followed in Sapphic stanza.

Figure 4. Sequence of Words in Sapphic Stanza



Here it can be observed that the existing word ends with short form, and the next word that follows the existing word starts with long form. This way of grouping of opposite forms is found both in the two-syllabic and three syllabic format in Sapphic stanza. In two syllabic format, the Tamil seppal songs follows the same way of grouping of opposite forms as that of Greek. In addition to this, Tamil seppal songs also have sequences made by joining of existing word ending with long form, and the following next word beginning with short form. Whereas in three syllabic format, the making of the sequence is done by grouping the

¹⁴Tholkappiam, seiyulial, 1311- 1317

existing word which ends with short form, and the succeeding word also begins with the same short form. From the above, it is clear that the Tamil seppal songs follow two more¹⁵ forms than that is followed in Greek.

Table 9. Comparison of Word Sequence in Greek and Tamil Poems

Greek Sapphic		Tamil Seppal	
If the first word		has two syllable	
Word 1	Word 2	Word 1	Word 2
3 {   }		3 {   }	
		Word 1	Word 2
		4 {   }	
If the first word		has three syllable	
Word 1	Word 2		
9   			
		Word 1	Word 2
		10   	

So in the word formation of the Greek Sapphic and the Tamil seppal songs, there are some similarities and differences. Both of them follow the rule given in the number 3 format. In the Greek the same rule of two syllabic formation is continued in three syllabic formation also; but in the Tamil language it is not the same. With these formats of syllables, the Greek Sapphic and Tamil seppal songs construct the line format.

Syllable or Letters in a Line

Syllable or letters in a line is also a very important factor in the harmony of the lyrics in the poems. The first three lines of the Sapphic stanza have totally 11 syllables and the fourth or the last line have 5 syllables. This is a strict rule to be followed in the making of Sapphic stanza.

Tamil Tholkappiam

Tamil Tholkappiam explains more than 5 types of line formation.¹⁶ Unlike in the Greek, all the lines format have poetic names that are mentioned in the Tamil Tholkappiam.

¹⁵Tholkappiam, seiyulial, 1315

¹⁶Tholkappiam, seiyulial, 1292 - 1297

Table 10. *Types of Lines and their Names*

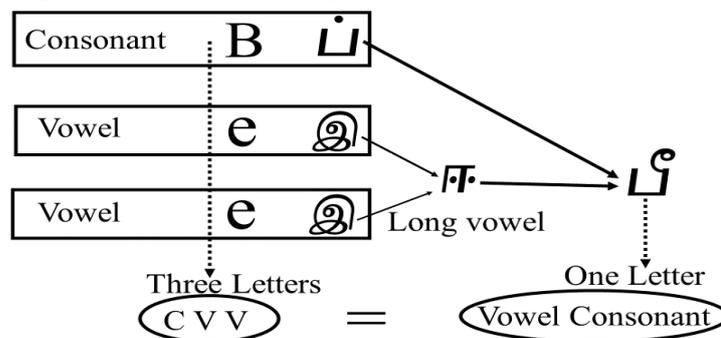
S.No.	Letter count in a line	Name of the line
1.	4 - 6	Kural Adi
2.	7 - 9	Sinth Adi
3.	10 - 14	Alavu Adi
4.	15 - 17	Neadil Adi
5.	18 - 20	Kazhi Neadil Adi

Here the line is denoted as ‘Adi’. In these line formats, one type of Tamil seppal songs make use of ‘Alavu Adi’ in the first three lines and ‘Sinth Adi’ in the last line. So, here it is observed that the last (fourth) line is shorter than that of the remaining three lines. This structure is similar to that of the Greek Sapphic stanza; but here one more thing is to be noted. Tamil Tholkappiam talks about 10-14 letter count in a line, whereas the Greek Sapphic talks about 11 syllable count in a line. Here, it is essential to know the relation between the Tamil letter count and the Greek syllabic count.

Relation of the Tamil letter and the Greek syllable

It is known that the Tamil language has a separate letter type called vowel-consonant (*uir-mei yezhuthu*) and also separate letters for short and long vowels. Since, joining of two short syllable cannot make one long syllable in music, in the same way, two short pronunciations won’t make one long pronunciation. So it has separate letters for short and long vowels. Also short and long pronunciations are separate phonemes in Tamil language. Let us consider for example, the three letters ‘bee’, which is represented as one letter in Tamil.

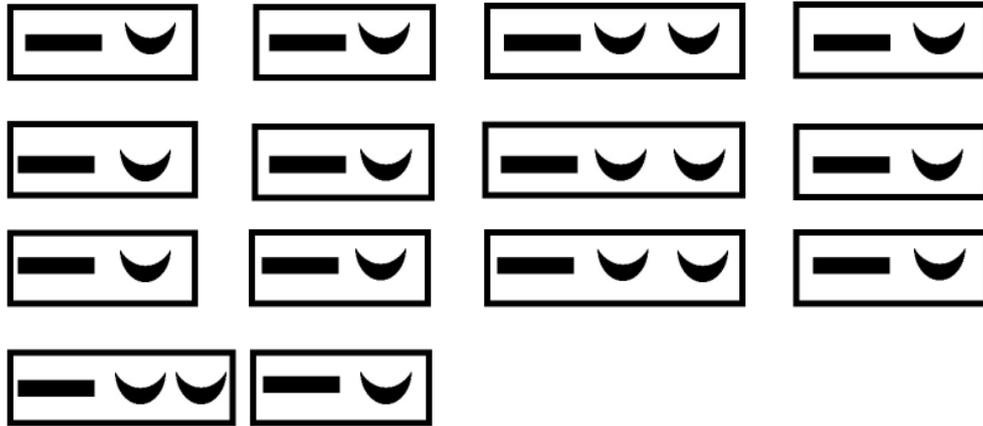
Figure 5. *Letter Counting*



In this way, two to three letters used in the Greek is represented as one letter in the Tamil. Also, two to three letters of the Tamil make a syllable in the Greek. So the rule of 10 – 14 letters (which is called as Alavu Adi) in a line of the Tamil seppal song is more or less equal to 11 syllables of the Greek Sapphic songs. In the same way last line of 7 – 9 letters (which is called as Sinth Adi) in a line for the Tamil seppal song is more or less equal to 5 syllables of the Greek Sapphic songs.

Poetic Format

The poetic format of Sapphic stanza should have four lines. The first three lines consist of 11 syllables each and the last line has five syllables. Moreover, the last word of the poem is specially called as adonic. In this way the overall structure of the Sapphic stanza is as shown in the figure.

Figure 6. *Format of the Sapphic Stanza*Types in Seppal Songs Format

The Tamil Tholkappiam highlights many types of seppal songs based on the number of lines.¹⁷

Table 11. *Types and Names of Seppal Songs*

S. No.	Line Restriction	Name
1	Two line format	Kural Venba Seppal songs
2	Three line format	Sinthial Venba Seppal songs
3	Four line format	Neresai Venba Seppal songs
4	Four line format	Innesai Venba Seppal songs
5	More than four lines and up to 12 lines	Pala Thodai Venba Seppal songs
6	More than 12 lines	Kali Venba Seppal songs

In all these types of format, the end line should be shorter than all the remaining lines. Here the end word should be only either two-syllabic or mono-syllabic. These have special names such as Naal, Malar, Kasu and Perapphu.

There are two sub-categories in four line type format. If the fourth syllable of the third line is separated it is called as 'Neresai Venba Seppal songs', and if not it is called as 'Innesai Venba Seppal songs'. Here, 'Innesai' in Tamil means 'sweet music'. Thus the type 4 format of the seppal song belongs to Innesai Venba Seppal song which is exactly the same as in the Greek Sapphic songs.

¹⁷Tholkappiam, seiyulial, 1375

Rhythmic of the Poem

The Tamil Tholkappiam defines the several types of rhythmic sounds like 'Agaval, Thullal and Seppal', which are related with the poems. The sound of 'Agaval rhythmic' is related with communication of one person to many persons like that of orator's speech. 'Thullal music' sound is a jumping music related with joy. Finally the 'Seppal music' sound is related with the conversation of one person to another very slowly and secretly like that of expression of love. The poem which has a particular type of grammatical structure of syllables, word and sequence formation will automatically create a type of music that is unique for that particular structure. Thus the grammatical structure of the Tamil seppal songs leads to the seppal music which is very appropriate to convey love. So, the meaning of the Greek word Sapphic itself denotes the name of the music of that structured poem Seppal, which is related with love.

Conclusion

The Sapphic song format is not very ordinary. Its structures are very rigid and not easily changeable. It is very difficult for the poets to make a Sapphic stanza song within the restricted structure. Poets of various languages tried their best in the making of Sapphic stanza. In the same way, Tamil language also has Seppal songs like that of Sapphic stanza. It also follows very strict rules and there are many types in it. One among them is very much closely related in its features of the structure like that of Sapphic stanza in the following ways.

1. Very strict poetic structure,
2. The using of trochee and dactyl,
3. Sequence of word formation,
4. Four line format,
5. The last line is shorter than other lines,
6. The last line has 5 Greek syllables or 7 - 9 Tamil letters,
7. Other lines having around 11 Greek syllables or 10 – 14 Tamil letters,
8. The last word of the poem should not exceed two syllables,
9. The last word has special poetic name,
10. The format opted for love music.

In these ways, Sapphic songs coincide in its features with one type of Tamil seppal songs. In Tamil, this seppal song is a traditional poetic structure whereas Sapphic songs in Greek belongs to an individual. More than this, seppal songs found in Tholkappiam has a well defined grammar which belongs to the same ancient era.

The rules for the language were not evolved in a day. Many school of thoughts first arose and it discussed the rules of the language. Then the rules were finalised in the written form. The Tamil Tholkappiam also mentioned many schools of grammarians in its text. And Tholkappiam mentions that the related data for the formation of certain grammatical rules connected with foreign words

were collected from twelve united states,¹⁸ and were placed in the assembly of the king Pandion for discussion.¹⁹

The Greek geographer also mentions about the assembled of twelve united states by the Greek Pandion king Theseus.

[20] τῶσαυτ' οὖν ἀπόχρη προσθεῖσιν ὅτι φησὶ Φιλόχορος πορθουμένης τῆς χώρας ἐκ θαλάττης μὲν ὑπὸ Καρῶν ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν, οὓς ἐκάλουν Ἴονας, Κέκροπα πρώτων εἰς δώδεκα πόλεις συνοικίσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὧν ὀνόματα Κεκροπία Τετράπολις Ἐπακρία Δεκέλεια Ἐλευσίς Ἀφιδνα (λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πληθυντικῶς Ἀφιδνας) Θόρικος Βραυρῶν Κύθηρος Σφηττὸς Κηφισία ... πάλιν δ' ὕστερον εἰς μίαν πόλιν συναγαγεῖν λέγεται τὴν νῦν τὰς δώδεκα **Θησεύς [Πανδίων]**. ἐβασίλευοντο μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον, εἴτ' εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέστησαν:

It will suffice then to add, that, according to Philochorus, when the country was devastated on the side of the sea by the Carians, and by land by the Bœotians, whom they called Aones, Cecrops first settled a large body of people in twelve cities, the names of which were Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Epacria, Deceleia, Eleusis, Aphidnae, (although some persons write it in the plural number, Aphidnae.) Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephisia [Phalerus]. Again, at a subsequent period, **Theseus [Pandion]** is said to have collected the inhabitants of the twelve cities into one, the present city.²⁰

The following reference relates the Pandion kings with Greek and Tamil land.

“καὶ οἱ νῦν δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πλέοντες ἐμπορικοὶ τῷ Νεῖλῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς σπάνιοι μὲν καὶ περιπεπλευκάσι μέχρι τοῦ Γάγγου, καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἰδιῶται καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν τόπων χρήσιμοι. κάκειθεν δὲ ἀφ' ἑνὸς τόπου καὶ παρ' ἑνὸς βασιλεως, **Πανδίωνος**”

As for the merchants who now sail from Aegypt by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf as far as India, only a small number have sailed as far as the Ganges; and even these are merely private citizens and of no use as regards the history of the places they have seen. But from India, from one place and from one king, I mean **Pandion**, there came... and the Indian sophist who burnt himself up at Athens, as Calanus²¹

An ancient Greek work called ‘Peripules of the Eritheranian Sea’ refers that they had a kingdom in Tamil Nadu, India and the Greeks were trade with them.

“Βασιλείας δ' ἐστὶν ἡ μὲν **Τύνδις** Κηπροβότρου, κόμη παραθαλάσσιος ἔνσημος· ἡ δὲ **Μουζιρίς** βασιλείας μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀκμάζουσα δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς **Ἀριακῆς** εἰς αὐτὴν ἐρχομένοις πλοίοις καὶ τοῖς **Ἑλληνικοῖς**· κεῖται δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν, ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ μὲν **Τύνδεως** διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης σταδίου πεντακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ * κατ' αὐτὴν εἴκοσι. Ἡ δὲ Νέλκυνδα σταδίου μὲν ἀπὸ **Μουζιρέως** ἀπέχει σχεδὸν πεντακοσίους, ὁμοίως δὲ διὰ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ πεζῆ καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, βασιλείας δὲ ἐστὶν ἑτέρας, τῆς **Πανδίωνος**· κεῖται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν, ὡσεὶ ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τῆς

Tyndis is of the Kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea. **Muziris**, of the same Kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from **Arabia**, and by the **Greeks**; it is located on a river, distant from **Tyndis** by river and sea five hundred stadia, and up the river from the shore twenty stadia. Nelcynda is distant from **Muziris** by river and sea about five hundred stadia, and is of another **Kingdom, the Pandion**. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and

¹⁸Tholkappiam, echchaviayal, 882

¹⁹Tholkappiam, Phayiram

²⁰Sec.20, Chap. I, Book IX, Strab.

²¹Sec.15, Chap. I, Book IV, Strab.

Figure 7. Tamil Nadu as Mentioned in the Greek Literature

Thus the king Pandion is mentioned in both the Greek and the Tamil sources. More than that this Pandion was authorised for developing the grammar of Tamil seppal songs and organising the grammar book Tholkappiam. So, the possibility might be either during the period of Dionysus as mentioned by the Greek Geographer Strabo or during the reign of Pandion the format of the Tamil seppal song might be introduced from Tamil Nadu to Greek land. In this way, the strictly organised structure of the Greek Sapphic songs has a base in the Tamil grammar book Tholkappiam.

Areas of Further Research

There are so many opportunities for further research in this field. For example let us take a Sappho song.

“Οἷαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν οὖρεσι ποιμένεσ ἄνδρες.
 πόσσι καταστεῖβοισι, χαμαι δ’ ἐπιπορφύρει ἄνθος.
 Ἔεσπερε, πάντα φέρων, ὅσα φαίνολισ ἐσκέδασ’ αὖωσ,
 φέρεις οἶν, φέρεις αἶγα, φέρεις ἅπυ ματέρι παῖδα.

The meaning is as follows.

“O'er the hills the heedless shepherd,
 Heavy footed, plods his way;
 Crushed behind him lies the larkspur,

²²παράγραφοι 53- 4, Περίπλους της Ερυθράς Θαλάσσης

Soon empurpling in decay.
 Hail, gentle Evening, that brings back
 All things that bright morning hath beguiled.
 Thou brings the lamb, thou brings the kid,
 And to its mother, her drowsy child."²³

Here the meaning of αὔωσ is discussed in the "Etymologicon Magnum," and the meaning be assumed as "dawn", because in no other place it occurs in the Greek, whereas in Tamil the word 'Aawos' means the animal which gives milk. This meaning that is found in Tamil also perfectly fits in the context of the Greek poem which proves that the assumed meaning 'dawn' has no base or root. So there are lot of opportunities for further research in this field.

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²³91, 92 – Sappho songs, [Quoted by Demetrius].

Re-Writing the Myth of Draupadi in Pratibha Ray's Yajnaseni and Chitra Bannerjee Divakaruni's The Palace of Illusions

By Mohar Daschaudhuri*

All history, accounts of religion, social thought and philosophy reflect woman as the "other" even while speaking for her. Myth constitutes the elemental structures and patterns which shape the thought of a people. This paper explores how Pratibha Ray's novel Yajnaseni and Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni's The Palace of Illusions re-write the myth of Draupadi, the legendary wife of the five Pandava warriors in the epic Mahabharata. The two contemporary women writers from India recreate a protagonist who voices her opinions, musings, desires in a first person narrative from a woman's point of view. As upholder of Dharma, she is at once a player and a pawn in the patriarchal tale of jealousy and revenge. Yet, remaining within the bounds of Dharma, Draupadi, the protagonist in the novels, interrogates the symbolic values attributed to femininity, the meaning of duty, loss and death. Through a feminist re-reading the authors redefine the notion of Svadharma (an individual's duties) vis-à-vis the duties of a woman towards her husband and her society. The re-invented myth resists 'spousification' and deification of the woman, rendering her instead, a palpable character, vulnerable as well as independent. While Ray's character is in a search of a spiritual rebirth and relies on her inner deity, Krishna, for guidance all along the tortuous path of Dharma during her life and after her abandonment by her husbands, Divakaruni's heroine is a modern day adolescent, impetuous, intelligent and spontaneous. The two narratives may differ in their vision and style, yet, both these narratives succeed, in their unique way, to deconstruct the image of a deified ideal wife and to bring myth close to life.

Keywords: Epic, mythology, feminist rewriting, spousification, marginalized, Dharma

Introduction

The two novels which will be studied here, Pratibha Ray's *Yajnaseni* and Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni's *The Palace of illusions*, are both re-writings of the story of Draupadi, the enigmatic and powerful female protagonist of the epic *Mahabharata*. Krishna Dwaipayana Veda Vyasa is supposed to be the author of the *Mahabharata* though many critics point out the differences in style in the epic, revealing that later poets added certain verses and chapters in the course of time. The events which occur in the epic took place around 1000 B.C. (Karve 2008). The *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and the *Puranas* are the oldest literature in Sanskrit and were transmitted orally from one generation to the next and were

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distinct from the Mantra (hymn) literature which consisted of philosophical and esoteric discourses.

The *Mahabharata* has been studied since the ancient times as a source for inspiration in every field of life: political, religious, social and cultural reformation. As Prof. Dandekar remarks, myths are an integral part of Indian culture and society: “If there is one single work which has proved to be of the greatest significance in the making of the life and thought of the Indian people and whose tradition continues to live even to this day and influence, in one way or another, the various aspects of Indian life, it is the *Mahabharata*” (Deshpande 2003, 199). This traditional value system needs to be reformulated in order to change the attitude of women towards themselves. Chitnis (2004) –an Indian feminist– observes that, “the greatest obstacle to change in the direction of equality is the value system by which women abide. Women are conditioned to revere the father and to serve the husband as a devotee serves God” (Chitnis 2004, 20). In fact, the ideal of “pativrata” (husband-worshipper) idealized by the women of the *Mahabharata* too, such as Sita and Savitri have been romanticized in legends, folklores, and such ideals, entrenched in the Indian woman’s psyche are difficult to transform unless as Chitnis suggests, the other qualities that these women possessed such as wit, intelligence, are newly asserted while re-writing their stories (Chitnis 2004, 21).

Women writers, in all regional languages in India, have been exploring myths. Deshpande (2000) –a feminist writer in Marathi and in English– discusses the importance of re-writing mythology by women writers as she realises, “that the basic problem is that not only myths have originated with men, their interpretation has also been in male hands” (Deshpande 2000, 87). Notable among recent fiction on mythological women are:

- *Kunti and the Nishadini* by Maheswata Devi, *Doppadi* by Maheswata Devi (short stories).
- Kavita Kane’s *Karna’s Wife: The Outcaste Queen*.
- Amish Tripathy’s *The Shiva Trilogy*.
- Shashi Deshpande’s *The Stone Women*.
- Priyanka Bhuyan’s *Chronicles of Kuru Woman*.
- *The Curse of Gandhari* by Aditi Banerjee.

Devi (1997, 2005) draws a parallel between the women of the *Mahabharata* and marginalized subaltern tribal women victimized by the patriarchal attitude of the middlemen, the administrative overlords who, in the name of facilitating opportunities for the deprived classes, exploit them. “Daupadiin”, the short story, reveal how tribal women who are doubly alienated as women and as out castes from the Brahminical society can become powerful voices against the entrenched patriarchy once they finally cease to uphold the notions of shame and dignity as defined by that patriarchy. Spivak (1998) says of its powerful heroine, “Dopdi is what Draupadi who is written into the patriarchal and authoritative sacred text of male power could not be” (Spivak 1998, 109). Amish Tripathy is a popular Indian English writer who fictionalizes the mythological stories which has nothing to do

with women centric writing. More recent fiction by Aditi Bannerjee and Priyanka Bhuyan lack the depth and range of Pratibha Ray or Divakaruni. The two novels in this study have been chosen as they explore the figure of Draupadi who is very unlike Sita and most other mythological heroines such as Savitri, Ahalya or Kunti. Draupadi is distinct due to her “kanya” (virgin/ self-assertive) qualities. These two novels concentrate upon her individuality, wit and intelligence as well as her vocal protest against social laws and attitudes that berated women.

Ray’s novel (1995) was translated from Oriya by Bhattacharya (1995) while Banerjee Divakaruni, who is an Indian writer living in the U.S.A., published her work in English (2008). Both are works of fiction recounted from the point of view of Draupadi, the marginalized feminine voice in a patriarchal society. The power to narrate the lives of women and to create a mythical past is thus undermined. Both writers project Draupadi as a symbol of retaliation, with the power to narrate myth and re-interpret the events which are recounted otherwise only from a masculine view point. Mythology if viewed as a symbolic capital which was dominated by the masculine voice is thus challenged and reshaped to revision an epic story from Draupadi’s perspective.

This paper aims to undertake a comparative study of Banerjee Divakaruni’s *The Palace of Illusions* and Ray’s *Yajnaseni* in order to examine how the narratives deconstruct the idea of the ideal wife as the ancient text prescribed in the form of wifely Dharma and proposes an alternative reading where the woman regains her voice, her identity. At the same time, the two novels differ in their idea of Draupadi as a contemporary woman. They also differ in their treatment of the other characters and in their narrative strategies which again interrogate the idea of womanhood in conflicting feminist ideologies even within the context of Indian feminism.

Existing Research in the Area

Re-writing of the myth of Draupadi has been a constant endeavour by contemporary artists in theatre, dance and literature. Irawati Karve’s book *Yuganta* published originally in Marathi in 1967 was translated into English in 1969. The book is a collection of scholarly essays based “...on the critical edition of the *Mahabharata* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute” (Karve 2008, ix). As a meticulous scholar she delves into the various renditions of the *Mahabharata* in order to analyse the nuances of its various additions, omissions, re-interpretation in the course of time. Her essay on Draupadi (79-105) studies the character of Panchali in comparison with the character of Sita, heroine of the *Ramayana*. Unlike the two novels under analysis, Karve’s scholarly article succinctly summarises the character of Draupadi, her dilemma, her desires and thus it renders clear the transgression or rather the innovations which have been introduced in the novels.

Other scholarly works on the *Mahabharata* include the work of Bhaduri (2014), which also includes the study of other women characters of the epic.

Bhattacharya (2004) mentions Draupadi as one of the five virgins who are revered as powers of Prakriti but concentrates the discussion on the other virgins, Ahalya, Tara and Mandodari. His book, *The Panchkanya of India's Epics* dedicates two chapters to Draupadi comparing her to the other 'Panchkanya' and to mythical women from Western mythology such as Deidre as well as to women from Indian mythology such as Indrani as a vengeful woman. Citing example of her portrayal in the *Bhil Bharath* (a folk version of the epic), he shows how she has been traditionally associated with the seductive feminine figure possessing destructive qualities. Unlike the other heroines of the two epics, such as Sita or Savitri, Draupadi is associated with 'Shakti' (female power) in its destructive form (Bhattacharya 2017, 115-120).

In theatre, Saoli Mitra, for example, has questioned the conventional interpretations of the myths of Draupadi, Kunti from the *Mahabharata* in order to re-create in her plays, moments of women's assertion and a novel point of view from the perspective of the women in the *Mahabharata*. Mitra asserts: "We can suggest that there is a quest for truth in the literature that reflects the magic quality of an epic which resonates for people even today" (Mitra 2006, xiv). Suranjana Bhadra has analysed the transformative and metaphoric changes in the character of Kunti in Mitra's play *Katha Amritasaman*. According to Bhadra, "The stories of Draupadi, Kunti, Gandhari, Satyawati and others have been re-written to bring out their repressed desires, aspirations, hopes, dreams, complexities and dilemmas" (Bhadra 2016, 62).

The re-writing of the women characters in the epics, especially the character of Draupadi has become part of contemporary art, literature and dance in India. In an article, "Imaging Women: Resisting Boundaries of Gender in Women's Theatre in India" (Bhadra 2013), Bhadra explores the repressions of Draupadi, confined within the domestic roles of motherhood and housewifery with reference to Mitra's play who in turn was influenced by Irawati Kharve's *Yuganta*. Assamese danseuse Rita Devi in a solo dance drama has depicted the story of Draupadi as part of her performance of *Panchkanya* in a four hour performance in the Odiya Mahari devadasi style in Bombay in 1971²⁴. In 1998, Kanak Rele, presented the story of Draupadi as *Yuganta* in Mohini Attam dance form interpreting in her own way, the stories of the five holy virgins showcasing the inner strength and courage of these epic characters which are still relevant for contemporary women in the modern era. In 1997, Hema Rajgopalan and her Natya Dance theatre staged Shakti Chakra, a Bharatnatyam dance performance depicting the life of Draupadi and Ahalya and this has been repeated a few times since then²⁵.

The figure of Draupadi looms large as one of the 'Panchkanya' or Holy virgins (the others being, Ahalya, Kunti, Tara and Mandodari). While speaking of Draupadi, Upadhyaya (1993) refers to an ancient shloka or Sanskrit couplet, where she is referred to as a virgin lady whose invocation can annul sins which goes thus (Upadhyaya 1993, 138):

²⁴<http://www.enajori.com/?p=497>.

²⁵<http://chicagopressrelease.com/news/chicagos-natya-dance-theatre-performs-shakti-chakra-the-energy-cycle-at-centre-east-sept-26>.

“Ahalyā Draupadi Kunti Tārā Mandodari tathā/
Pañcakanyāh smarenittyam mahāpātaka nāsaka// »

Or

“Ahalyā, Draupadi, Kunti, Tara and Mandodari,
The virgins five invoked ever destroy maha-sins”

(The above shloka is very current in popular culture but its origin is debated by scholars).

As Pradip Bhattacharya notes, the meaning of virgin here cannot be confused with the current meaning of the word used in our common vocabulary as all these women, “were tainted with affairs (all forced) with other men...Is it that if you are chaste on the inside no amount of forced relation can taint your purity?” (Bhattacharya 2017, 5). Anu Warriar is of the opinion that the ‘Panchkanya’ are those women who have been true to their independent nature, who are involved in sexual encounters with men who are not their husbands; the nature of the encounters is neither rape nor adultery (Bhattacharya 2001).

Draupadi has been one of the most assertive women in Indian mythology. According to Satya Chaitanya, Draupadi is at her most assertive self in the dice hall, where she has been brought by her husbands’ rival, Dyurodhana and humiliated before her elderly father in law, the courtiers and princes (Chaitanya 2007). Yet despite the great humiliation of being dragged by her hair, wearing a single piece of cloth as was the custom in those days for menstruating women, she does not lose her calm and sarcastically reminds the elders of their duty towards their daughter-in-law, a princess and a wife of the famous five Pandavas. Incidentally this particular incident forms the crux of the *Mahabharata* as it is this humiliation which will propel the Pandavas and the Kauravas into the Great War. The two novels also depict this incident in detail.

Contemporary scholars study the nuances of Draupadi’s body language and the silence which is provocative as well as her glances and gestures which initiate action from the part of Bhimsena, her third husband in the Dice scene (Bandopadhyay 2013).

For the purpose of this article, the primary works will consist of:

- a) *Yajnaseni*, a novel by Pratibha Ray (Oriya, 1995, translated into English by Pradip Bhattacharya) in 1995 and
- b) *The Palace of Illusions*, a novel by Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni written in English (2008)

A few articles have been published on the two novels separately but no comparative analysis exists of the two works. Secondly, the articles produced do not examine the treatment of Dharma in the re-writing of the character of Draupadi.

Bose (2010) has written on the women in the *Mahabharata* in her book *Women in the Hindu Tradition: Rules, Roles and Exceptions*, which is a significant compilation (with Sanskrit verse and their translation) of all the references to the goddesses such as Saraswati, Durga and Lakshmi as well as some women characters from the *Vedas* and the *Puranas* (Bose 2010).

Among some recent critical articles on Pratibha Ray's *Yajnaseni*, Nanda (2018) studies the portrayal of Draupadi as a symbol of retaliation (Nanda 2018).

Divakaruni, who teaches and writes in the U.S.A., is more popular than Ray as she is an Indian English writer and therefore her body of work has been researched upon by students of English literature. Sowmya and Rebecca (2018) explore the novel from an inter-textual perspective as theorized by Julia Kristeva and finds the digressions Divakaruni has adopted from the main text in order to re-write it from a feminist perspective. The authors rightly note: "*The Palace of Illusions* is the depiction of the magical world of the epic for its twenty-first century readers" (Sowmya and Rebecca 2018, 2). Ojha and Gorasya's (2019) short piece restricts itself to an analysis of the character of dhai-ma and though it claims to analyse feminist traits in the novel, it remains superficial and vague. Anantha (2019) puts forth the idea that Divakaruni has re-created the figure of Draupadi from the author's inner voice of conscience.

These articles do not make a comparative study of Ray and Divakaruni which are the only two novels based on the character of Draupadi written by Indian women writers in recent times. Draupadi being an exceptional mythological character, courageous to fight patriarchy yet herself a victim and a tenacious upholder of her polyandrous marriage, it becomes interesting to note that women writers interpret her 'feminism' in a myriad ways, reflecting the problems and issues which the writers themselves encounter in their respective time and social structure.

Secondly, this study will attempt to understand the 'differences' in ideological positions which have been debated by contemporary Indian feminists on the subject of re-writing of mythology, thus widening the scope of future research on the subject.

Methodology

Mythology: Feminism in India and the West

It is important to understand that though feminism in India was inspired by women's movements in the West, it has to be located within the broader framework of an unequal international world. Whereas in the West, the long and painful suffragette movements, struggle for equal pay for equal work, women's right to abortion and many such issues marked visible lines of inequality between the genders, in India, the concept of freedom and equality were alien to the hierarchical social system which subjugated not only women, but entire castes on the basis of lineage, learning, wealth (Chitnis 2004, 10-11). On the one hand the harshness and oppressiveness of all these hierarchies was mitigated partially by a sense of mutuality, fixed behavioral codes, a philosophy of self-denial, and the emphasis which mythological women also portrayed - self-effacement of the ego for the good of the family and the society. With the rise of nationalism, women were portrayed as preservers of the inner sanctity of the home ('ghar') while the freedom fighters had to modernize the outer world ('bahir') in order to fight the

colonial power. Mythological female-figures were upheld as ideals of the “pure” home-oriented feminine figure, whereas the image of the goddess “Bharat-mata” or Mother-India, provided the spiritual image of the motherland which had to be safeguarded from colonialist exploitation. She was a figure of strength, yet a maternal figure only. Chatterjee (2001) analyses how the dress and behavior of the middle class woman in Bengal had to undergo changes in order to emphasise her national identity, social emancipation as well as her spiritual purity (Chatterjee 2001, 130). “The new patriarchy”, to quote Chatterjee, “...advocated by nationalism conferred upon women the honour of a new social responsibility, and by associating the task of female emancipation with the historical goal of sovereign nationhood, bound them to a new, and yet entirely legitimate, subordination” (Chatterjee 2001, 130). As Chatterjee elaborates, “this patriarchy combined coercive authority with the subtle force of persuasion...the adulation of the woman as goddess or as mother...It served to emphasize with all the force of mythological inspiration what had in any case become a dominant character of femininity in the new construct of ‘woman’ standing as a sign for ‘nation,’ namely, the spiritual qualities of self-sacrifice, benevolence, devotion, religiosity, and so on. This spirituality...the image of woman as goddess or mother served to erase her sexuality in the world outside the home.” (Chatterjee 2001, 130-131).

Comparative Methodology

Our main concern will be to examine the new constructs which have been put in place by Ray and Divakaruni in the two novels, i.e., to examine whether the writers have challenged the idea of Draupadi as mother and wife and yet retained her character as a woman who has not transgressed ‘dharma’ or righteous path which she carves out for herself as a human being. Secondly, this comparative study should enable us to see the fine distinctions in her character which reflect the position and the style of the two writers, i.e. how have these women writers turned figures, plots, narratives, for different purposes, and to quote Tharu and Lalita, (40) “...what modes of resistance did they fashion? How did they avoid, question, play-off, re-write, transform, or even undermine...” the earlier images of the epic heroine in order to re-create a new woman?

The study will consist of:

- I. Comparative analysis of the two novels from the thematic perspective of Draupadi and her self-assertion challenging the notion of Dharma through the following sub-divisions:
 - a. The epic period and the concept of Dharma in Hinduism.
 - b. Draupadi and her adherence to her Dharma as a woman (Stridharma) and the Dharma of her clan or tribe (Jati-Dharma).
 - c. Feminist interventions: interrogating the Father’s Law.
 - d. Feminist interventions: against ‘spousification’.

II. Differentiating the narratives: Ray and Divakaruni

- a) Feminisation and tradition.
- b) Narrative strategies: voicing differences differently.

This article attempts to examine the principal themes and the strategies employed by Ray and Divakaruni to re-write the epic as a contemporary feminist narrative. At the same time, the two writers are distinct in their depiction of Draupadi as well as in their narrative style which will be examined in the concluding part of this study.

Findings

Pratibha Ray and Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni maintain the principal storyline of the *Mahabharata* and yet their feminist re-readings of the epic interrogate the role of the woman as a wife and as a human being. The heroines of the two novels are distinct from each other in their nature and their outlook on life yet both re-define the role of Draupadi as perceived in the popular imagination. They re-enliven the epic, Ray portraying her protagonist with a sense of humour and sarcasm while Divakaruni's Draupadi is a modern woman who dreams her way into an illusory palace and enjoys every twist in her destiny which throws surprise at many turns of her life. Instead of being a victim of fate, both the novelists portray her as a mover of destiny, a woman wronged by her husbands, her elders and yet she is not silent. Her voice is made audible, for the first time, through the re-writing of the epic.

Discussion

Comparative Analysis of the Novels

The epic period and the concept of Dharma in Hinduism

Radhakrishnan (2008) states that the events related in the two epics, "occurred in the Vedic period, when the early Aryans poured in large numbers into the Gangetic valley and settled down, the Kurus round Delhi, the Panchalas near Kanauj....We have no evidence to show that the epics were compiled earlier than the 6th century BC" (Radhakrishnan 2008, 223). The war of the *Mahabharata* takes place between the two Kuru clans, the Kauravas and the Pandavas where other kings such as the Panchalas (Draupadi's family) participate. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were written around the period of this Aryan expansion. Radhakrishnan is of the opinion that the *Ramayana* deals with the wars of the Aryans with the then natives of India while the *Mahabharata* written by VedaVyasa who also compiled the Vedas, must have dated a little later approximately within a hundred years, "...when Vedic hymns had lost their original force and meaning and when ceremonial religion appealed to the people

and caste grew into prominence. We may therefore put the beginning of the epic period somewhere during 6th century before Christ, though changes were introduced into the epics to suit the conditions till the 2nd century AD when they assumed their final form” (Radhakrishnan 2008, 243).

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines Dharma in Hinduism thus “[Dharma] is the religious and moral law governing individual conduct and is one of the four ends of life. In addition to the Dharma that applies to everyone, (*Sadharana dharma*) – consisting of truthfulness, non-injury and generosity, among other virtues, there is also a specific Dharma (*Svadharmā*) to be followed according to one’s class, status and station in life”²⁶.

Svadharmā, according to V. Jairam is the duty that arises from one’s birth, profession, gender and caste affiliation²⁷.

Gobrich Gupta (2000) explains the relevance of Dharma in the Hindu’s life:

“Dharma enjoins each person to follow a set of social and religious duties appropriate to that person’s individuality (*sva-dharma*) and social station that is usually in harmony with his or her religious or social duties (*jati-dharma*) as a member of a particular *jati*- that is natal community...A woman’s dharma is designated as *stri-dharma*” (Gobrich Gupta 2000, 88).

Every Hindu has some idea of Dharma and there exists a social and a personal dharma. By the time of the *Mahabharata*, the notion of Dharma was quite entrenched in Hindu society. A woman could function only in the socially sanctioned *dharmic* way. As the mistress of the house she was the custodian of the family dharma; “she knows the rituals, teaches her children the basic dharma, and is thus responsible for the *dharmic* structure of the next generation (Gobrich Gupta 2000, 89)”.

Draupadi and her adherence to her Dharma as a woman (Stridharma) and the Dharma of her clan or tribe (Jati-Dharma)

Sita and Draupadi are the two heroines of the two great Indian epics the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Both are born of elements, Sita from earth and Draupadi from fire. This also makes them orphans and supernatural powers, beyond ordinary human origin. While King Janaka adopts Sita and her mother remains unmentioned in the epic, Draupadi appears to be a coveted daughter as she emerged out of her father’s sacrificial offering to the Gods in order to avenge him. Her adopted father’s wife, Prishati is mentioned in the epic. Moreover, Ray chooses the name Yajnaseni, which means the one born of fire, to name her novel. This is the only instance in the epics where a father renames himself from the daughter, as Draupadi’s father is called Yajnasena after her birth (Karve 2008, 81).

While the entire *Ramayana* revolves around the greatness of King Rama, the ideal son, husband, brother and king, the *Mahabharata* has numerous heroes and Krishna the God himself appears to play an important role in it. While every Indian woman idealizes Sita, Draupadi remains an awed figure. She is neither a

²⁶<https://www.britannica.com/topic/dharma-religious-concept>.

²⁷<https://www.hinduwebsite.com/hinduism/dharma.asp>.

goddess, nor a coveted human being despite the fact that she is courageous, learned, and wise. Yet, no Indian daughter is named after her for the fear that she might undergo the same fate as to marry five husbands and to be humiliated by the entire society during the infamous rape she had to undergo in the hands of Duryodhana, her family's enemy.

Needless to say, as the entire purpose of Draupadi's birth according to the *Mahabharata* was to avenge her father, her responsibility lay in being effective for that vengeance. Her father Drupad had been humiliated by his childhood friend, Drona when he had refused to acknowledge the latter as his equal. Drona, many years later had returned with his five young pupils, the Pandava brothers, adept at warfare to defeat the mighty army of Drupad. He succeeded and thus took possession of the better half of Drupad's kingdom, proving himself to be the king's equal. In order to teach a lesson to Drona, who was a mentor at the kingdom of Hastinapur, Drupad conducted a sacrificial offering inviting the best sages of the time in order to beget a worthy son who would avenge his honour. From the sacrificial fire, instead of a son, were born two children, Drishtadyumna, a boy and Draupadi, a daughter. Both were pledged since their birth to the vengeance of Drupad's pride.

In both the novels this purpose of Draupadi's birth has been cited. Divakaruni's Draupadi even as a girl remains conscious that she and her brother are mere tools in the hands of their ambitious father. The young girl instigates the brother to revolt against the father. Ray's Draupadi knows her duty and remains committed to it, though she tries in vain to avoid the foreboding.

Feminist interventions: interrogating the father's law

Both the novels reveal the independent character of Draupadi which is itself a leap from the Hindu traditional way of thinking about a woman. Even goddesses, more powerful than the human female, are rarely seen as wielding power independently of any male counterpart. As Bose (2010) observes; "In traditional Indian society, even powerful goddesses are seldom imagined-just as mortal women are seldom imagined-as single, self-determined persons unattached to a male figure. In Hindu religious thought and practice, particularly in its evolved form, a goddess is always linked to a male figure as his mother or wife or daughter or sister, which suggests that her very identity rests on her relationship with males, with rare exception" (Bose 2010, 14). The duty of the wife is to follow the ideal of the goddesses, such as Sita, Lakshmi and therefore to follow her husband in this life and even in her after-lives.

Since the very beginning of the novel, Ray's Yajnaseni reflects on her role and Dharma:

"...-my birth was not from my father's seed but from the sacrificial alter built for fulfilling a vow. From even before birth I was destined to avenge my father's insult! I was going to be a weapon for preserving Dharma on this earth and destroying the wicked. It was for this that I was born. Should only woman be forced to be the medium for preserving Dharma and annihilating

evil throughout the ages? Is it woman who is the cause of creation and destruction?" (Ray 1995, 8)

Underneath the outward compliance of a docile Draupadi to the Dharma as laid down in the Hindu scriptures which demand that a woman should sacrifice her demands and wishes in order to obey the eldest male in the family, first her own father and brothers and then after her marriage, her husband, Ray points out the injustice suffered by Draupadi in clearer terms through the heroine's self-interrogation at the time of her death which forms the introduction to the novel.

Ray's Yajnaseni rises above her personal wishes in order to uphold the family's honour or Dharma, time and again. Betrothed to Arjun, she faces a dilemma when a Brahmin youth appears to win the competition at her wedding ceremony and wins her hand. Her brother reminds her in the court:

"Not for Arjun but for the preservation of dharma has your birth taken place. It is to dharma you are offered.' ...Even if my dharma was destroyed, my father's dharma must be preserved" (Ray 1995, 46). Thus, *Svadharmā* becomes secondary to *pitṛ-dharma* (father's honour). Once married, she is asked to walk barefoot by her husband Arjun who lives in the disguise of a mendicant. Being wife to a mendicant she must transform herself from a princess to a mendicant too. Draupadi happily accepts this part, and leaves behind her royal dresses, ornaments as according to her own confession, to follow her husband is her proper dharma (Ray 1995, 48).

Divakaruni's heroine is a girl who may be born in the times of yore but her expectations from life, her desires, her outlook of the world is that of a twentieth century girl. While in Ray, Draupadi is a cherished youngster full of admiration for her father, in Divakaruni, the father is a cold, haughty figure and Draupadi, even as a teenager despises his motives and his palace:

"I turned the resentment I couldn't express toward my father onto his palace" (Ray 1995, 6).

Feminist interventions: against 'spousification'

Altekar (1999) examines how the position of women deteriorated with time when it came in contact with other cultures. However, other critics disagree and it is from the time of the Upanishads and later during the age of the Epics that the role of women was restricted and primarily subordinated to patriarchal norms. Arya (2004) in her article examines the process of 'spousification' of Devi or Goddess and its negative ramification on female autonomy. Arya (2004) concludes that "...two distinct patterns emerge in this journey: One of the existence of an independent, almost feared entity, the independent Devi; and two, of the submissive role-playing ideal wife personification, what Lynn Gatwood (1985) calls the spouse-goddess" (Arya 2004, 37).

Draupadi's image is often conflated with the "spouse-goddesses", who, according to Leslie (1995) are subordinate to their husbands and therefore unthreatening (Leslie 1995, 320). In Ray and Divakaruni's re-interpretation of Draupadi, her terrible aspect of the essential woman is revealed as against the portrayal of the ideal wife in the most part of the *Mahabharata*. For example,

though the epic recounts her marriage to the five Pandava brothers in an impersonal short verse, Ray and Divakaruni elaborate on the dilemma of the woman who had loved Arjun as her husband and who is subjugated to the law of the society to marry five husbands. Veda Vyasa is consulted as well as Krishna to resolve the dilemma. But both insist that it is necessary for her to string the Pandava brothers in one bond through a common marriage. Divakaruni's heroine is surprised by Vyasa's verdict, made her feel angry and helpless "my situation was very different from that of a man with several wives. Unlike him I had no choice as to whom I slept with, and when. Like a communal drinking cup, I would be passed from hand to hand whether I wanted it or not" (Banerjee Divakaruni 2012, 120). Needless to say, such reflections voice the woman's misery which remained muted in patriarchal renderings of the epic, find a voice in this story.

Bose 2010 remarks, "In traditional Hindu society the obvious site for women to exercise any kind or degree of authority is the family, where again we may observe the ambivalence inherent in an individual's exercise of authority solely in the service of the group, often if not usually through self-sacrifice" (Bose 2010, 9). The right of women, in traditional Hindu society is subservient to the duties she must fulfill towards her tribe, her caste, her family and her husband. The authority she wields is dependent on her position in the family. As a mother she is revered while as a wife she must obey her elders. Both Ray and Divakaruni's Draupadi adheres to the norms yet they interrogate it and sometimes transgress their right. Draupadi is feared not just because of being a *Sati* (a perfect wife) but also for the fact that she had the intelligence and astute nature to free her five husbands, their weapons and their kingdom of Indraprastha (which Yudhishtira lost again the following day) when they had lost everything in the dice game, through the three boons granted to her by Dhritarashtra, the emperor of the Kauravas after her insulting rape at his court. Both Divakaruni and Ray elaborate on this episode of their life. At every important dilemma of life, Draupadi, unlike Sita, must face grave consequences for actions which are not of her doing, but a result of destiny. She is impetuous, haughty and therefore more human of the two heroines. It is her human weaknesses, her enforced subservience to the laws of an extremely patriarchal society and her wisdom to overcome them that reveal her ingenuity and vulnerability and bring her close to our hearts.

Yajnaseni in Ray's version, is human yet most courageous and challenges her husband's knowledge of Dharma when in spite of losing himself, her eldest husband Yudhishtira has the audacity to pledge his wife as prize for the dice game. She is menstruating, and is in one cloth when Dusshasana (her husbands' rival, the second eldest of the Kaurav brothers) drags her from the inner chambers to the palace hall, before a court filled with men who look at her with lustful eyes and enjoy her distress. Even the greatest of the elders, such as Bhishma who had vowed celibacy and had been granted eternal life, the emperor father, Dhritarashtra, Dronacharyya the sage and mentor of the entire Kuru clan, remain silent spectators of this disgraceful scene. Here too, transgressing her rights, Draupadi questions her elders whether the wise men of Aryavarta would endorse this shameful act. Ray's feminist re-reading points out at the indiscrepancy of this act: "A mild murmur

arose and died down. Would any woman dare to demand an explanation of her elders with such firmness?" (Ray 1995, 238).

The episode of Draupadi's rape is rendered in the *Mahabharata* but in Ray, Draupadi's reflections and her spiritual inclination, her total surrender to Krishna renders the incident humanist and philosophical: "Without total surrender of the self, God's compassion is not found. The moment this thought came to me, I forgot all shame, modesty, doubt. Leaving hold of that single cloth, I raised up both my hands. In anguish I cried, 'Lord, I am not mine own. This body is not mine. Therefore the whole responsibility of this body is yours. All is yours...It is you who are the primal cause. I know nothing'" (Ray 1995, 243).

Differentiating the Narratives: Ray and Divakaruni

The Hindu tradition itself being full of contradictions in its definition of Dharma, the role of women as goddesses and human figures, the portrayal of Draupadi is bound to be distinctive in each rendition of her story. In this part, the distinctive nature of the two novels will be elaborated keeping in mind that the novels were penned at a difference of more than a decade (1995-2008), Ray's novel preceding that of Divakaruni by thirteen years.

Secondly, the reader must consider the fact that Ray was one of the women writers in India when the society in general was wary of feminist voices and that Ray's other novels depict the traditional society where women adhere to prevalent social norms and if they voice "differences" it is very subtly, remaining within the margins of what is permissible within social norms. Divakaruni's works are scripted in the diasporic context and envisage a foreign reader or readers who travel to many countries and are not bound by the social paradigms of the traditional Indian society.

Feminisation and tradition

As Bannerjee Divakaruni (2012) mentions in the "author's note", she was left unsatisfied with the part the women play in the epic, "somehow they (the women) remained shadowy figures, their thoughts and motives mysterious, their emotions portrayed only when they affected the lives of the male heroes, their roles ultimately subservient to those of their fathers or husbands, brothers or sons" (Bannerjee Divakaruni 2012, xiv). Re-writing of the epic was for Divakaruni, a way to give voice to the women, to "place the women in the forefront of the action...to uncover the story that lay invisible between the lines of the men's exploits." (Bannerjee Divakaruni 2012, xv). And thus it is that Divakaruni portrays the heroine of the *Mahabharata*, a reflection of a modern day girl and woman, re-telling her story, "with all her joys and doubts, her struggles and her triumphs, her heartbreaks, her achievements, the unique female way in which she sees her world and her place in it...It is her life, her voice, her questions, and her vision that I invite you into in *The Palace of Illusions*" (Bannerjee Divakaruni 2012, xv). The notion of Svadharma or Dharma does not appear in the narrative except in a few instances.

Draupadi's image as portrayed by Ray is not that of a woman whose merit lies in revolting against the fabric of the society itself, but being that princess who submitted herself to the laws of the ideal Hindu woman, within the very structure of the family, yet interrogated them.

Bannerjee Divakaruni's Draupadi is of more lighthearted character, appears less burdened by her dharma as daughter and wife. It is Vyasa (appearing in the role of a fortuneteller in this novel) who makes her aware of her impending fate: "*You will marry the five greatest heroes of your time. You will be queen of queens, envied even by goddesses... You will be remembered for causing the greatest war of your time... Yes, indeed, you will leave a mark on history*" (Bannerjee Divakaruni 2012, 39).

Unlike Ray's Yajnaseni who seems aware of her duties and of her destiny from the moment of her birth and is constantly reminded of the same by her mentor Krishna, Divakaruni's protagonist is childlike, enjoys her days of innocence and she appears saddened by mundane incidents in her father's palace, by the treatment of other step-sisters or by the cold stony look of the building. In fact the word Dharma, which appears thirty-eight times in the first fifty pages of Ray's novel, does not appear even once in Divakaruni in the same number of pages.

Not only is Divakaruni heroine unmindful of her duties, her eventful life but her mentors too, especially her elderly mother-like dhai-ma, do not seem to prepare her for her fate. She too is oblivious of her ward's destiny and behaves with her as with any little girl not even of the rank of a princess.

Narrative strategies: voicing differences differently

Lancer (1986) poses the feminist question vis-à-vis narratology, that most theories of the narrative have been based on "men's texts or texts treated as men's texts" (Lancer 1986, 676). Such writing therefore lacks the tools to differentiate the writings of women and to examine their specificity. She suggests a re-writing of narratology "...that takes into account the contributions of women as both producers and interpreters of texts" (Lancer 1986, 677). In this regard, the text of Ray and Divakaruni could be re-examined as unique works which have adopted strategies of re-writing the story of Draupadi with a specific feminist narrative strategy.

Both the novels are written from the perspective of Draupadi, in the first person and thus the voice of the heroine can be heard. History has been nuanced with personal beliefs, philosophy, hurt pride - thus humanizing the stiff structure of the third person epic narrative. Yet the novels differ in their style, their voice and structure. *Yajnaseni's* introductory chapter is a philosophical reflection on life, on the past where Draupadi, befallen at the path to heaven has been abandoned by her five husbands while her sons are far away ruling their kingdom at Hastinapur. Divakaruni's novel follows a fairy-tale chapterisation, each chapter being titled with a single noun, such as "fire", "cosmology", "blue" and the protagonist appears from the very beginning as a prisoner to her fate, a little girl trapped in a dark, stony and lonely fortress at Panchal. Various incidents, such as the appearance of a sorceress at her father's palace who teaches her the secrets to be a good queen, a

good cook as well as to live the austere life of a mendicant –all of which will later enable her to live her days with the vagrant Pandavas– have been introduced by the author and do not exist in the main text. Such incidents as the predicaments by the Veda Vyasa who foretells her future, the gift of the parchment and a tale by the sorceress are elements which romanticize the story and don it with a fantastic fairy-tale atmosphere.

Ray introduces characters such as Nilambani, the princess' maid and Maya, a confidante, (a gift from Krishna's palace at Dwarka) in order to facilitate the narrative with these women as Draupadi's confidantes. However, unlike the sorceress, these characters are not new, but find their brief mention in the epic itself.

The principal events of the *Mahabharata* have been recounted in both the novels: the story of enmity between Drupad and Dronacharya which leads to the sacrificial fire and the birth of Draupadi, the marriage of Draupadi to the five Pandava brothers, Draupadi's molestation and rape at the dice game and the Great War. In Ray (1995), the voice of Draupadi is grave and wise even at its most personal moments: "At the very first sight of Karna, I do not know why, a fountain of maternal love gushed forth from my heart" (Ray 1995, 117), while the same incident of encountering the illegitimate son of Kunti, the handsome Karna is recounted differently by Divakaruni. On seeing the portrait of Karna Draupadi feels attracted by the solitude in his eyes: "His eyes were filled with an ancient sadness. They pulled me into them....Absurdly I wanted to be the reason for his smile" (Ray 1995, 69).

Ray's narrative is interspersed with philosophical musings, and the impersonal objectivity of the third person narration is more abundant in her narrative: "The inner being that is pervaded by Krishna is bereft of pride. Where pride rules, there only the shadow of Krishna resides, not Krishna....for getting rid of pride the ego has to be eliminated. One has to surrender. It is necessary to offer one self before others like the offerings made to a deity" (Ray 1995, 208). Thus Krishna remains a central character in Draupadi's life and musings. It is to him that Ray's Yajnaseni dedicates her life, her suffering and her freedom. It is for him alone that she lives. Ray's heroine is not an ordinary human being. From the very onset of the novel, the reader is aware of the towering feminine personality who not only shaped an epoch, but also shaped the spiritual destiny of a nation. Her life appears to be an adventure as well as an inner journey towards self-realisation.

Conclusion

Reinterpretations and re-writings of the myth of Draupadi exist in various oral and folk traditions, in India as well as in the Far-East. Poets, novelists in various Indian and foreign languages have re-told the story and comparative study of these stories would entail a separate research. This article has concentrated on two re-appropriations of the story of Draupadi which are available in English and are contemporary in their production.

Both the novels evolve around the story of the epic *Mahabharata* and re-define the idea of Draupadi being a woman like any other human being with her opinions, desires and expectations from life for which she had to challenge the notion of 'Stri-dharma' (woman's Dharma). While popular mythology and religion define Draupadi as the ideal wife, a suffering woman who obeyed first her father, her brother and then her husbands, these two novels endow her with a voice of her own, if not rebellious yet unrelenting in her questioning. The novels differ in their treatment and style.

Draupadi being a Kanya, or a virgin has been re-defined and emphasised upon by both Ray and Divakaruni. Here, as Chaturvadi (2008) explains in the context of Madhavi, another Kanya from the *Mahabharata*, "true virginity is of the mind and not of the body" (Chaturvadi (2008, 161). The relationship between Draupadi and Krishna who acts as an intelligent advisor as well as intimate confidante who guides Draupadi, depicted in the two novels, establish the independence of thought and action on the part of the protagonist. Such positive construction of femininity contest and displace the more prevalent models of female meekness, subordination and obedience (in the form of 'pativrata' or husband-worshipper) derived from other mythological figures such as Sita, Savitri and Anasuya.

While Ray's *Yajnaseni* is a regal, wise and patient queen, engaged in a spiritual quest, Krishna being her ultimate friend and master to whom she dedicates her desires and her calumny, Divakaruni portrays a spirited young, impatient and yet strong woman who is perhaps beleaguered by fate, but who has the tenacity to persist in her own path of liberation from a society which misunderstood her. The narrative structure and tone of *Yajnaseni* is serious, grave, the story going to and fro the present and the past, thus allowing self-reflection and philosophical after-thoughts to its subject-narrator. Divakaruni has modeled her novel in a quasi chronological manner interspersed with stories recounted by other voices, such as the dhai-ma, or Krishna who substantiate the narrative with stories of the past, and forebodings of the future. The novel abounds in dialogic conversations while Ray's work is replete with reflective monologues.

Sunder Rajan (2004) explains that, "In contrast to the Judeo-Christian tradition, Vedic Hinduism had female deities and (arguably) a matriarchal world-view (and that)...their dissemination via popular cultural forms like folk-theatre, mythology, song-and-dance performances and cinema has assisted the rise and dominance of women political leaders like Indira Gandhi, or folk heroines such as Phoolan Devi..." (Sunder Rajan 2004, 320-321). While such depictions may replace the world-view that women are universally exploited in Indian society, this may also lead to the temptation of idealising non-western societies as a 'resource' to meet the inadequacies of western philosophies and life-styles. Secondly, she points out that mythological figures drawn from Hindu, Brahminical texts may draw support from Hindu nationalist rhetoric and become propangandist in nature which will alienate non-Hindu and lower caste women (Sunder Rajan 2004, 324). Similarly, Spivak (1985) alerts us that in their resistance to the imperialist effacement of the mother-goddess figure, nationalist (male) elites were also performing a "reverse-ethnocentrism" (Spivak 1985, 125).

The re-construction of the figure of Draupadi, as the powerful, decisive, sometimes vociferous and revengeful woman with a mind and direction of her own may be construed in various political avatars as has been pointed out by contemporary feminists. The danger of idealizing an upper-caste Hindu woman may suit ideologies which may diminish the liberal character of feminism. Yet, in order to desist from such politicization, it should not be neglected that a large part of India's and even South-Asia's population can relate themselves to these figures. Secondly, re-writing the story of Draupadi is only a step to 'recover' the spaces of women's autonomy which Indian Vedic and post-Vedic society allowed and upheld but was gradually lost in time. Ray and Divakaruni have endowed the character with a new life, one quite different from the other, yet with a unique self-image, and an 'agency' which may go a long way in positing an example of an articulate, determined and self-righteous woman from Indian mythology.

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***Quondam* in the Treatises of Tacitus**

By Tikva Zadok*

In studies on Latin adverbs the discussion of a specific temporal adverb in a certain corpus is rare. Moreover, an adverb peculiar to Tacitus' books has not yet been analyzed in the studies concerning his language and style. Our study fills a gap in the researches on adverbs in Latin prose in general and in Tacitus' corpora in particular by examining the characteristic and unique usages of quondam in his treatises. Our grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive. It offers a thorough analysis of a specific adverb in a prose opus of one author, which is a restricted and homogeneous corpus. This enables us to present the full documentation of the adverb under discussion in the selected corpus. Our main results are: quondam functions as a temporal adverb or an adjective in a temporal sense and mostly occurs in Ann. It mainly modifies a finite verb, participial and an apposition. In a few cases it modifies more than one element in a clause/sentence. Its prevalent position is before the modified part of speech. Quondam is sometimes in proximity to a contrasting temporal adverb. A concluding comparison of quondam as an adverb and an adjective between Tacitus' treatises yielded mostly different features.

Keywords: Adverb, comparison, finite verb, posteriority, syntactic position

Introduction

The Purpose, Contribution and Innovation

The purpose of our research is to exemplify by means of a detailed linguistic analysis the characteristic/unique usages, including content/style, of *quondam* in Tacitus' books. The need for this kind of research arises from a lack of comprehensive analysis of a specific adv. in a certain corpus in general and in Tacitus' treatises in particular. Our innovation and contribution to the studies mentioned below is by an exhaustive discussion of a specific adv. *quondam* in a specific corpus of Tacitus' treatises.

Selected Studies on Latin Adverbs (in Chronological Order)

Studies Dealing with Adverbs in General

Schafner-Rimann (1958) discusses the adverbial suffix *-tim*. Menge (1961: §§461-498) concerns the adv.'s meanings, phrases with similar meaning to the same adv. and adverbial suffixes. Löfstedt (1967) discusses at length the frequency of the advs.' morphemes, noun and adj. as an adv. and the modified part of speech in general. The monumental study of Pinkster (1972) "*On Latin Adverbs*" emphasizes the need for further studies on advs. It contains a description of the

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advs.' functions in larger constructions, classificatory problems, the syntactic characteristics of advs. and other constituents (adverbial adjuncts, etc). It is not based on quotations from Tacitus' books. Devine and Stephens (2006) "*Latin Word Order*" deal at length with word order in general without a detailed analysis of a specific adv. in a certain corpus.

Studies Dealing with Specific Adverbs

Booth (1923) deals with the position of measure advs. in Roman comedy and in *de Agri Cultura* by Cato. Lundström (1961) concerns *abhinc* and *ante* with measure adv. in abl./acc. An exhaustive discussion on *prae* and *pro* as advs., prepositions and prefixes is offered by Francis (1973: 1-59). Solodow (1978) discusses the functions of *quidem* and its position. Risselada (1996: 105-125) deals with the functions of *nunc* as a discourse marker and a temporal complement as compared to *now* in English.

Selected Studies on the Language of Tacitus and His Style

Mendell (1911) give a detailed analysis on sentence connection in Tacitus' books. Voss (1963) discusses the emphatic style employed by Tacitus. Kirchner (2001) deals at length with sentences types in Tacitus' works and their functions.

Methodology

Our methodology and grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive, including quotations from the corpora¹ with literal translations wherever applicable.² The analysis is described with detailed comparative tables (see Tables 1-6 below). Our discussion contains seven sections: the distribution of *quondam* in each book and its variants; its meanings as an adv. and an adj. in a temporal sense; its proximity to a contrasting temporal adv. or without it; the part of speech modified by *quondam*; the position of *quondam* in relation to its modified element; a comparison of *quondam* as an adv. and an adj. between Tacitus' books; conclusions.

¹The quotations for our discussion in the corpora are according to the editions of Heubner (1978, 1994), Önnersfors (1983). Slight changes are according to Fisher (1906, 1911), Koestermann (1969, 1970, 1971), Schinzel (1971), Weiskopf (1973), Winterbottom, Ogilvie (1975), Römer (1976).

²In the references were indicated the treatise (in *Hist.* and *Ann.* also the book number) followed by a number of chapter and paragraph (*Ger.* 29,1; *Hist.* 2,9,2, etc.).

The Distribution of *quondam* in the Corpora and Its Variants

From Table 1 below, *quondam* occurs in 50x: *Ann.*-42x, *Hist.*-7x, *Ger.*-1x.³ The reading *quondam* and the phrases, in which it is included, are documented with five variants in 7x:

- A. *Quamdam*: *Hist.* 2,68,4 (Schinzel 1971: 72).
- B. *Quosdam*: *Hist.* 2,9,2 (Schinzel 1971: 72); *Ann.* 11,20,1 (Fisher 1906: 222, Koestermann 1971: 213, Weiskopf 1973: 24, Heubner 1994: 224).
- C. *Quodam*: *Hist.* 3,47,1 (Fisher 1911: 141; Koestermann 1969: 136).
- D. *Condam*: *Ann.* 16,10,4; 17,2 (Römer 1976: 131, 141).
- E. *Quondam* without *ut*: *Ann.* 16,22,2 (Römer 1976: 148).

Table 1. *The Distribution of Quondam in the Corpora*

Book	References	Cases
<i>Ann.</i>	1,8,5; 9,1; 12,4; 54,1; 63,4; 77,3; 2,27,2; 60,3; 63,1; 71,2; 80,2; 3,6,2; 16,4; 23,1; 33,4; 34,4; 56,4; 60,3; 69,5; 4,14,3; 25,1; 27,1; 31,3; 73,4; 6,7,2; 27,1; 37,3; 40,2; 47,1; 50,1; 11,1,1; 20,1; 12,22,2; 39,2; 56,1; 13,55,2; 14,18,2; 15,26,3-27,1; 71,4; 16,10,4; 17,2; 22,2	42
<i>Hist.</i>	1,46,1; 2,9,2; 68,4; 3,43,1; 47,1; 5,4,2; 7,2	7
<i>Ger.</i>	29,1	1
<i>Ag.</i>	-	-
<i>Dial.</i>	-	-
General Total		50

The Meanings of *Quondam* in the Corpora

As emerged from table 2 below, *quondam* is used for two descriptions in the corpora: a temporal adv. (33x) “formerly, in the past, once”⁴ and an adj./quasi-adj. in a temporal sense (17x) “former, previous” (see *OLD*: 1567c, s.v. *quondam*, adv., 1a-b) like *ante*, *antiquitus*. The alternative usages of the synonymous advs. are, *inter alia*, for variety and a stylistic characteristics of the author (for synonymous words in Latin see, e.g., Menge 1961, 1988).

In other corpora *quondam* also means “sometimes, at times” (like *aliquandō*, *modo*, *nunc*) or it refers to the future “at some future time, some day”.⁵

Temporal Adverb

Referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate militari

“(One of the senior priests) reported that seven hundred thousand (men) of military age had once dwelt (in Thebes)” (*Ann.* 2,60,3).

³Cf. Gerber, Greef 1877-1890, 2: 1347-48, s.v. *quondam*; Blackman, Betts 1986, 2: 1516-17.

⁴For this meaning see L, Sh: 1519a, s.v. *quondam*, adv., I; *OLD*: 1567c, s.v. *quondam*, adv., 1a-c.

⁵See L, Sh: 1519a, s.v. *quondam*, adv., II. A. B.; *OLD*: 1567c, s.v. *quondam*, adv., 2-3.

Adjective or a Quasi-Adjective

Subita per Pontum arma barbarum mancipium, regiae quondam classis praefectus, moverat

“A barbarian slave, the former prefect of the royal fleet, had excited a sudden uprising in Pontus” (*Hist.* 3,47,1).

Table 2. *The Meanings of Quondam in the Corpora*

Meaning	References	Cases
Adv.	<i>Ger.</i> 29,1; <i>Hist.</i> 3,43,1; 5,4,2; 7,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,8,5; 9,1; 12,4; 54,1; 63,4; 77,3; 2,27,2; 60,3; 71,2; 80,2; 3,6,2; 16,4; 23,1; 33,4; 34,4; 56,4; 60,3; 4,25,1; 6,40,2; 50,1; 11,1,1; 12,22,2; 39,2; 56,1; 13,55,2; 14,18,2; 15,26,3-27,1; 71,4; 16,22,2	33
Adj.	<i>Hist.</i> 1,46,1; 2,9,2; 68,4; 3,47,1; <i>Ann.</i> 2,63,1; 3,69,5; 4,14,3; 27,1; 31,3; 73,4; 6,7,2; 27,1; 37,3; 47,1; 11,20,1; 16,10,4; 17,2	17
General Total		50

Quondam in Proximity to a Contrasting Temporal Adverb or without It

From table 3 below, *quondam* is in proximity to one of eight temporal advs. for emphasis, contrast, etc. in 12x (8x-*quondam* adv., 4x-adj.). It is not next to a contrasting temporal adv. in 38x (25x-*quondam* adv., 13x-adj.).

*Quondam in Proximity to a Contrasting Temporal Adverb*Quondam: Adverb*Posterior adverb*Tum/tunc

Ne Tigranes quidem, Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia civium effugit

“Even Tigranes, who had formerly ruled Armenia and thereafter was a defendant, did not escape from the punishments of the (Roman) citizens on account of his royal title” (*Ann.* 6,40,2).

Mox: tum ... mox ... quondam

Tum lustratum rite exercitum ad contionem vocat ... mox iter L. Lucullo quondam⁶ penetratum, apertis⁷ quae vetustas obsaeperat, pergit

“Then after the customary purification (of the army Corbulo) called the army to a meeting ... then he proceeded along the route once penetrated by L. Lucullus, opening up (these places), which time had obstructed” (*Ann.* 15,26,3-27,1).

⁶*Quondam* refers to L. Lucullus' campaign to Tigranocerta in 69 B.C.

⁷According to Miller (1994: 77), *eis* “these places” (the antecedent of the following rel. cl.) is supplied and replaces a subject of the abl. absol. (its predicate is *apertis*). Cf. Ash 2018: 144.

Post: quondam ... mox ... post

Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum et post Usiporum fuisse
 “(Boiocalus reported) that these fields had once belonged to the Chamavi, thereafter to the Tubantes and later to the Usipi” (*Ann.* 13,55,2).

Mox and *post* are posterior to *quondam*, while *post* took place after *mox*.

Postea: see *Ann.* 3,34,4 below.

*Present Adverb*Nunc

‘*Ut quondam C. Caesarem*’ inquit ‘*et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, <et> Thraseam avida discordiarum civitas loquitur*’

“‘As once’ (Capito) said ‘our country in its eagerness for discord (talked of) C. Caesar and M. Cato, so now it talks of you, Nero, and of Thrasea’ ” (*Ann.* 16,22,2).

Iam: see *Ann.* 3,6,2 below.

Quondam ... nunc ... iam

Pervicacibus magis ... mulierum iussis, quae Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictae, nunc vinclis exsolutis domos fora, iam et exercitus regerent

“The women’s orders are the more headstrong ... who were formerly restrained by the Oppian and other laws, (but) now having thrown off (their) bonds they were ruling (our) homes, courts (and) now even our armies” (*Ann.* 3,33,4).

Iam replaces *nunc* (instead of the anaphora *nunc ... nunc*) and is strengthened by *et* “even”.

Quondam: Adjective*Posterior adverb*Mox

Primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra venit, exul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator ... mox repetita amicitia regis ... praefectus campis

“Ornospades, a former exile and not an inglorious adjuvant of Tiberius, arrived first in the camp with many thousand cavalry when he was stamping out the Dalmatian war ... later he had regained his king (Artabanus’) friendship ... (and) was appointed (governor) of the plains” (*Ann.* 6,37,3).

There is a contrast concerning time *quondam* ≠ *mox* and content *exul et Tiberio haud inglorius auxiliator* ≠ *praefectus campis*: formerly Ornospades had

been an exile and an adjuvant of Tiberius. Later he was appointed governor of the plains.

Nuper

Nam hic quondam praefectus praetorii et consularibus insignibus donatus ac nuper crimine coniurationis in Sardiniam exactus
 “For Rufrius Crispinus, formerly a commander of the praetorian guard and had been rewarded with consular insignia, but recently was exiled to Sardinia on a charge of conspiracy” (*Ann.* 16,17,2).

Posthac

Ann. 6,7,2 below: there are consecutive events: Servaeus and Minucius were brought to trial (*posthac inducti*) after Servaeus was formerly a companion of Germanicus (*quondam Germanici comes*).

Tum

Praetorii praefectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum
 “The (soldiers) chose their own praetorian prefects, Plotius Firmus formerly of the ranks (and) afterwards a commander of the watch” (*Hist.* 1,46,1).

Lack of a Contrasting Temporal Adverb

Quondam: Adverb

Impulit, dum ... amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat ... ostentat
 “(Firmius Catus) impelled (Drusus), while pointing to ... (his) paternal-aunt Scribonia, who had formerly been Augustus’ spouse” (*Ann.* 2,27,2).

Quondam: Adjective

Oscum quondam ludicrum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse, <ut> auctoritate patrum coercendum sit
 “(Tiberius said that) the old Oscan farce, the lightest amusement among the crowd, had become such indecency and violence, that it must be checked by the authority of the senate” (*Ann.* 4,14,3).

Table 3. *Quondam in Proximity to a Contrasting Temporal Adverb or without It*

A Temporal Adverb	References	Cases	Total
<i>Quondam</i> : adv. Posterior adv.: <i>tum/tunc</i> <i>Mox: tum ... mox ...</i> <i>quondam</i> <i>Post: quondam ...</i> <i>mox ... post</i> <i>Postea</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 6,40,2 <i>Ann.</i> 15,26,3-27,1 <i>Ann.</i> 13,55,2 <i>Ann.</i> 3,34,4	1 1 1 1	4
Present adv.: <i>nunc</i> <i>Iam</i> <i>Quondam ... nunc</i> <i>... iam</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 3,56,4; 16,22,2 <i>Ann.</i> 3,6,2 <i>Ann.</i> 3,33,4	2 1 1	4
<i>Quondam</i> : adj. Posterior adv.: <i>mox</i> <i>Nuper</i> <i>Posthac</i> <i>Tum</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 6,37,3 <i>Ann.</i> 16,17,2 <i>Ann.</i> 6,7,2 <i>Hist.</i> 1,46,1	1 1 1 1	4
Lack of a Temporal Adverb <i>Quondam</i> : adv.	<i>Ger.</i> 29,1; <i>Hist.</i> 3,43,1; 5,4,2; 7,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,8,5; 9,1; 12,4; 54,1; 63,4; 77,3; 2,27,2; 60,3; 71,2; 80,2; 3,16,4; 23,1; 60,3; 4,25,1; 6,50,1; 11,1,1; 12,22,2; 39,2; 56,1; 14,18,2; 15,71,4	25	38
<i>Quondam</i> : adj.	<i>Hist.</i> 2,9,2; 68,4; 3,47,1; <i>Ann.</i> 2,63,1; 3,69,5; 4,14,3; 27,1; 31,3; 73,4; 6,27,1; 47,1; 11,20,1; 16,10,4	13	

The Part of Speech modified by *quondam* in a Clause/Sentence

The part of speech modified by *quondam* is explicit (except for 2x). It is mentioned in the cl., in which *quondam* is included, and rarely in the cl. precedes/follows *quondam*. In a few cases the adv. modifies more than one element. The grammatical forms modified by it are as follows:

Quondam: adv. A. Finite verb-13x: 1) P.q.p.-10x (1x + dat. in idiom). 2) Perf.-2x. 3) Fut. II-1x; B. Participia-11x: 1) P.P.P.-10x: a) Replaces a cl.-9x (1x + adj. [attribute]). b) Perf. pass. without *esse*-1x. 2) P.P.A. [attribute] + adj. [attribute]-1x; C. Inf. perf. act./pass.: predicate of AcI-5x; D. Adj.-4x: 1) Attribute-3x. 2) Predicate of abl. absol.-1x.

Quondam: adj. A. Noun⁸-2x; A.a) Apposition-10x; A.b) Subst. adj. in apposition-1x; B. Adj. [attribute]-3x; B.a) Noun + adj. [attribute]-1x. For references see table 4 below.

In the quotations of this section, the relevant element modified by *quondam*, is underlined.

Quondam: Adverb

The Part of Speech Is Explicit

Finite verb

Pluperfect

(1) *Iram eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania ... quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat* “(Asinius Gallus) did not soften (Tiberius’) anger, for (Gallus) had long been detested (by Tiberius) because of his marriage to Vipsania ... who had formerly been Tiberius’ wife” (*Ann.* 1,12,4).

On the quasi-causal meaning of *tamquam* see, e.g., Goodyear 1972: 180.

(2) *Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam T. Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat* “The same year acquired new ceremonies when an office of Augustal priests was set up, just as in former days T. Tatius had founded the Titian Fellows to preserve the rites of the Sabines” (*Ann.* 1,54,1).

(3) *Populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum* “(Tiberius) warned the people by an edict that (they will not disturb the funeral) of Augustus, as they had formerly disrupted by their excessive enthusiasm the funeral of the deified Julius” (*Ann.* 1,8,5).⁹

In Idiom: Dative + P.Q.P.

Neroni invisus, quod Poppaeam quondam matrimonio tenuerat “(Rufrius Crispinus) was hated by Nero, because he had formerly been married to Poppaea” (*Ann.* 15,71,4).

In the Clause Following *quondam*: *Ann.* 12,56,1 below.

⁸For an adv., which rarely modifies a noun in Latin, see Kühner and Stegmann 1962, 2/1: §59; Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr 1963, 1: §101, b.

⁹See also *Ann.* 2,27,2 above; *Hist.* 3,43,1; 5,4,2; *Ann.* 1,77,3; 12,39,2 (*quondam* modifies *excisi + traiecti forent*) below.

Perfect

Eamque aetatem, qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. Neque nunc propere

“(Tiberius pointed out that Drusus was) of the same age (as himself), when (Tiberius) himself had formerly been summoned by the divine Augustus to undertake this office. Nor (was it) now hastily (he added)” (*Ann.* 3,56,4).

In The Clause Following *quondam*

Ann. 16,22,2 above: *loquitur* is modified in the main cl. *ita ... loquitur* by *nunc* in present without repetition of it in the comparison cl. *ut ... Catonem* with *quondam*.

Future Perfect: Ann. 3,6,2 below.

Participia

P.P.A. (Attribute) + Adjective (Attribute)

Si quos spes meae ... erga viventem movebat, inlacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse

“If my hopes ... moved anyone towards the living (man), they will shed tears that (a man) once flourishing and survivor of so many wars has fallen by a woman’s deceit” (*Ann.* 2,71,2).

P.P.P.

Replaces a Clause

(1) *Plerisque vana mirantibus quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus*. “Many people expressed wonder over the idle (topics) that the same day, on which (Augustus) formerly assumed sovereignty, (was) the first and also the last of his life” (*Ann.* 1,9,1).

(2) *Non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si iure ageretur-potioem, si armis-non invalidum vidissent*. “(Piso said that Sentius)’ soldiers will not fight when they see that Piso, whom they themselves once called ‘father’, (is) the stronger-if the verdict is by justice (and) not powerless-if by arms” (*Ann.* 2,80,2).¹⁰

+ Adjective (Attribute): *Ann.* 14,18,2 below.

Perf. Pass. (without *esse*): *Ann.* 3,33,4 above.

Inf. Perf. Act./Pass.: Predicate of AcI

¹⁰See also *Ann.* 6,40,2; 15,26,3-27,1 above; 1,63,4; 3,16,4; 23,1 (*quondam* modifies *destinata* referring to Lepida); 4,25,1 below.

(1) *Valerium Asiaticum, bis consulem, fuisse quondam adulterum eius credidit* “(Messalina) believed that Valerius Asiaticus, being twice consul, had formerly been Poppaea’s adulterer” (*Ann.* 11,1,1).

(2) *Praefatus ... maiorem ei patrum Cottam Messalinum esse, Memmio quondam Regulo nuptam* “(Claudius) prefaced ... that Cotta Messalinus (was Lollia’s) great-uncle (and) she had once been married to Memmius Regulus” (*Ann.* 12,22,2).

Adjective

Attribute

Ego sicut inclutas quondam urbes igne caelesti flagrasse concesserim, ita halitu lacus infici terram, conrumpi superfusum spiritum ... reor
 “I am ready to think on the one hand, that once famous cities were burnt up by fire from heaven, while on the other hand, I think that the soil is infected by the exhalation from the lake (and) the surrounding air is tainted” (*Hist.* 5,7,2).

See also *Ann.* 2,71,2 above; 14,18,2 below.

Predicate of Abl. Absol. in the Clause Preceding *quondam*

Ann. 3,60,3 below: in the comparison cl. *quondam* modifies the predicate of abl. absol. *libero*¹¹ mentioned in the main cl. (*libero* + *quid* ... *mutaretve*) in present.

The Part of Speech Is not Explicit

(1) *Tandem apud promunturium Miseni consedit in villa, cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus.* “(Tiberius) finally settled down on the promontory of Misenum, in a villa of which L. Lucullus (had) once (been its) master” (*Ann.* 6,50,1).

The villa had belonged to L. Lucullus before Tiberius settled down on the promontory of Misenum. Consequently, the implied verb of the rel. cl. *cui* ... *dominus* is *fuera*t in p.q.p. (cf. Gerber and Greef 1877-1890, 2: 1347, s.v. *quondam*).

(2) *Chattorum quondam populus.* “(The Batavians were) formerly a tribe of the Chatti” (*Ger.* 29,1).

Quondam: Adjective

Noun

¹¹A participle or adj. in n. as predicate of abl. absol. with a sentence as its subject is abundant in *Ann.* Cf. L, Sh: 1057a, s.v. 1. *liber, era, erum*, adj. I. (ε); *OLD*: 1023c, s.v. *liber*¹, -era, -erum, adj. 10.c; Furneaux 1897: §19a.

Is in maestitiam compositus et fidem suorum quondam militum invocans, ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat

“The pretender (to Nero), assuming an appearance of sorrow and appealing to the fidelity of his own former soldiers, begged (the captains) to land him in Syria or Egypt” (*Hist.* 2,9,2).

See also *Ann.* 16,10,4 below.

Apposition

(1) *Hist.* 2,68,4 below: *quondam* modifies the apposition *ducis sui* of Verginius Rufus (cf. the translation of Gerber and Greef 1877-1890, 2: 1347, s.v. *quondam*).

(2) *Pars maeroris fuit, quod Iulia Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxore, denupsit in domum Rubellii Blandi* “Part of (Rome’s) sorrow was for Julia, Drusus’ daughter (and) formerly Nero’s wife, married (now) into the family of Rubellius Blandus” (*Ann.* 6,27,1).

(3) *Laelius Balbus Acutiam, P. Vitellii quondam uxorem, maiestatis postulaverat* “Laelius Balbus had accused Acutia, the former wife of P. Vitellius, of treason” (*Ann.* 6,47,1).¹²

A Substantivized Adjective in Apposition

Hist. 1,46,1 above: *quondam* modifies *e manipularibus*, an apposition of Plotius Firmus.

Adjective: Attribute

(1) *Scriptis Tiberio ... multis nationibus clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocantibus Romanam amicitiam praetulisse*

“(Maroboduus) wrote to Tiberius ... that he had preferred the Roman friendship, although many nations had invited to them the king once so glorious” (*Ann.* 2,63,1).

(2) *Mox compertum a transfugis ... quadringerorum manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiari(i) villa ... mutuis ictibus procubuisse*

“Later it was reported by deserters ... that a detachment of four hundred (Romans), after occupying the villa of Cruptorix, a former mercenary ... had fallen by mutual blows” (*Ann.* 4,73,4).

See also *Ann.* 4,14,3 above.

Noun + Adjective (Attribute)

Nihil aliud prolocutus quam ‘beatos quondam duces Romanos’

“(Corbulo) made no utterance except ‘happy (were) the Roman commanders of old!’” (*Ann.* 11,20,1).

¹²See also *Hist.* 3,47,1 (*quondam* modifies *praefectus*, an apposition of the *S mancipium*. Cf. Wolf 1926: 58); *Ann.* 6,37,3; 16,17,2 above; *Ann.* 3,69,5; 4,27,1; 31,3; 6,7,2 below.

Table 4. *The Part of Speech Modified by Quondam*

The Modified Part of Speech	References	Cases	Total
Quondam-adv.			
Finite verb: p.q.p.	<i>Hist.</i> 3,43,1; 5,4,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,8,5; 12,4; 54,1; 77,3; 2,27,2; 12,39,2	8	
In idiom	<i>Ann.</i> 15,71,4	1	
In the following cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 12,56,1	1	
Perf.	<i>Ann.</i> 3,56,4	1	
In the following cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 16,22,2	1	
Fut. II	<i>Ann.</i> 3,6,2	1	13
Participia			
P.P.P. : replaces a cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 1,9,1; 63,4; 2,80,2; 3,16,4; 23,1; 4,25,1; 6,40,2; 15,26,3-27,1	8	
+ adj. (attribute)	<i>Ann.</i> 14,18,2	1	
Perf. pass. (without <i>esse</i>)	<i>Ann.</i> 3,33,4	1	
P.P.A. (attrib.) + adj. (attrib.)	<i>Ann.</i> 2,71,2	1	11
Inf. perf. act./pass. predicate of Acl	<i>Ann.</i> 2,60,3; 3,34,4; 11,1,1; 12,22,2; 13,55,2	5	5
Adjective : attribute	<i>Hist.</i> 5,7,2; <i>Ann.</i> 2,71,2; 14,18,2	3	
Predicate of abl. absol. in the preceding cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 3,60,3	1	4
Is not explicit	<i>Ger.</i> 29,1; <i>Ann.</i> 6,50,1	2	2
Quondam-adj.: Noun	<i>Hist.</i> 2,9,2; <i>Ann.</i> 16,10,4	2	
Apposition	<i>Hist.</i> 2,68,4; 3,47,1; <i>Ann.</i> 3,69,5; 4,27,1; 31,3; 6,7,2; 27,1; 37,3; 47,1; 16,17,2	10	
Subst. adj. in apposition	<i>Hist.</i> 1,46,1	1	
Adj. (attribute)	<i>Ann.</i> 2,63,1; 4,14,3; 73,4	3	
Noun + adj. (attribute)	<i>Ann.</i> 11,20,1	1	17

The Position of *quondam* in Relation to the Part of Speech Modified by It

The typical word order in a cl./sentence is S (+ its modifiers)-OID/OD-V (+ its modifiers). Temporal/negative advs. and temporal phrases (*paulo ante*, *iam diu*, etc.) usually precede the modified element. Exceptions to these rules for variety, emphasis, etc. are generally used in classical Latin prose (chiefly in rhetorical passages and poetry) by: 1) Metathesis of words: the adv. occurs after its modified part of speech (apart from monosyllabic words such as *non*, *vel*), the verb precedes its subject; 2) Hyperbaton between the adv. and the modified part of speech; 3) Proximity of similar words (*modo ... nunc*) or opposite ones (*olim ... mox*).

The position of *quondam* in relation to the part of speech modified by it was examined by linguistic/stylistic means and contexts (where some message is to be highlighted, word order, anaphora, a chiasmic/parallel structure mainly when two pairs of words are contrasted; cf. Fanetti 1978-79). The interval between *quondam*

and its modified element was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words (usually ranges from one to three words with exceptions consisting of more words). On the other hand, it is not always possible to find any explanation or an unequivocal explanation on the adv.'s position, due to differences in content/style between the oratorical/historical works of Tacitus. Latin word order is not fixed in the sentence, despite its freedom. Likewise, the opinions on the adv.'s position are not uniform.¹³

Quondam: adverb. **A.** Its prevalent position is before its modified part of speech-19x: first position-6x; second placement-1x; third position or further removed-12x. **B.** After it-7x: first position-6x; second placement-1x. **C.** Two positions-5x: 1) First position before + 1.1) Second placement before-1x; 1.2) Third position or further removed before-2x; 2) Second position before + 2.1) Second place after-1x; 2.2) Third position or further removed before-1x.

Quondam: adjective. **A.** Before its modified element-8x: first position-4x; second placement-3x; third position or further removed-1x. **B.** After it: first position-4x. **C.** Two positions-5x: 1) First + second position before-4x; 2) First position after + third place before-1x.

Quondam is not placed at the end of a cl./sentence (for references see table 5 below).

Quondam: Adverb

Before the Modified Part of Speech

First Position

(1) *Sue abstinent memoria cladis, quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium* “(The Jews) abstain from (eating) pork in recollection of a plague, for the scab to which this animal (is) liable, formerly infected themselves” (*Hist.* 5,4,2).

The causal cl. *quod ... turpaverat* deals with the subject *scabies*, which is also the antecedent of the following rel. cl. *cui ... obnoxium*. However, the OD *ipsos* precedes the subject *scabies*, in order to juxtapose *ipsos* to the Jews mentioned before. For these reasons, in the causal cl. *quondam* + its modified verb *turpaverat* are postponed to its end with the order causal conj. - OD - S - temporal adv. - modified V.

(2) *Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat.* “The intervention was nevertheless effective, for the divine Augustus had once pronounced that the actors (were) immune from floggings” (*Ann.* 1,77,3).

In the causal cl. (*quia ... responderat*) *quondam* is embedded between the AcI *immunes verberum*¹⁴ *histriones* (governed by *responderat*) and its modified verb *responderat*. By this word order is emphasized the AcI in the past.

¹³See Booth 1923: IX; Marouzeau 1948: 155-61; 1949: 11-33, Kühner and Stegmann 1962, 2/2: §246, Bos 1967: 117, Pinkster 1972; 1990: 163-188; de Jong 1991; Elerick 1994; Devine and Stephens 2006, Hoffmann 2010.

¹⁴For *immunis* + gen. see L, Sh: 895, s.v. *immunis*, e, adj., II. (α); OLD: 839a, s.v. *immunis*, e, adj., 4.

(3) *Adfertur Numidas apud castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, consedissee* “It was reported that the Numidians had encamped in a half-ruined fortress, which had formerly been burnt by them” (*Ann.* 4,25,1).

The attribute cl. *ab ... incensum* of *castellum* is introduced by an abl. instr. *ab ipsis*, because it refers to the Numidians mentioned before. For this reason, *quondam* is not placed in second position before the modified *incensum* (replacing a rel. cl. of *castellum*), but in first position before it, while in the attribute cl. the order is abl. instr. - temporal adv. - modified P.P.P.

Cf. *Ann.* 2,80,2 above: in order to juxtapose the abl. instr. *ab ipsis* to *militibus* mentioned before *ubi* cl. and also the praedicativum *parentem* to *Pisonem*, *quondam* appears before the modified *appellatum* of the attribute cl. (*ab ipsis ... appellatum*) referring to *Pisonem* in AcI (governed by *vidissent*).

(4) *Ann.* 15,26,3-27,1 above: in the attribute cl. *L. ... penetratum* of *iter* the adv. is embedded between dat. agentis *L. Lucullo* and the modified *penetratum* (referring to the internal acc. *iter*; see *OLD*: 1324a, s.v. *penetro*, 2.a). *Quondam* in first position after *penetratum* (sc. *penetratum quondam apertis*) can be interpreted as modifying the predicate *apertis* of abl. absol.

(5) *Ann.* 6,40,2 above: *quondam-tunc* before the modified elements *potitus-reus* (referring to Tigranes) emphasize the semantic parallel contrast between the following multiple parts: formerly Tigranes was a ruler and later became a defendant. Accordingly, Armenia in abl. loci governed by *potitus*¹⁵ appears before *quondam* and not near *potitus*: *quondam potitus*



Second Position

Honos apud praetorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat

“(Valerius Paulinus was held in) honor by the Praetorian (soldiers), whose tribune he had formerly been” (*Hist.* 3,43,1).

The apposition *tribunus* of the S Valerius Paulinus is highlighted by its occurrence between *quondam* and the modified verb *fuerat*. Cf. *Ann.* 1,12,4; 2,27,2 above.

Third Position or Further Removed

(1) *Ann.* 1,8,5 above: in the comparison cl. (*ut ... turbassent*) *turbassent* is emphasized by its modifier *quondam* + an abl. modi *nimiis studiis* occurring before it. The OD *funus divi Iulii* of the comparison cl. is compared to the OD *Augustum* of the main cl. *ita Augustum* (without repetition of *funus*).

(2) *Ann.* 3,56,4 above: the subject *ipse* (viz. Tiberius) of the rel. cl. (*qua ipse ... vocatus sit*) is in proximity to the rel. pron. *qua*, in order to juxtapose *ipse* to *eamque aetatem*, which refers to Tiberius’ age. An abl. instr. *a divo Augusto* + gndv. of purpose *ad capessendum hoc munus* concern Tiberius’ age and reinforce

¹⁵See L, Sh: 1409a, s.v. 1. *potior*, II. (γ); *OLD*: 1418b, s.v. *potior*¹, 5. a.

the modified verb *vocatus sit* with their insertion between *quondam* and *vocatus sit*. Cf. *Ann.* 1,54,1 above: *instituerat* is emphasized by *quondam* + gndv. in dat. of purpose *retinendis Sabinorum sacris*.

(3) *Ann.* 3,33,4 above: *quondam* occurs between both adjs. *Oppiis* + *aliisque* of *legibus*. In this manner, the modified verb *constrictae* by *quondam* is also emphasized by: 1) An abl. instr. *Oppiis aliisque legibus*, explaining by which the women's orders were formerly restrained; 2) A parallel contrast (adv.-modified V) between *quae ... constrictae* and *nunc ... regerent* (with repetition of *iam* instead of the anaphora by *nunc*): *quondam constrictae*


nunc iam regerent

(4) *Angustus is trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus* – “This (was) a narrow causeway amid vast swamps and which had formerly been constructed by L. Domitius” (*Ann.* 1,63,4).

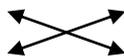
The attribute cl. (*quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus*) of *trames* describes the place, on which the narrow causeway was located. An abl. agentis *a L. Domitio* between *quondam* and *aggeratus* draws attention by whom the narrow causeway had formerly been constructed. Consequently, the order is temporal adv. - abl. agentis - modified P.P.P. (*aggeratus* replacing a rel. cl. of *trames*).

(5) *Referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus ereptis nepotibus abstruserint tristitiam*

“Now (the Romans’) spirits should be restored to fortitude, as formerly the divine Julius (Caesar) after the loss of his only daughter (and) as the divine Augustus when bereaved of his grandchildren had set aside (their) sorrow” (*Ann.* 3,6,2).

The contrast between *quondam* + fut. II (the S = *Iulius* + *Augustus*) of the comparison cl. *ut quondam ... tristitiam* and *iam* + gerundive (the S = the Romans) of the main cl. *referendum ... firmitudinem* is strengthened by a chiasmic order (modified gndv.-adv./adv.-modified V). The OD *tristitiam* occurs after *abstruserint*, in order to avoid a long hyperbaton between *abstruserint* and its subjects. A parallel order (conj.-S-abl. absol.) between both multiple parts *ut ... filia; ut ... nepotibus* of the comparison cl. highlights when Caesar and Augustus had set aside their sorrow:

referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem



ut quondam ... abstruserint tristitiam

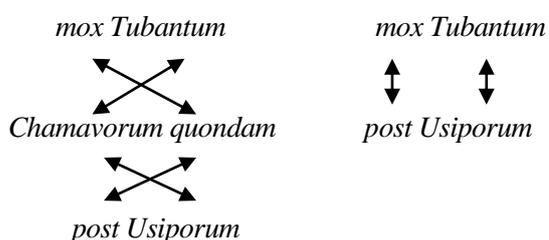
ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica


ut divus Augustus ereptis nepotibus

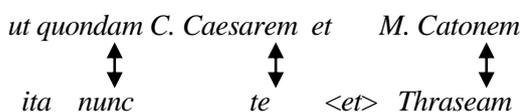
(6) ‘*Quondam divo Augusto parenti tuo probatus ... salutem infelicis filii rogo*’ “ ‘I who formerly won the esteem of the divine Augustus your father ... beg (you) for the safety of my unfortunate son’ ” (*Ann.* 3,16,4).

In the attribute cl. *quondam ... probatus* of the subject Piso *quondam* is in third position and further removed before the modified *probatus*, due to dat. agentis (+ its adj. and apposition) *divo Augusto parenti tuo* governed by *probatus* (see, e.g., *OLD*: 1404c, s.v. *probatus*, -a, -um, 2.b).

(7) *Ann.* 13,55,2 above): The predicate *fuisse* of AcI (after Boiocalus’ report) is modified by three temporal advs.: *quondam*, *mox* and *post*. Since *quondam* is anterior to *mox* and *post*, it is placed before them and is in third position and further removed before *fuisse*. In the following three multiple parts occur chiasitic/parallel arrangements between the advs. and the modifiers in gen. of the subject *ea arva*:



(8) *Ann.* 16,22,2 above): *loquitur* (its S = *civitas*) is mentioned only in the main cl. *ita ... loquitur* in present, but is modified by *quondam* and *nunc*. This phenomenon is expressed by: 1) A parallel contrast (adv.-multiple OD) between the comparison cl. and its main cl.; 2) *Ita* (in correlation to *ut*) before *nunc*:



Stylistically, *loquor* can not be placed in the comparison cl. in the past tense, due to *inquit* in perfect (introducing Capito’s direct speech) with the same meaning of *loquitur*.

(9) *Lacu in ipso navale proelium adornatur, ut quondam Augustus structo cir<ca> Tiberim stagno, sed levibus navigiis et minore copia ediderat*. “A naval battle was arranged on the lake (Fucinus) itself, just as Augustus had formerly exhibited in a pool, which had been constructed near the Tiber, but with light vessels and a smaller force” (*Ann.* 12,56,1).

Adverbial exprs. in abl./acc. usually precede the verb. In this example, abl. loci/instr. + acc. of place (*structo ... copia* referring to *lacu* of the main cl. *lacu ... adornatur*) are embedded between the subject Augustus and the modified verb *ediderat* of the comparison cl. *ut quondam ... ediderat*. This is in order to point out the place *structo circa Tiberim stagno* and the instrument *levibus navigiis et minore copia*, by which Augustus had formerly exhibited the naval battle.

After the Modified Part of Speech

First Position

(1) *Ann.* 1,9,1 above: *quondam* is embedded between the modified *accepti* (referring to *imperii*) and *imperii*. The adv. after the whole phrase *accepti imperii* (i.e. *dies accepti imperii quondam princeps et vitae supremus*) may modify an omitted copula *esse* of the multiple predicate nouns *princeps + vitae supremus* of *dies*. Accordingly, in the attribute cl. *accepti quondam imperii* of *dies* the order is modified P.P.P. - temporal adv. - gen. of the S *dies*.

(2) *Quirinio clamitarent, cuius senectae atque orbitati et obscurissimae domui destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus dederetur*

“(The crowd) repeatedly shouted against Quirinius, to whose old age, childlessness and most obscure family, (Lepida), once destined as wife of L. Caesar and daughter-in-law of the divine Augustus, was surrendered” (*Ann.* 3,23, 1).

In the rel. cl. (*cuius ... dederetur*) *quondam* occurs between the modified *destinata* (referring to Lepida and governs dat. *senectae ... domui* [with polysyndeton between the datives]) and both multiple chiasmic appositions (nom.-dat./dat.-nom.) of Lepida. By this word order is emphasized that Lepida was destined in the past as wife of L. Caesar and also as daughter-in-law of Augustus. *Quondam* after both appositions (sc. *destinata uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus quondam dederetur*) will modify, from a preliminary reading, *dederetur*:



(3) *Ann.* 11,1,1 above: in the AcI cl. (governed by *credidit*; its S = Messalina) the apposition *adulterum eius* (*eius* refers to Poppaea) of the S Valerius Asiaticus is also made salient by placing *quondam* between the modified predicate *fuisse* and the apposition. *Quondam* in third position after *fuisse* (i.e. *fuisse ... quondam credidit*) may modify *credidit*.

(4) ‘*Placuisse quondam Oppias leges, sic temporibus rei publicae postulantibus; remissum aliquid postea et mitigatum, quia expedierit*’ “The Oppian laws were formerly accepted, since the circumstances of the state so required (them. But) subsequently there were some relaxation and mitigation, since it was expedient’ ” (*Ann.* 3,34,4).

In the AcI cl. *placuisse ... leges* (after Valerius Messalina’s reply) the modified predicate *placuisse* by *quondam* is emphasized by metathesis of words: it introduces the AcI cl. and occurs before *quondam* + the S *Oppias leges*. The same word order is valid in *Ann.* 2,60,3 above.

(5) *Hist.* 5,7,2 above: *quondam* appears after the modified adj. *inlutas* of the S *urbes* in AcI (governed by *reor*) and not before it (i.e. *quondam inlutas ... flagrasse*), since it may modify *flagrasse*. An abl. instr. *igne caelesti* between

inclutas quondam urbes and *flagrasse* highlights by which once famous cities burnt up. In this manner is emphasized a chiasitic contrast (S-inf. perf./inf. praes.-S) between the comparison cl. *sicut ... concesserim* and its main cl. *ita ... spiritum* (for *ut/sicut ... ita* see, e.g., *OLD*: 973a, s.v. *ita*, adv., 4):

conrumpi spiritum



urbes flagrasse



infici terram

Second Position

Libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret mutaretve

“(The senate) is free, as formerly, regarding what to confirm or change” (*Ann.* 3,60,3).

The predicate *libero* of the abl. absol. precedes its subject cl. *quid firmaret mutaretve* (see n. 11 above). In order to juxtapose the modified predicate *libero* of the main cl. to *quondam* (in the past), the comparison cl. *ut quondam* is embedded in its main cl. *libero + quid ... mutaretve*.

First Position before +

Second Position before

Ann. 15,71,4 above: the adv. is placed before the OID *matrimonio* and not *vice versa*, since it modifies the idiom *matrimonio tenuerat* (OID + V; its S = Rufrius Crispinus).

Third Position and Further Removed before

(1) *Ann.* 2,71,2 above: *quondam* is placed before both modified attributes *florentem + superstitem* (with the coord. conj. *et* between them) of the subject Germanicus in AcI (after *inlacrimabunt*;¹⁶ the predicate = *cecidisse*). On ground of gen. obiect. *tot bellorum* before *superstitem*, *quondam* is in third position before the second modified attribute *superstitem*.

(2) *Missum disceptatorem a Claudio agrorum, quos regis Apionis quondam avitos et populo Romano cum regno relictos proximus quisque possessor invaserant*¹⁷ “(Acilius Strabo) was sent by Claudius as an arbitrator of the estates,

¹⁶For the AcI construction after *inlacrimo* see, e.g., *OLD*: 826b, s.v. *illacrimo*; Goodyear 1981: 413.

¹⁷For the reading *invaserat* in sg. see Koestermann 1971: 305, Heubner 1994: 318. According to Woodcock (1992: 107), *invaserant* is in pl. (see also Fisher 1906: 313) after *quisque* by *constructio ad sensum*.

which once the ancestral estate of the King Apion and had been left along with his kingdom, any of the neighboring proprietors had invaded” (*Ann.* 14,18,2).

Proximus ... invaserant (S + V) of the rel. cl. *quos ... invaserant* are postponed to its end, in order to avoid a long hyperbaton between both modified elements by *quondam* (sc. adj. *avitos* + P.P.P. *relictos* replaces a rel. cl. of *quos*) and their OD *quos*. *Quondam* is in third position and further removed before *relictos* due to dat. + abl. sociat. (*populo ... cum regno*) before *relictos*.

Second Position before +

Second Placement after

Ann. 12,22,2 above: in the AcI cl. *Memmio ... nuptam* (after Claudius remarks) *quondam* is in second position after *esse* + second place before *nuptam*, which are modified by it (the S = Lollia): 1) In order that the predicate *nuptam* of AcI in inf. perf. pass. will be near *esse* mentioned in the preceding AcI; 2) Due to dat. *Memmio* Regulo governed by *nubo*.

Third Position and Further Removed before

Accendebat vulgata imper<atoris> Romani vox, ut quondam Sugambri excisi aut in Gallias traieci forent, ita Silurum nomen penitus exstinguendum

“The rumoured saying of the Roman commander infuriated (the Silures) that, as formerly the Sugambrians had been exterminated or transferred to the Gallic (provinces), so the Silures’ name ought to be extinguished completely” (*Ann.* 12,39, 2).

In the comparison cl. (*ut ... forent*) *forent* refers to both modified verbs *excisi* + *traieci* by *quondam* in O.O. governed by *vox*. Their subject *Sugambri* is placed before them, whereas the acc. direct. *in Gallias* refers only to *traieci forent* and occurs before it. Consequently, *quondam* is in second position before *excisi* + in third position before *traieci forent*.

Quondam: Adjective

Before the Modified Part of Speech

First Position

(1) *Ann.* 4,73,4 above: the adv. occurs before the modified adj. *stipendiarii* of *Cruptorigis* and not before the whole phrase *Cruptorigis stipendiarii* (viz. *occupata quondam Cruptorigis stipendiarii villa*), since it will modify at first sight the predicate *occupata* of the abl. absol. For this reason, *Cruptorigis* precedes *quondam* + the adj. *stipendiarii*.

(2) *Neve consulatus sui quondam collegam dederet liberto ... clamitabat*

“(Poppaea) repeatedly cried out that (Nero) would not surrender his former colleague of his own consulship to a freedman” (*Ann.* 16,10,4).

In the indirect command cl. *neve ... liberto* (after *clamitabat*) *quondam* is embedded between the reflex. pron. *sui* (in gen. object.) of Nero and its modified OD *collegam*, in order to juxtapose *sui quondam collegam* to Nero mentioned before. Consequently, the OD *collegam* precedes the OID *liberto* in dat. (governed by *dederet*; see *OLD*, 496b, s.v. *dedo*, 1.b). *Consulatus*, an attribute in gen. to *sui quondam collegam*, occurs before it with the typical word order in Latin.

For a similar word order see *Hist.* 2,9,2 above.

Second Position

Q. Servaeus posthac Minucius Thermus inducti, Servaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes

“Afterwards Q. Servaeus (and) Minucius Thermus were brought to trial. Servaeus having held the praetorship and formerly a companion of Germanicus” (*Ann.* 6,7,2).

Quondam, which modifies the nucleus *comes* of the apposition *Germanici comes* (its S = Q. Servaeus), is in second position before it due to the modifier in gen. *Germanici* before *comes*.

See also *Ann.* 6,27,1; 47,1 above.

Third Position

Auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles

“The instigator of the revolt (was) T. Curtisius, a former soldier of the praetorian guard” (*Ann.* 4,27,1).

Quondam modifies the nucleus *miles* of the apposition *praetoriae cohortis miles* (its S = T. Curtisius). If it is placed in first position before *miles* (viz. *praetoriae cohortis quondam miles*), only *miles* will be an apposition of the S, while *praetoriae cohortis* alone will be an attribute in gen. of the subject (mainly in an unpunctuated text) as follows: “T. Curtisius of the praetorian cohort, a former soldier”. The same phenomenon is valid in *Hist.* 3,47,1 above.

After the Modified Element

First Placement

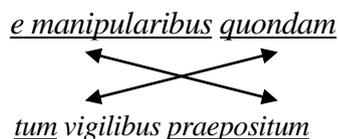
(1) *Ann.* 4,14,3 above: the subject *ludicrum* of AcI (after Tiberius report) consists of two descriptions: 1) The modified adj. *Oscum* by *quondam*; 2) *Levissimae oblectationis* (adj. + N) in gen. qualitatis. *Quondam* is in first position after *Oscum* and not in second one after it (i.e. *Oscum ludicrum quondam levissimae*), because it will apparently modify the adj. *levissimae*.

(2) *P. Suillium, quaestorem quondam Germanici ... amovendum in insulam censuit* “(Tiberius) held that P. Suillius, a former quaestor of Germanicus ... ought to be banished to an island” (*Ann.* 4,31,3).

The nucleus *quaestorem* of the apposition *quaestorem Germanici* (its S = Suillius in AcI governed by *censuit*) is emphasized by its occurrence before

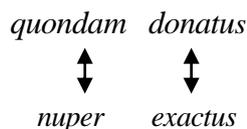
quondam and before its modifier in gen. Germanici (contrary to the word order in Latin). Cf. *Ann.* 2,63,1 above.

(3) *Hist.* 1,46,1 above: *quondam* is placed after the modified apposition *e manipularibus* of the OD Plotius Firmus by metathesis of words. In this manner is made salient a chiasmic contrast (modified apposition-anterior adv./posterior adv.-modified apposition) between both multiple parts (*e ... quondam; tum ... praepositum*) of the OD:



First + Second Placement before

(1) *Ann.* 16,17,2 above: the occurrence of *quondam* before the modified apposition *praefectus praetorii* (N + subst. adj.) of the subject *hic* emphasizes the parallel contrast (adv.-modified P.P.P. [replacing a rel. cl. of *hic*, sc. Rufrius Crispinus]) between both multiple parts *nam ... donatus* and *ac ... exactus*, sc. Crispinus was formerly a commander and had been rewarded with consular insignia, but later was exiled:



(2) *Aegre tamen cohibiti qui exitium consularis et quondam ducis sui flagitabant* “Yet hardly were restrained (the troops), who demanded the execution of the consular and their former own commander (Verginius)” (*Hist.* 2,68,4).

In the rel. cl. *qui ... flagitabant* two multiple appositions refer to Verginius Rufus: *consularis* and *ducis sui*. Due to the occurrence of *quondam* after *et*, it modifies only *ducis sui*. If it is placed after *ducis sui* (i.e. *ducis sui quondam flagitabant*), it will modify, as it were, *flagitabant*.

(3) *Darent Iunia familiae et viro quondam ordinis eiusdem, ut Cythnum potius concederet* “(Tiberius added) that to the Junian family and to (Silanus) a man formerly of the same rank should be allowed to retire to Cythnus instead” (*Ann.* 3,69,5).

Quondam ordinis eiusdem refers to the senatorial rank of Silanus, which he lost in a sentence of exile (see L, Sh: 1278a, s.v. *ordo*, II. C.; Woodman and Martin 1996: 471). *Quondam* before the modified *ordinis eiusdem* in gen. qualitatis emphasizes the character of *viro* (sc. Silanus).

(4) *Ann.* 11,20,1 above: *quondam* appears before the modified *duces Romanos* (N + its adj.) in AcI (governed by *prolocutus*; its S = Corbulo). The adv. in second position before *duces* (sc. ... *quondam beatos duces Romanos*) will modify, from a preliminary reading, the predicate *beatos (esse)* of AcI as follows: “happy (were) once the Roman commanders”.

First Position after + Third Position and Further Removed before

Ann. 6,37,3 above: *quondam* emphasizes the first modified apposition *exul* of Ornospades by reversing its ordinary position. A temporal cl. (*cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret*) between the dat. *Tiberio* (governed by *auxiliator*) and the second modified apposition *haud inglorius auxiliator* (an adj. in litotes) of Ornospades indicates when Ornospades was a glorious adjuvant of Tiberius. From the above-mentioned reasons, *quondam* is placed in first position after *exul* + in third position and further removed before *haud inglorius auxiliator*.

Table 5. *The Position of Quondam in Relation to Its Modified Part of Speech*

<i>Quondam</i>: adv.	References	Cases	Total
Before: first position	<i>Hist.</i> 5,4,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,77,3; 2,80,2; 4,25,1; 6,40,2; 15,26,3-27,1	6	19
Second placement	<i>Hist.</i> 3,43,1	1	
Third position or further removed place	<i>Ann.</i> 1,8,5; 12,4; 54,1; 63,4; 2,27,2; 3,6,2; 16,4; 33,4; 56,4; 12,56,1; 13,55,2; 16,22,2	12	
After: first position	<i>Hist.</i> 5,7,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,9,1; 2,60,3; 3,23,1; 34,4; 11,1,1	6	7
Second placement	<i>Ann.</i> 3,60,3	1	
First position before + Second place before	<i>Ann.</i> 15,71,4	1	3
Third position before	<i>Ann.</i> 2,71,2; 14,18,2	2	
Second place before + Second position after	<i>Ann.</i> 12,22,2	1	2
Third position before	<i>Ann.</i> 12,39,2	1	
<i>Quondam</i>: adj.			
Before: first position	<i>Hist.</i> 2,9,2; <i>Ann.</i> 4,73,4; 6,47,1; 16,10,4	4	8
Second placement	<i>Hist.</i> 3,47,1; <i>Ann.</i> 6,7,2; 27,1	3	
Third position	<i>Ann.</i> 4,27,1	1	
After: first position	<i>Hist.</i> 1,46,1; <i>Ann.</i> 2,63,1; 4,14,3; 31,3	4	4
First + second place before	<i>Hist.</i> 2,68,4; <i>Ann.</i> 3,69,5; 11,20,1; 16,17,2	4	4
First position after + third placement before	<i>Ann.</i> 6,37,3	1	1

A Comparison of *quondam* as an Adv. and an Adj. between Tacitus' Treatises

A concluding comparison of *quondam* as an adv. and an adj. between Tacitus' treatises yielded mainly different features due to contents and author's style in each book (see Table 6 below; for references see Tables 1-5 above).

Table 6. A Comparison of *quondam* as an Adv. and Adj. between Tacitus' Books

The Features	Adv.			Adj.			Total
	Ger.	Hist	Ann.	Ger.	Hist.	Ann.	
1 Distribution	1	3	29	-	4	13	50
2 Meanings:							
“Formerly, in the past”	1	3	29	-	-	-	33
“Former, previous”	-	-	-	-	4	13	17
3 A contrasting temporal adv.							
Posterior adv.	-	-	4	-	1	3	8
Present adv.	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
Lack of a temporal adv.	1	3	21	-	3	10	38
4 The modified part of speech							
Finite verb	-	2	11	-	-	-	13
Participia	-	-	11	-	-	-	11
Inf. perf. act./pass.: predicate of AcI	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
Adj.	-	1	3	-	-	3	7
Noun/apposition	-	-	-	-	4	10	14
Is explicit	-	3	30	-	4	13	50
Is not explicit	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
5 The adverb's position							
Before: first/second/third position	-	2	17	-	2	6	27
After: first/second position	-	1	6	-	1	3	11
First position before + Second/third position before	-	-	3	-	1	3	7
Second placement before + Second position after	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Third position before	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
First position after + third place before	-	-	-	-	-	1	1

Conclusions

Quondam occurs in *Ann.*, *Hist.* and *Ger.* It is not documented in *Ag.* and *Dial.* It is used as a temporal adv. “formerly, in the past, once” and as an adj./quasi-adj. in a temporal sense “former, previous”. In some examples *quondam* occurs in proximity to a contrasting temporal adv. (mostly posterior adv. to *quondam*) and mainly without it.

The part of speech modified by *quondam*: 1) It is explicit (except for 2x); 2) It is mostly mentioned in the cl., in which *quondam* is included. In a few cases it occurs in the cl. precedes *quondam* or follows it; 3) The modified element is mainly a finite verb in the past tenses (p.q.p., perf., fut. II), participia or an apposition. Sometimes it is an adj., inf. or a noun; 4) In a few cases *quondam* modifies more than one part of speech in a cl./sentence.

The prevalent position of *quondam* is before the modified part of speech (first/second/third position or further removed) and sometimes after it (first/second position). In some instances *quondam* has two positions concerning the modified part of speech.

A concluding comparison of *quondam* as an adv. and an adj. between Tacitus' treatises in the points indicated above yielded mostly different features.

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Dagaare-English Code Switching: An Analytical Survey

*By Justine Bakuuro**

The study focuses on code-switching among panellists on radio talk shows in semi-formal conversations. The rationale behind this is basically to examine the nature of code-switching within the semi-formal setting and largely to study the structure of the code-switched utterance among educated Dagaare speakers of Northern Ghana. The analysis involves a survey of the occurrence of code-switching among educated Ghanaians within a partially formal environment, namely a radio talk show on news review. More precisely, the nature of code switching is what the study seeks to examine: the type of code switching engaged in most, the dominant code category in Dagaare-English code switching and the language which serves as the matrix language in Dagaare-English code switching. The theoretical framework that is used for the analysis is Myers-Scotton (2002)'s 4-M model.

Keywords: *Code-switching, semi-formal conversations, Dagaare-English code-switching, matrix language, Myers-Scotton 4-M Model.*

Introduction

Amuzu & Singler (2014) report that there is intense intra-sentential code-switching in West Africa. This is mainly because, as Dakubu (1997) observes, polyglottism is a major characteristic of West African cities (Amuzu & Singler, 2014). Moreover, Amuzu & Singler (2014) lament the fact that in spite of encouraging numbers of studies of CS in the region, the studies mostly involve language pairs of a majority language and a colonial language. Studies involving language pairs of a minority language and a majority language are scarce while those of a minority language and a colonial language are scarcer (Amuzu & Singler, 2014).

This study seeks to survey the occurrence of Dagaare-English code-switching as engaged in by educated native speakers of Dagaare. The term educated speakers was first used by Sey (1973).

In this study, however, Amuzu (2005a)'s definition is adopted. Amuzu (2005a) uses "educated Ghanaians" to refer to Ghanaians who have acquired at least secondary school education. In this study, all panellists including those who call into the programme have attained at least senior high school education, therefore it is appropriate to go by Amuzu(2005a)'s definition. The good mix of English and Dagaare by the in-studio panellists made it difficult for a caller who does not understand basic English to understand what is being discussed and hence try calling in.

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Literature Review

In contrast to choosing only one code (from their repertoire) to use in an interaction, bilinguals may opt to “mix” two or more codes in the course of an interaction (Savic 1995). Several concepts have been proposed for this linguistic behavior. Agheyisi (1977), for example calls it “language interlarding” while Scotton & Ury (1977) term it “code switching.” Bokamba (1988) prefers to call it “code mixing” and Haugen (1953) calls it “integration.” However, code switching, is no doubt, the most preferred term in current sociolinguistic study (Wardhaugh 2010), hence the term used in this study

Although, Haugen (1953) is accredited for the original coinage of the term “code switching,” his definition is no longer in use. In his work, Haugen distinguished between the terms *switching*, *code switching* and *integration*. Whereas switching was used to refer to the alternate use of two languages by bilinguals, code switching referred to a linguistic situation where bilinguals introduced a single unassimilated word from one language into another by bilinguals (Haugen 1953). The third term integration was used in reference to the overlapping of two languages.

It is evident that Haugen’s definition of code switching was perhaps too simplistic, as he chose to associate code switching with only “single words”. Such a micro-view of code switching cannot adequately guide any study; for a lot of data, which deserves to be included as code-switched material may end up being overlooked. For instance, cases where speakers engage in inter-sentential switching may not end up being left out.

Different scholars have different definitions for the term “code switching.” These definitions are motivated by the approach (pragmatic or grammatical) adopted in analyzing code switched utterances. Myers-Scotton (1993a: vii), for example, defines code switching (hereafter CS) as the use of two or more languages in the same conversation, usually within the same conversational turn, or even within the same sentence of that turn.

For Bokamba (1988), code switching is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes and clauses from two distinct (sub) systems within the same sentence or speech event. Additionally, Myers-Scotton (1993b:3) views code switching as the selection by bilinguals/multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation. Myers-Scotton (1993a) takes a pragmatic approach while Bokamba (1988) and Myers-Scotton (1993b) take a purely grammatical approach hence their different perceptions of Code Switching. This study takes a pragmatic view hence adopts Myers Scotton’s (1993a) definition of CS. To this extend, the study is fundamentally a survey of the nature of code switching in a naturally occurring environment among educated Dagaare natives.

Code-switching (CS) is appraised one of the central issues in bilingualism research; one that has received tremendous attention, and continue to excite scholars in the field (Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Thomason, 2001; Dadzie, 2004, etc). It is defined by Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) as the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation.

Thomason (2001: 133) similarly defines it as the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation. Several manifestations of code-switching exist, such as, switching between turns of speakers; switching between utterances of one's turn; and even, switching within a single utterance. These differences have led to distinctions in descriptive terms for the phenomenon such as codeswitching, code-mixing, code alternation, borrowing, etc. The main point however is that it has been discovered that the bilingual uses his/her two codes interchangeably, sometimes moving from one to another, other times substituting words in one for another within the same speech effort (Dadzie, 2004). In this study, code-switching (CS) is used to describe any of the manifestations mentioned above without any distinction.

Interest in the study of CS began in the 1950s when scholars like Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) dwelt on aspects of it in their publications (Milroy & Muysken 1995: 5, Clyne 2003: 70). The term 'code-switching' was however introduced by Gumperz (1964) for switching with a discourse function (Clyne 2003:70); but with time, it has been increasingly used for all kinds of switching (Clyne 2003: 70). According to Myers-Scotton (1993: 19), subsequent studies of CS (Gumpertz 1982, Heller 1988, Myers-Scotton 1993b) mainly focused on its social motivations.

However, it soon became apparent that intra-sentential CS is not done haphazardly, but may be structured. The search for structural constraints thus began. Notable among these researchers are, Timm (1975), Pfaff (1979), Gumperz (1982), Poplack (1981) and Myers-Scotton (1993a).

At the moment, studies of CS are generally approached from three main perspectives – Psycholinguistic, Sociolinguistic and Structural.

- Sociolinguistic studies make inquiries into the social aspects of CS. Some of the studies are Blom & Gumperz (1972), Heller (1988), Clyne (1992), Myers-Scotton (1993b), Milroy & Li (1995) and Owusu-Yeboah (2013).
- Psycholinguistic researchers are concerned with the cognitive aspects of CS. Some studies are Grosjean (1982; 1995), etc.
- Structural studies are investigations into the grammatical structure of the CSed utterances. Scholars in this field include Poplack (1980), Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2002) and, Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995). The structural perspective is dealt with in detail in the next section.

Types of Code Switching

Inter-Sentential

In inter-sentential code switching, the language switch is done at sentence boundaries—words or phrases at the beginning or end of a sentence. This type is seen most often in fluent bilingual speakers. For example: *If you are late for the job interview, foo yiir a yɛɛ (you forget it: Dagaare).*

Intra-Sentential

In intra-sentential code switching, the shift is done in the middle of a sentence, with no interruptions, hesitations, or pauses to indicate a shift. The speaker is usually unaware of the shift. For example: You are sleepy ana nɔkuu (like a sick fowl: Dagaare), because you spend a lot of fanga (energy: Dagaare) in your bed. Different types of switches occur within the clause level and within the word level.

Extra-Sentential or Tag Switching

This is the switching of either a single word or a tag phrase (or both) from one language to another. This type is common in intra-sentential switches. It involves the insertion of a tag from one language into an utterance in another language. For example: "Fo kung le gonno, if you know what I mean." Another example is how Dagaare students use some boundary words like ka le (then) or tɔɔ (well) while speaking English.

Problem Statement

Dagaare speakers of the Queen's language have for a long time been engaged in Dagaare-English code switching. This is easily noticed when one interacts with Dagaare English literates at various levels of education and social status. Indeed, Dakubu (1997) confirms this claim as he avers that polyglottism is a key linguistic characteristic of West African settlements, particularly cities. Similarly, Amuzu & Singler (2014) agree with Dakubu on that claim, adding that most code switching studies in West Africa always involve majority languages and a colonial. Dagaare is a minority language and its pairing with the colonial language of English makes the study all the more worthwhile.

Generally, not much linguistic exploration has been done on Dagaare as a language. Reading of available literature in Dagaare research reveals this fact and many Dagaare researchers corroborate this fact (Dakubu 1997 & 2009, Kyoore 2012, Dannabang 2011, etc).

To this end, this study will be a novelty as it will be the first recorded investigation of code switching involving Dagaare (a minority language) and the English language (a colonial, majority language).

Fundamentally, the study focuses on what characterises the process as the educated Dagaare user of English engages in Dagaare-English code switching.

Research Questions

1. What is the nature of the switch in code between Dagaare and English among educated Dagaabas: intra or inter-sentential?
2. Dagaare-only, English-only and Dagaare-English: Which code category dominates in conversations involving Dagaare-English code-switching among educated Dagaabas?

3. In Dagaare-English code-switched utterances, which of the two languages operates as the matrix language in the linguistic structure among educated Dagaabas?

Methodology

Data is in the form of recorded conversations. Radio talk shows on news review forms the data for this study. Selected recordings are transcribed and used for the analysis. The quantitative method of data analysis is what is employed here as the study is a survey.

Data collection and processing is carried out in the following steps: First, five separate pre-recorded radio talk shows lasting an average of 1 hour 30 minutes each are used as primary data. Recording 1 took place on 14/01/2019 and it is 1 hour, 55 minutes, 07 seconds (1:55:07) long. Recording 2 happened on 15/01/2019 and it took 1 hour,48 minutes,04 seconds (1:48:04).Recording 3 was done on 09/01/2019,lasting 1 hour,46 minutes,00 seconds (1:46:00). Recording 4 occurred on 16/01/2019 and lasted 2 hours,4 minutes, 06 seconds (2:04:06).Recording 5 was done on 04/01/2019 and it also lasted 1 hour,36 minutes,15 seconds (1:36:15).

From these 5 recordings, 4 were selected at random and 50 sentences from each tape were selected at random jump-play intervals, giving the total of 200 sentences which are used as the primary working data for this survey. Please find attached the 200 sentences in Appendices 1,2,3 and 4 and the recordings on a CD. The CD contains the original primary data of this study. Analysis is done using tables and charts.

Theoretical Underpinning

Aspects of Carol Myers-Scotton's (2002) 4-M model primarily underpins this research theoretically. It is a theory that attempts to catalogue the distribution of morphemes in what is called the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, a framework developed by Myers-Scotton (1993).This is a model which explains the distribution of linguistic structures in intra-sentential code switching using bilingual data.

The Matrix Language Framework is used in this study. It must be noted however that the morpheme distribution angle of the theory is not employed in the analysis in this study. A general survey as the study is, there isn't focus on the internal structure of the sentences parsed. The study focuses rather largely on what characterises the process as the educated Dagaare user of English engages in Dagaare-English code switching.

This theory is complemented by the Conversation Analysis theory. Conversation analysis (CA) is an approach to the study of social interaction. It embodies both verbal and non-verbal daily life social interactions. Inspired by Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology and Erving Goffman's conception of the interaction order, CA was developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s principally

by the sociologist Harvey Sacks and his close associates Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson.

The rudiments of analysing spontaneous conversation is employed in the parsing of sentences from the four recordings. As the conversations in these recordings are largely informal, ramifying it into coded data for the survey needs the use of techniques in CA, hence the need for it in the study.

Analysis

Research Question 1

What is the nature of the switch in code between Dagaare and English among educated Dagaabas: intra or inter-sentential?

As has already been explained in the literature above, code switching may involve one or all of intra, inter or extra-sentential code switching. Whilst intra-sentential code switching involves the introduction of a different variety of language into a matrix language at the sentence level, inter-sentential code switching deals with the switch over of language from one sentence to another either within the same sentence of more than one clause or from one sentence to another. Extra-sentential code switching deals with switch of single words or tag phrases. Since extra-sentential code switching is a form of intra-sentential code switching, only intra-sentential and inter-sentential code switching would be used in the analysis in this study.

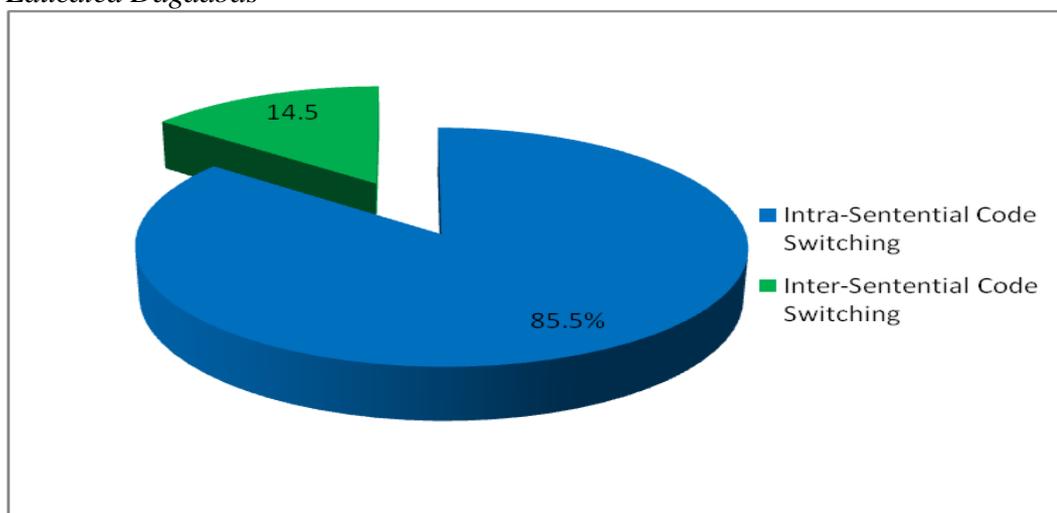
Having established the various dimensions code switching may take, may we now turn to the data under study here. This data includes Dagaare-only, English-only and Dagaare-English code classifications. To answer Research Question 1, the Dagaare-English code switched utterances will be the appropriate data to use. The distribution of sentences in the data with regards to the nature or kind of code switching that educated Dagaare natives engage in is captured in Table 1 below.

Table 1. *Sentence Distribution According to Type of Code Switching*

Code Switching	R1 Sentences	R2 Sentences	R3 Sentences	R4 Sentences	Total	Percentage
Intra-Sentential Code Switching	1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48	3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50	2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 32, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50	118	85.5
Inter-Sentential Code Switching	36, 46	8, 18, 27, 30, 38	3, 9, 16, 17, 22, 28, 35, 36	9, 15, 31, 39, 45	20	14.5
Total	32	32	41	33	138	100.00

From the table above, a total of 118 sentences across the four recordings are involved in intra-sentential code switching, representing 85.5% of the total of 138 sentences involving Dagaare-English code switching used in the survey. Sixty two (62) sentences in the data are distributed between Dagaare-only and English-only sentences. That clearly indicates that educated Dagaare natives are very heavy on intra-sentential code switching when they engage in code switching generally. Only 20 sentences of the 138, representing 14.5% are involved in inter-sentential code switching. From this therefore, one could comfortably conclude that when educated Dagaabas engage in code switching, they use intra-sentential code switching generally. This is further diagrammatically represented in the Pie Chart in Figure 1 as follows.

Figure 1. Pie Chart Showing Nature/Kind of Code Switching Engaged in by Educated Dagaabas



Research Question 2

Dagaare-only, English-only and Dagaare-English: Which code category dominates in Dagaare-English code-switched utterances among educated Dagaabas?

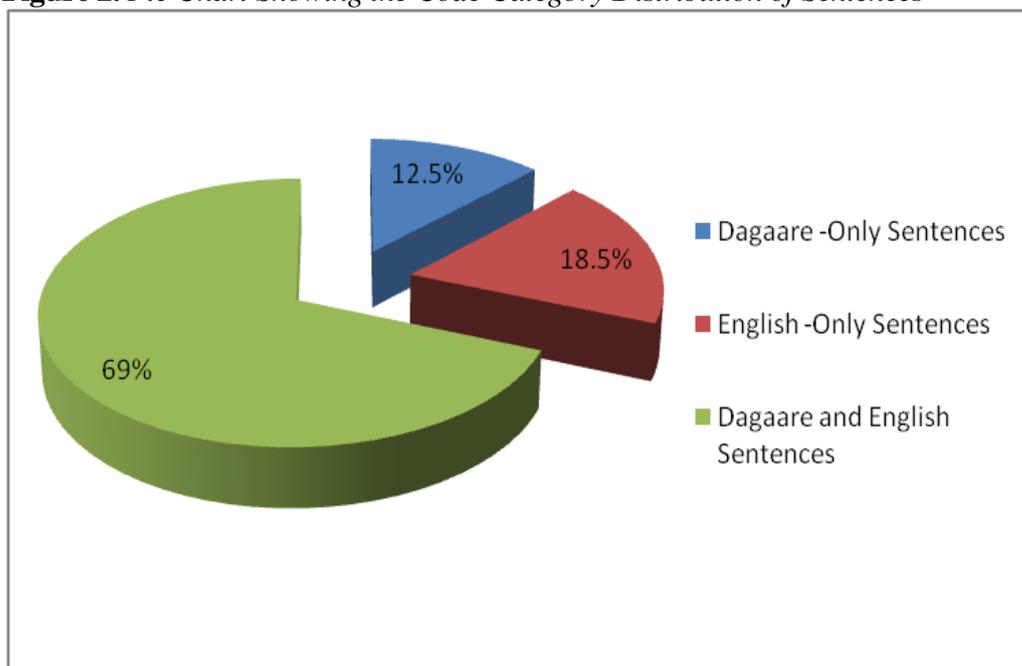
This research question surveys the balance of languages as the Dagaare bilingual embarks on informal conversation involving code switching. The data under consideration includes Dagaare-only, English-only and Dagaare-English sentences and the analysis here seeks to survey which of these categories is employed more in the code switch conversation of educated Dagaabas. See the statistical representation of this in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Sentence Distribution According to Code Category

	R1 Sentences	R2 Sentences	R3 Sentences	R4 Sentences	Total	Percentage
Dagaare - Only Sentences	2, 4, 31, 32, 34, 44, 47, 50	6, 22, 31, 32, 41, 45, 48	32, 45	14, 16, 24, 25, 33, 34, 36, 40	25	12.5
English - Only Sentences	5, 14, 18, 22, 24, 30, 37, 38, 40, 49	1, 2, 4, 7, 13, 17, 24, 33, 37, 40, 42	1, 11, 13, 14, 18, 34, 39, 44	2, 4, 17, 22, 23, 28, 30, 46	37	18.5
Dagaare-English Sentences	1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48	3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50	138	69
TOTAL	50	50	50	50	200	100

From the table above, it is manifestly clear that indeed, educated Dagaabas indulge heavily in code switching in semi-formal conversations. Out of the 200 total number of sentences used in the study, 138 are involved in Dagaare-English code switching whilst 62 are shared between Dagaare-only and English-only, confirming the afore-mentioned claim. This represents 69% of total number of sentences used in the survey. Emphatically therefore, it is demonstrated by these statistics that when educated Dagaabas are involved in code switching, they use more of code switched structures than mono-lingual structures. For further clarity, this statistical information is pictorially captured in the Pie Chart in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. Pie Chart Showing the Code Category Distribution of Sentences



Research Question 3

In Dagaare-English code-switched utterances, which of the two languages operates as the matrix language in the linguistic structure among educated Dagaabas?

In 1993, Myers-Scotton proposed the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) as a model to account for the structures in intrasentential code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993:5; 2002:12). The MLF is a —production-based model which sees CS as set by processes which operate well before the positional level at which surface orders and structures are realized (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:6). The MLF model takes its cue from psycholinguistic models of monolingual language production and processing; whose basic premise is that, production proceeds by accessing various grammatical procedures to build a sentence frame. Another premise is that a sentence is assembled incrementally, but with different procedures operating simultaneously. Motivated by these two views of language production, the MLF model has as its premise:

- In bilingual speech production, a frame also is built
- Key hierarchies in the way frame-building procedures apply have the effect of constraining selections of the languages of CS utterances (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 76)

In the light of this premise set by Myers-Scotton, the analysis in this section looks at the language that operates as the matrix language in each sentence. That is, which language forms the framework within which the other language is embedded? Table 3 below represents the statistics in the survey.

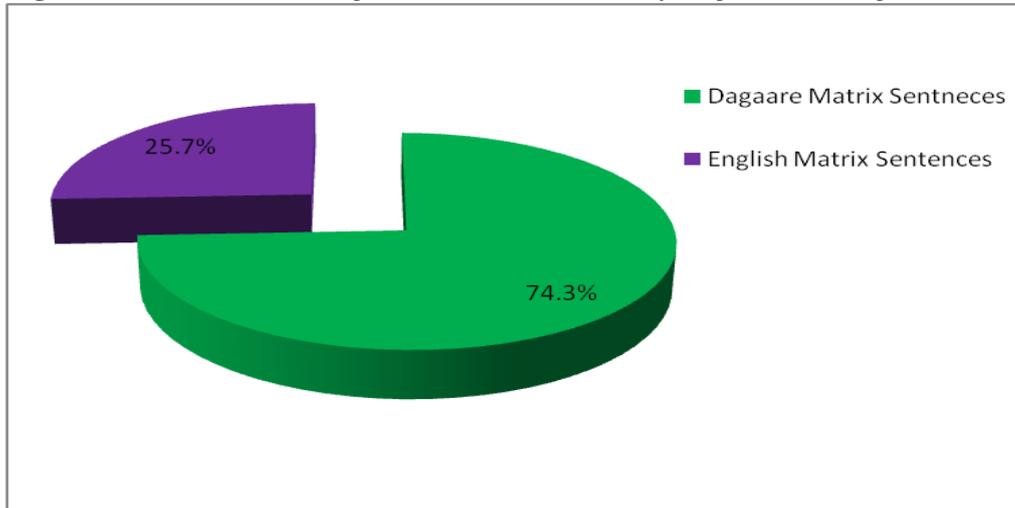
Table 3. *Matrix Distribution of Dagaare and English Sentences*

	R1 Sentences	R2 Sentences	R3 Sentences	R4 Sentences	Total	Percentage
Dagaare Matrix Sentences	1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 25, 27, 28, 29, 35, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 48	3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 36, 41, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 33, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50	104	74.3
English Matrix Sentences	13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 33, 36, 42, 46	8, 12, 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 38, 43	2, 4, 16, 22, 26, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36	9, 20, 21, 31, 38, 48	36	25.7
TOTAL	33	32	38	37	140	100

It is abundantly clear from the statistics above that Dagaare operates as the matrix language in this survey. One hundred and four (104) out of the total of 140 sentences that involve the use of both English and Dagaare indicate that Dagaare forms the Matrix Language Framework with English as the embedded language. This figure represents 74.3% of the 140 sentences that involve the use of both languages. Only 36 out of the 140 sentences have English operating as the Matrix Language. From this analysis therefore, may conclude that educated Dagaabas use

Dagaare as the MLF when engaged in code switching. Diagrammatically, this is represented in the chart in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3. Pie Chart Showing the MLF Distribution of English and Dagaare

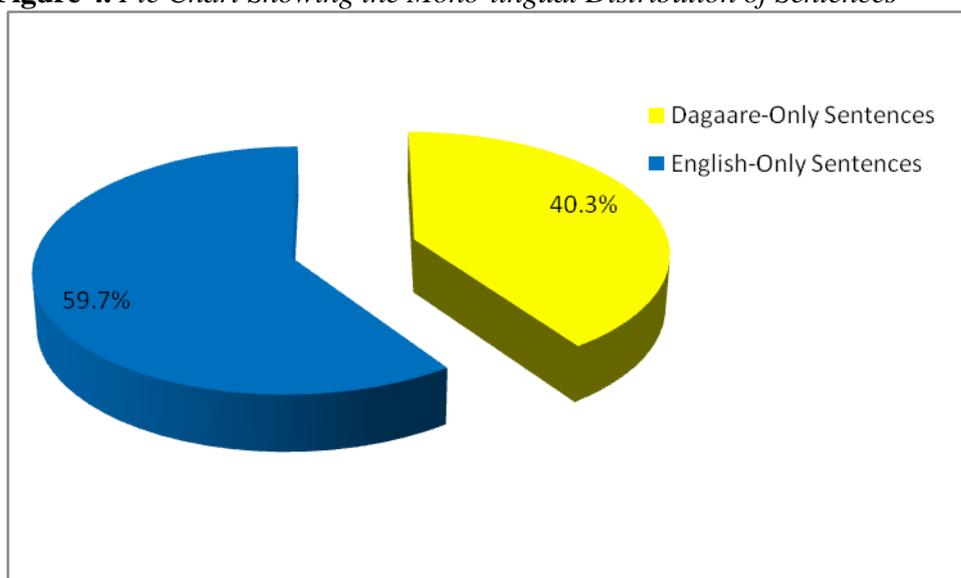


Still in support of the Matrix language distribution of sentences, the mono-lingual sentences in the data also helps. In the table below, we see the distribution of Dagaare-only and English-only sentences which gives a sense of which language the speakers were more endeared to in the conversation. See Table 4 below.

Table 4. Sentence Distribution of Dagaare - Only and English - Only Sentences

	R1 Sentences	R2 Sentences	R3 Sentences	R4 Sentences	Total	Percentage
Dagaare-Only Sentences	2, 4, 31, 32, 34, 44, 47, 48, 50	6, 22, 31, 32, 41, 45, 48	32, 45	14, 16, 24, 25, 33, 34, 36, 40	25	40.3
English-Only Sentences	5, 14, 18, 22, 24, 30, 37, 38, 40, 49	1, 2, 4, 7, 13, 17, 24, 33, 37, 40, 42	1, 11, 13, 14, 18, 34, 39, 44	2, 4, 17, 22, 23, 28, 30, 46	37	59.7
Total	18	18	10	16	62	100

The information in the table above is represented in the Pie Chart in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. Pie Chart Showing the Mono-lingual Distribution of Sentences

As can be seen above, the English-only sentences dominate the total of 62 mono-lingual sentences with 37 sentences, representing 59.7% as against 25 Dagaare-only sentences which represent 40.3%. Clearly, the gap is not that wide and the picture becomes clearer when the statistics on mono-lingual sentences are merged with the statistics on Matrix language distribution. That is, combining the information from Table 3 and Table 4 which both seek to assert the dominance of each language in the conversation.

To this end, the statistics in tables 3 and 4 will suffice:

I.e., $74.3\% + 40.3\% = 114.6 \div 200\% = 0.573 \times 100 = 57.3\%$

Also; $25.7\% + 59.7\% = 85.4 \div 200\% = 0.427 \times 100 = 42.7\%$

Therefore;

Dagaare Matrix Sentences (Table 3) = 74.3% 57.3%
 Dagaare Only Sentences (Table 4) = 40.3%

Also; English Matrix Sentences (Table 3) = 25.7% 42.7%
 English – Only Sentences (Table 4) = 59.7%

Findings

Research question one seeks to find out the nature of the switch in code between Dagaare and English among educated Dagaabas; whether it is intra or inter-sentential. The analysis of data clearly reveals that there is higher intra-sentential CS (85.5%) than inter-sentential CS (14.5%) as captured in Figure 1.

Research question two also enquires about which code category dominates in Dagaare-English code-switched utterances among educated Dagaabas. The analysis shows that Dagaare-English CS dominates (69%). English-only (18.5%)

CS comes second, whilst Dagaare-only (12.5%) CS comes last in terms of dominance. Figure 2 summarises this graphically.

Finally, the research question three finds out which of the two languages operates as the matrix language in the linguistic structure among educated Dagaabas in Dagaare-English code-switched utterances. The findings show unequivocally that Dagaare operates as the Matrix language with a total percentage of 74.3% and 25.7% for English. See Figure 3 for the details.

Conclusion

Conclusively therefore, Dagaare is the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) in this study with an overall total of 57.3% matrixity over English with 42.7%. The difference is 14.6% and that indicates that the matrixity of Dagaare over English in this survey is reasonably substantial. It is also proper to conclude from the analysis that Dagaare-English code-switching is the dominant code category among educated Dagaabas who engage in code switching. All in all, in code-switched utterances among educated Dagaabas, there is a very high intra-sentential code switching as Dagaare-English code switch dominates with Dagaare being the Matrix language.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Sentences Transcribed From RECORDING 1 (1:55:07 HOURS)

1. A station nga la gyie teng dang kongbang disappoint e gyaa.
2. Era yela ang na veng k'i gara nimitoori.
3. Ta di assumptions a di eng e gyung.
4. TCC segha a seseo ngmankuori nga.
5. The dial is 105.5 and the station is MAK Fm.
6. Gaa Radio station gyaa ang be te Wa Naa paalong kye.
7. Maa e menga a downloadi ana application nga.
8. A scratch card biebe eng na bang da.
9. Maa e menga a gaa ana category ne.
10. Ka enang wa selecti Ida Nakaar,k'I diu vote.
11. Ka enang buora k'i voti ku mma Ida,diu vote.
12. Te na ku eng a list.
13. Gaa google play store.
14. I called Free SHS secretariat.
15. A ena me ona be pay heed to that a.
16. Two of a bibiir be tuo enrole.
17. A school account was given for them to pay a libie inside.
18. The secretariat was called again.
19. Maurice,according to NASSOBA,on these grounds na so Rev. Bro. Naa is facing the punishment.
20. I think be na enne later admission.
21. I think a school account was given for them to pay a libie in.
22. He was only able to provide a phone number.
23. According to a regional minister be dang na boOle a regional director.
24. I'm trying to read that portion.
25. O be tuo ko te any answer e.
26. On the grounds that o ba bang a act, yes there is no problem.
27. Duoho ang yire GES headquarters la bila.
28. One person yela la kaba gyaa gyεora.
29. O nyiibu ee very difficult.
30. Ida,we want to hear from the horse's own mouth.
31. O daa eri a ero tebetebe le.
32. Te ba bang buo ang yela yelmenga.
33. I think we will have to go and learn about a act nga.
34. Be ko yel yele ko fo ε.
35. Te na nyee a story nga baahaa.
36. N yel ka we don't condone wrongdoing.
37. But he came to talk to us.
38. He was virtually in tears.
39. Regional minister ta me ere a le e.
40. He should have spared us all those details.
41. O le te be a Ghana ka by this time te be nyong e?
42. Ana complainant nga, o meng ee a citizen of United Arab Emirate.
43. O te dube ee UAE nee kanga.
44. Ona bie Dubai oo.
45. O yelyeng ka ona file ε suit.
46. Twenty eight against fifty one,buong e gyamaa?
47. Be na veng na a dCC nga kul wa.
48. Aai,o ba tare idea.
49. According to sources,she was murdered.
50. Tane na be wobr yangne te nimie poC.

Appendix 2. Sentences Transcribed From RECORDING 2 (1:48:04 HOURS)

1. I used that phone.
2. Did you use Motorola?.
3. N kyaa kpε paa te select.
4. Vodafone better sit up.
5. Te bε none a nonsense nε bε na eε korε te a.
6. Ka ba te nyεε,Ida,kuo sasaalong o engang.
7. I mentioned sperms.
8. A yinee wo ana poga ne, there was something wrong somewhere.
9. Bε nyε ne a cut on a right brow of a pOg.
10. Ngmen na a nibe tuo get access to a yir?
11. Maurice,te bε e soothsayers ε.
12. In the process of a struggling,bε kyaa k'oo a cut.
13. A similar thing has happened with JB Danquah.
14. skyε a houseboy gan a be wone a gidigidi anga za na eε a?
15. O nuu mi poO ne a crime nga poO.
16. But as a houseboy,o ko tuo gur a lε e.
17. Maurice,everything is possible.
18. My brother and the wife were in the room,bεbε bang nea e.
19. How will you kyiri?
20. Ba murder ε niba a pare JB Danquah.
21. Bε rape o na ε lε ko yang poO.
22. Nensaale bε emε boO oo.
23. A lε bε na mi handle a murder cases a Ghana ka bε eε.
24. Maurice,it is sad!
25. Ghana government buorang k'o piili processes.
26. So bεlε bεwa agree boonu bε na e o?
27. O yel ka he is not going down alone.
28. O tee bε naa tuo na protect o.
29. Maurice,a na surprise ne na.
30. According to n ba Adams Bonaa,o yelyeng ka NAM1 can be tried in absentia.
31. Kanga gyaa ba nyira libiri beng.
32. Ba gaa te gyaali.
33. They should stop that hypocrisy.
34. Evidence ba kyibe.
35. A mang gying ka probe.
36. Probe gyaa ba kyebe.
37. There is not going to be any probe.
38. Anas video ne ong wa e ne is a test case.
39. Evidence kyibe.
40. I'm just asking a harmless question.
41. Nεε gyaa bie Ghana kyeng.
42. Who is NAM1?
43. Confidence trickster nu.
44. Ida boOreε Ghc 300.00.
45. Ida, a yeli nga te yelang.
46. A yinee wo two-party system teng tare Ghana kyeng.
47. A tareε sori k'aba tare constituency offices.
48. NDC ane NPP yon na te ter a Ghana bi?
49. O bε ter office ε?
50. Yeng ka grandma office be?

Appendix 3. Sentences Transcribed From RECORDING 3 (1:46:00 HOURS)

1. It's a dicey issue.
2. Will we get a te police officers ee?
3. So Maurice,a yele anga mene taabe me wa ena baare we hear only one side of the story.
4. That innocent teacher be na shoot a.
5. A libie be na te buor as Ghanaians.
6. A libiiri ko le to de a life wane we.
7. Ba mang ohee niba te eng Police service.
8. O background ,ba ba checkira.
9. E toro mang bameng ka this is a criminal.
10. Police service be na a sob na kyen te reform oo.
11. Their jobs are at stake.
12. Be ko to yel a be menga story e.
13. So Maurice,these are some of the things.
14. There are certain basic things.
15. Be mene en soo dumb.
16. A police officers yelyeng ka they found stray bullets.
17. As a human institution, te ko to nye a le e.
18. They should make them independent.
19. Politicians lebe a mi de be yang.
20. Tome za teri hazards.
21. A traffic incident nga n na wa cite a be e mistake e.
22. Granted that a nibe enne armed robbers,were they supposed to kill?
23. Ba toma ne puong ba taree rules and regulations.
24. Ba na bang ngmee nee ghere kye k'o nang open fire.
25. A first time be ni anga a yele nga na e oo.
26. Similar things be happine here in Wa e?
27. A yele is that,a nibe be nga taabe be na nyog boonu be ibe?
28. A headmaster a ku a Nandom SHS,Mr. Joachim, has been interdicted.
29. Ba seo ye gbangu a ku a regional director.
30. Headmaster of SHS,k'o leo gaa te teach basic school.
31. Ana illegal charges of fees nga downgradee a free SHS.
32. Tung faare la ong tung.
33. O benefitre yire Free SHS.
34. But it won't affect your salary.
35. I don't think a report yela whether they are going to take the same salary or not.
36. Brother Joachim ne a o taa ne they will still teach.
37. N ba yel k'o ba e teacher.
38. Ba kong gaa a classroom.
39. What will you recommend?
40. Maa ba bang a GES Code of Ethics.
41. Ka nee kanga tung criminality kye e free.
42. Be kyole na free.
43. Rev. Brother Naa ne a o nibe be nga bebe e lucky e
44. You think GES didn't give them a fair hearing?
45. A erang toro.
46. K'o te teachire kye deera ba salary.
47. Ka this parliament is not doing bila ne ang seng ne.
48. Ana substandard yela ne bang yela ne,wala eng nye a puo?
49. Be mene mi kyen na te ta a grounds and tables turn.
50. Even a te namine mi lobby na.

Appendix 4. Sentences Transcribed From RECORDING 4 (2:04:06 HOURS)

1. Neem ne na ere ne education on this.
2. Ida, you can say things oo.
3. Veng a fo text messages a zOre waar.
4. Issues were raised regarding the Oti region.
5. A be yi kon ku a governmenti.
6. Te Ghana constitution die sikpiengaa kanga a ko president.
7. N ba Nana da gaa la nansaari tengē ka nee kanga te approach oo.
8. Te zaa Dagaaba tradition la.
9. Ka foo yel ka boundaries don't mean anything you are not being sincere.
10. Anang so bang te de colours waana neng.
11. Te ten regions teng tare a Ghana puong, wala teng kyene nea?
12. Politicians mang taa la sikpiengaa.
13. Ka foo kaa te regions, wala ang kyene?
14. Ida, a yele nga mine mang ee nimiri baalong.
15. We cannot also deny that zie yuofa ko toO wa a zie.
16. Fo mang gaa tengē kanga ka koOng ba kyibe.
17. And yet we want to buy drones.
18. Ida, nye te drones yeltare nga fo nang waneng, wala an na bang tung a sung a paaloo?
19. A zie ba e zie plane ang na bang wa sigi.
20. They didn't do any pieroo.
21. Deputy minister ee press conference.
22. The RTI bill is still there.
23. We love our political parties, we love our people.
24. Nye farmers day ving nang da yi kyaare Ghana.
25. A yaga zaa ba mang ang toO peli a ku noba.
26. Sometimes, a plans mang ying.
27. Today, ka banang la noba gba ang mang wa be kye a ton ate asibitiring.
28. But we are going beyond aid!
29. Be dash te ne libie we.
30. You have to do things the radical way.
31. Because he is not a native of the UWR, te kong sage.
32. Most of these youth na mi ere a le, be mi bang ne gan.
33. Fo bang fo yideme nang be ziiri a tona toma?
34. A niba neng ba zu mang le wa call a police a yel ka ba bari ba.
35. A nobie ne na feedire fo, fo be dune a e.
36. Tung faa tungbo mang nomang.
37. Veng a fo text messages a zOre kpier te.
38. Government announce na e te ber galamsay.
39. They are ever ready because kOn kpe be na.
40. Aisha Chang bii ke Aisha Hung nea le.
41. Be yel ke o laa piili a illegal mining.
42. K'o soba da mang bang safety yong gba, a danaa mang seeng.
43. Government yel k'o na de be na kyen ne University of Mines, Tarkwa.
44. Bamine 'class notri' la kye bana la a leaders.
45. Be na wana awa speak big English.
46. They use drones in fighting it already.
47. Ba ba toOng a honour a invitation.
48. If you can't trust your Naa, then you can't trust any leader again.
49. Te wideeriba ne mang boOrang ka cooperate entities nyere tOna gang a yideme menga.
50. Azuma Resources boOrang ka ba wuli ka ba gangee Upper West Region gyaa gbuli.

Appendix 5. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A/a = Dagaare word (the), pronounced like the English vowel 12 [ʌ].
R1 =Recording 1
R2 =Recording 2
R3 =Recording 3
R4 =Recording 4
CS=Code switching
CSed=Code Switched

Appendix 6. Original Recording of Five (5) Conversations

NB: Please find attached to this work, the original audio recordings of five Radio Talk Show programmes from which the 200 sentences were transcribed and used for this survey. The dialects of Dagaare in these recordings are Waalee, Nandomee and Jirbalee (Wa Dagaare, Nandom Dagaare & Jirapa Dagaare).

