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Restorying Indenture

The First Fiji Hindi Speakers Narrate Girit

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Linguistics
at Massey University,
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Dedication

To Ryan

for understanding I needed to find myself

And

To my great-grandparents

for the journey

Abstract

This research is about the framing of Girit through Fiji Hindi life narratives. The study is symbolic as it focuses on the life narratives of the first generation of Fiji Hindi speakers. The seven narrators in this study are part of 60, 965 Indian indentured labourers, or *Girmityas* /'gɪr ,mɪtjəz/, who voyaged to Fiji between 1879 and 1916, most to work on the Australian Colonial Sugar Refining Company's plantations. This study traces their experiences of indenture, or *Girit* /'gɪr ,mɪt/, through their life narratives. To date, Girit researchers have relied on official documents about the Girit system while the Girmityas' voices are either absent, or, at best, excerpted to support the master narrators' discourse on Girit. This study turns to the Girmityas' life narratives with the question: How do Indian indentured labourers to Fiji construct life narratives in Fiji Hindi to reconstruct their indenture experiences, and through the narration process, negotiate positions of identities and agencies? Beginning with Labov & Waletzky's (1967/1997), and Labov's (1972; 1997; 2001; 2004; 2006) high-point analysis, the study analyzes how each Girit recollection has been re-constructed. Further, using Bamberg's (1997; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c) positioning analysis, the study analyzes the Girmityas' adopted positionings in, and through their life narratives. The interweaving of the two frameworks takes the life narratives from the textual back into the social world of production. The scope of the research is limited to understanding the interconnectivity between structure, focus, and manner of narration, within the bounds of memory, the shared knowledge of cultural ideologies, and the master narratives of indenture, for the purpose of negotiating identities and agencies favourable to the Girit narrator. The variables conform each other, and help explain why *these* seven life narratives are told. The research makes the following major contributions: it uses a culturally relevant model of analysis, it details the movement from structural to performative analysis, it analyzes the factors underlying the performativity of the Fiji Hindi life narrative; and it analyzes the consequences these performativities have for the contextually produced self(s). In working towards these contributions, the study also contributes back to the Fiji Indian community.

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Thank you for being part of the journey

Shards of Memories

My journey with these Girmityas' life narratives began when I was seven years old. In my earliest memories of visiting *dādī*, I see us all sitting, and listening, the Girmityas' voices entering the house through the large speakers on either side of a silver rectangular box as we drink hot milky tea. The radio had pride of place in my grandmother's living room, where the television now sits. We listened to the Girmityas recollecting their experiences, which they did with sometimes laughter, sometimes tears, and at other times with anger, bitterness, or resignation.

It was a time when Fiji Indians were searching to define who they were, a hundred years after the first Girmityas arrived in Fiji. As our family's history with Fiji began with Girmityas, we would listen to the life narratives with great interest, after which came the adults' critique. This was the only time that I heard the life narratives, until I began this study twenty-one years later. But although I did not hear them again, the Girmityas' narratives whispered to me through my memories.

In my mind, the hearing of the Girmityas' life narratives is juxtaposed on the memory of Fiji's first coup, which occurred a year later in 1987. We heard the news on the radio. My mother and the old man next door wondered what a coup was. I remember the fear and unease as Sakeasi Butadroka, the leader of the Nationalist Taukei Movement, re-voiced over the airwaves his 1975 parliamentary motion that Indians should be repatriated to India, courtesy of the British Government, which had brought them. I was eight years old, and my right to call myself a Fiji citizen was challenged. My hybrid identity, as a product of four generations of Indians living in Fiji, marked me out in the land where I was born.

I carry these memories to New Zealand. As I study the life narratives of the Girmityas, whose great-grandchildren are coming to terms with Fiji's fourth coup, I admit that this research is not only about the understanding of the Girmityas' identity constructions; it is also a research about my search for an understanding of the experiences that define "Who am I?"

In many ways, the telling of my life narrative mirrors that of the Girmityas. We are telling our narratives not in the country of our birth, but in our adopted homelands. We are taking the opportunity of speaking to a wide range of interlocutors to tell our narratives. And in shaping our narratives for, and with these interlocutors, we shape ourselves. We discover strengths within us to articulate experiences that we carry with us, and in doing so, we move our narratives into the realm of heard voices.

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Gloss

1	FIRST PERSON
2	SECOND PERSON
3	THIRD PERSON
ACC	ACCUSATIVE
ACCDUR	ACCUSATIVE DURATION OF TIME
ACCLOC	ACCUSATIVE LOCATION OF PLACE
AFM	AFFIRMATIVE
AUX	AUXILLIARY
COMP	COMPLETIVE
CMPT	CONTEMPTUOUS
COP	COPULA
DAT	DATIVE
DIR	DIRECTIONAL
EMPH	EMPHATHIC
EXCLM	EXCLAMATION
EXP	EXPLETIVE
FAM	FAMILIAR
F	FEMININE
FOM	FORMAL
FUT	FUTURE
GEN	GENITIVE

IMP	IMPERATIVE
INF	INFINITIVE
INFOM	INFORMAL
INS	INSTRUMENT
INV	INVARIABLE POSTPOSITION
IP	IMPERFECTIVE
LOC	LOCATIVE
MOD	MODIFIER
NEG	NEGATION
OBJ	OBJECT
OBL	OBLIGATORY
PST	PAST
PFV	PERFECTIVE
PL	PLURAL
POSS	POSSESSIVE
PR	PREVIOUS REFERENCE
PRS	PRESENT
PROG	PROGRESSIVE
PROX	PROXIMATE
RFLX	REFLEXIVE
REM	REMOTE
SG	SINGULAR
TOP	TOPIC MARKER
TR	TRANSITIVE

1

Getting acquainted with the Girmityas

Mei āp ki bhet mulakāt
ek ati veiyovrid sajan se
karwāni ja rahe hu

*I am about to acquaint you
with a very unique individual*
(Bhainji)

Under the Indian indenture system, 60,965 indentured Indians voyaged to Fiji between 1879 and 1916. The majority of the labourers worked on the Australian Colonial Sugar Refining Company's (CSR) sugar plantations, while others worked on copra or rice plantations, or were employed by the colonial government to build roads and railway lines. Of these *Girmityas* /'gɪr,mɪtjəz/, sixty percent chose to settle in Fiji on completion of their indenture. While this study retraces their indenture, or *Girmit* /'gɪr,mɪt/, the study has a point of difference from previous works on Indian indenture in that it focuses on the life narrative of the Girmityas.

This is a research about the situated nature of identity and agency performativities. The scope of the study is limited to the exploration of the structure and focus of the Fiji Hindi Girmit life narrative, and to discussing the function of this structuring and focusing in the positioning of identities, and (dis)placement of agencies, within the life narrative. The life narratives are performed within the interconnectivity of memory, the shared knowledge of cultural ideologies and master narratives of indenture. This performativity has consequences for the contextually produced self(s).

The chapter begins with an introduction to the seven narrators in the study, and their spatial and temporal frames on, firstly, their initial encounter with the recruiters in India, and, secondly, their Girmit experience in Fiji. Following this is an introduction to Fiji Hindi, the language of the life narratives, with a discussion of the syntactic features of the language that are salient in the narrators' conveyance of identities and agencies

within their life narratives. The section that follows concentrates on the research undertaken. Here, the model of analysis is presented, the purpose and rationale behind the research are provided, the research question is identified, and the boundaries of the research question are defined, after which, the key areas of contribution of the study are discussed. The penultimate section outlines the structure of the study. The chapter ends with a discussion of my own positioning, as both an insider and a researcher, and the influences these dual positionings would have had on my point of view of the Girmityas, and my understanding of their life narratives.

1.1 The Girmit narrators

In order of the presentation of their life narratives, the seven Girmityas are: Gabriel Aiyappa, Ram Rattan Mishar, Guldhari Maharaj, Ram Sundar Maharaj, Jasoda Ramdin, Ram Dulhari, and Ghorī Gosai. While six of the Girmityas describe their own Girmit experience, Guldhari Maharaj is an exception. She went to Fiji as a child, and describes her mother's experiences on a harsh plantation environment.

Of the seven Girmityas, Jasoda Ramdin appears to have been the earliest Girmitya to Fiji, although this is difficult to verify as Gabriel Aiyappa, Ram Rattan Mishar, and Guldhari Maharaj did not provide details of the year of arrival, nor the name of the ship. By noting the date of arrival to Fiji in Table 1 below, I am not attempting to verify their credibility as Girmityas; rather, I am attempting to put their Girmit experience in context, relative to the master narratives, and relative to the other Girmityas' experiences.

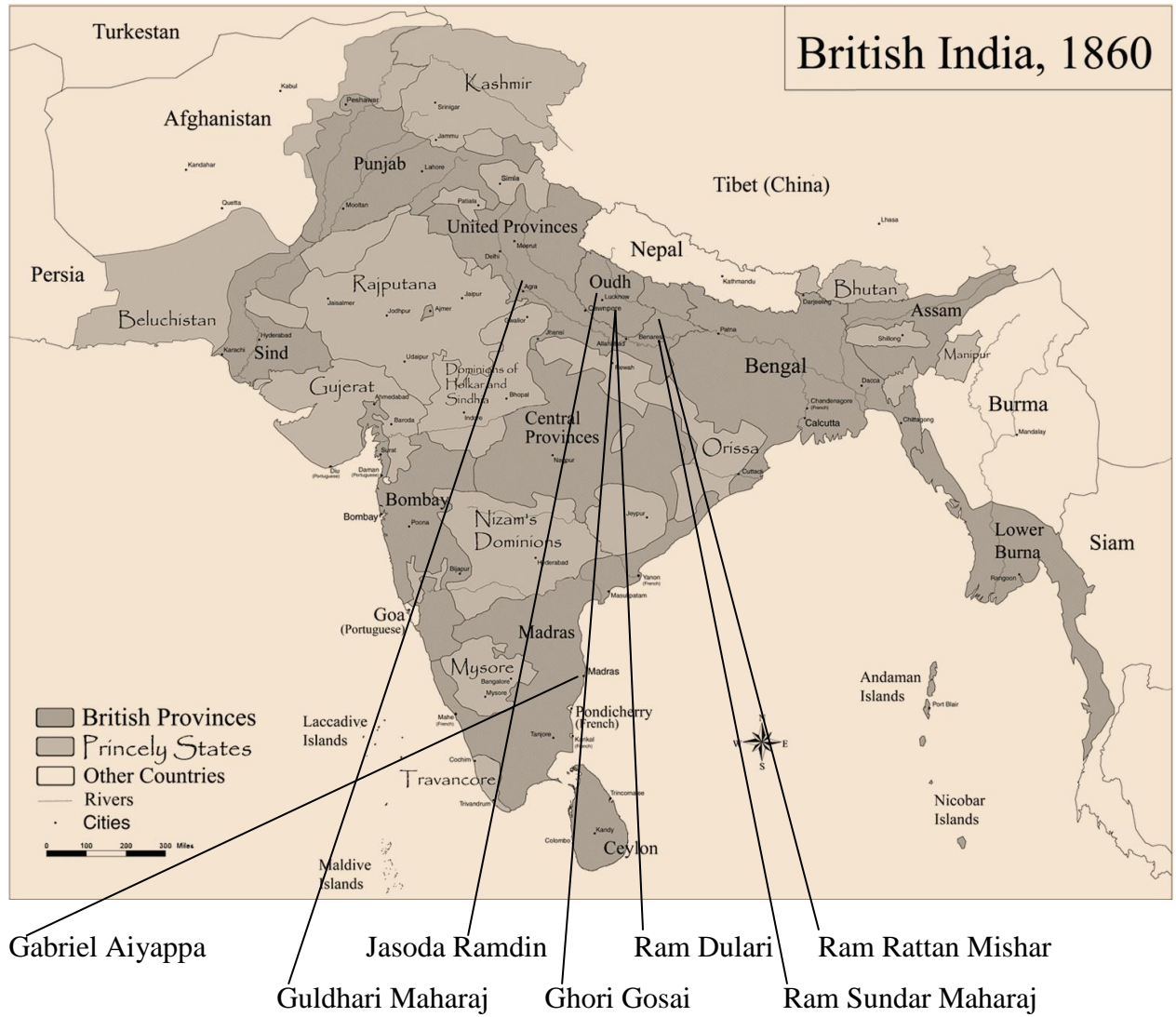
Table 1: The narrators' dates of arrival to Fiji

Name	Date of arrival	Ship
Jasoda Ramdin	30 th July, 1904	Ems II
Ghorī Gosai	18 th March, 1908	Sangola I
Ram Sundar Maharaj	29 th May, 1913	Ganges V
Ram Dulhari	1 st September, 1916	Chenab III
Ram Rattan Mishar	?	?
Guldhari Maharaj	?	?
Gabriel Aiyappa	?	?

Fiji's Girmityas can be grouped under two major divisions: gender and ethnicity, with the majority of Girmityas being North Indian men from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (Lal, 2004a). These gender and ethnic divisions are reflected in the collection of narrators in this research. Guldhari Maharaj, Ram Sundar Maharaj, and Jasoda Ramdin are women, while Gabriel Aiyappa, Ram Rattan Mishar, Ram Dulhari, and Ghorī Gosai are men. However, as indicated in Map 1 below, in this study, the women are all North Indian, and, once again, the South Indian Girmitya women's experiences are unheard. The Girmityas' accommodation of cultural norms and values on the plantation were part of the new culture that was developing on the plantation, and what matrilineal cultural norms and values the South Indian women brought with them to the dominant patriarchal North Indian plantation would have been important. In this study, as seen in Map 1 below, Gabriel Aiyappa is the only Girmitya from South India. The other six Girmityas are from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The actual provinces these six Girmityas were recruited from are provided in Map 2.

This research follows the approach adopted by Keay (2000) in maintaining the names used during pre-Indian independence. This is to maintain coherence between my own and the narrators' descriptions of spatial frames within India, as these narrators left India long before its independence in 1947, and remember an India of the past, under the British Raj. Moreover, as Keay mentions, with the rapid change in names of states, provinces, and entire cities in India, the reader who is unfamiliar with India's history, and this is likely to be so, as this is a study in sociocultural linguistics rather than Indian history, may have difficulty in keeping pace with these changes. The old names, on the other hand, are familiar to many.

Map 1: Recruitment of narrators from British India



(Source: Maps of the World, 2010)

Map 2: Recruitment districts of narrators from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh



(Source: Freitag, 1989)

The Girmityas' marital status upon recruitment is also gender differentiated. The men appear to have embarked on their Gimit journey as unmarried individuals, although this is unclear in the case of Ram Rattan Mishar. His wife and child feature in his life narrative, but Ram Rattan Mishar does not specify whether his marriage took place prior to his arrival in Fiji. On the other hand, all the women went to Fiji with their husbands, save Guldhari Maharaj, who went with her parents.

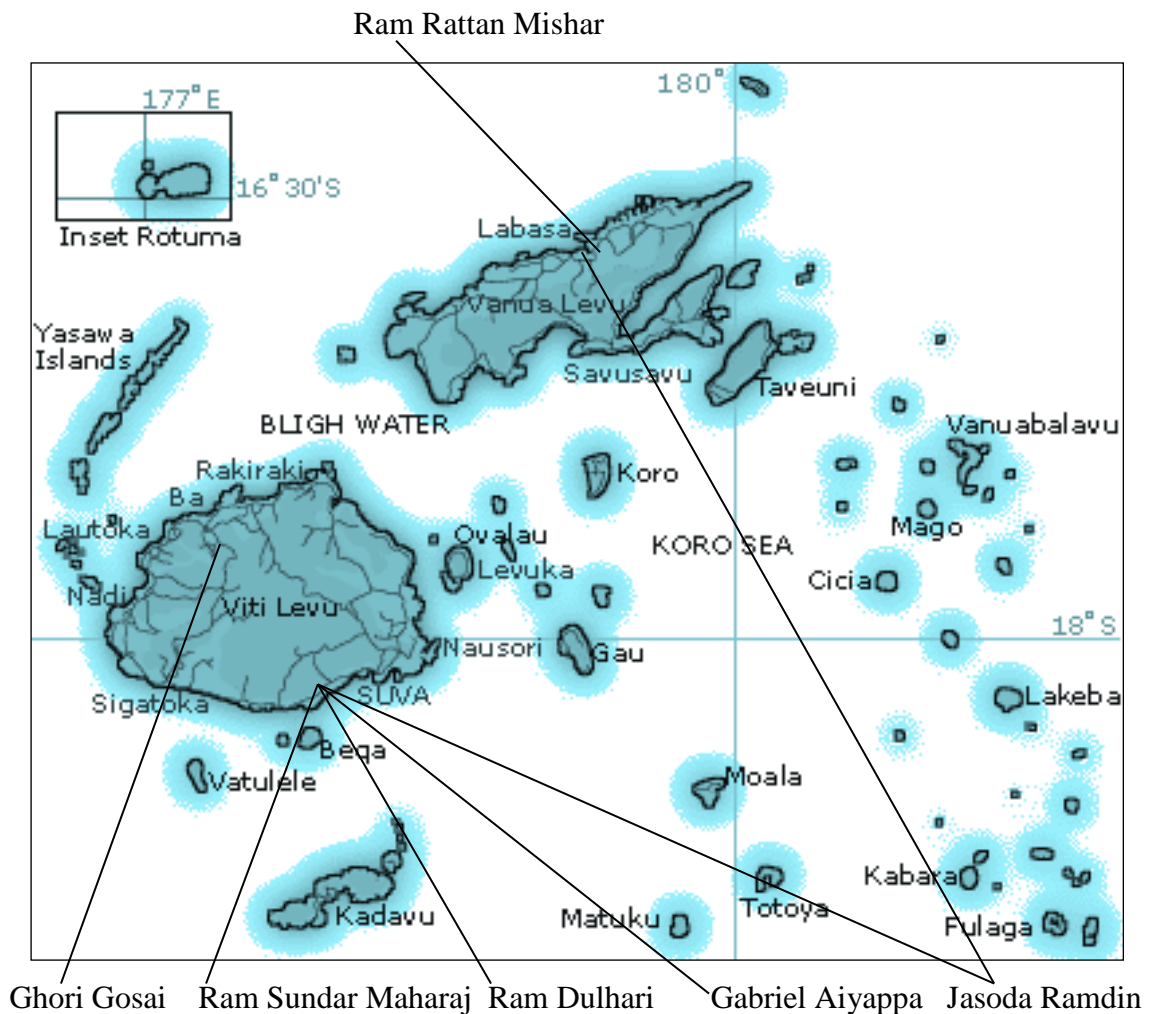
None of the narrators, except Jasoda Ramdin, provide an indication of age upon arrival. Nonetheless, based on the requirements of Gimit (cf. Gillion, 1962: 52), six of the Girmityas would most probably have been in their late teens, or in their early twenties. Guldhari Maharaj, however, was a young child, who, like the other young children in the lines, was quite often left with the *dai*, or 'nanny', while her mother went to work on the plantation.

Although it is unclear as to the reason behind Guldhari's parents, and Ram Rattan Mishar's decision to become Girmityas, the other five Girmityas vary as to their reasons for signing their indenture contract, or *Agreement* as they called it. Ghoris is the most unusual as he presents himself as having become a Girmitya for altruistic reasons; his intentions being to observe, and report to the Indian government the living and working conditions of the Girmityas in Fiji. Gabriel indicates that he too became a Girmitya voluntarily, but for job prospects, and the financial reward promised. Gabriel left his village, and went in search of work to Madras, where he met a recruiter. Similarly, Jasoda's husband met a recruiter, whose promise of high wages persuaded her husband to become a Girmitya, and Jasoda was recruited with him. Ram Dulhari's recruitment began with deception on the part of the recruiters, but once he was in the sub-depot, Ram Dulhari, like Jasoda's husband, was enticed by the promise of high wages to be earned in Fiji. Ram Sundar Maharaj and her husband were also recruited through deception, when they accepted a recruiter's offer of a ride back home from Banaras to Mirzapur.

Of these five Girmityas, Gabriel Aiyappa, Ram Dulhari, and Ram Sundar Maharaj were recruited outside their home provinces. Although it is unclear as to where Jasoda Ramdin's husband met the recruiter, as indicated on Maps 1 and 2 above, I assume it was within their home province.

The common thread amongst the Girmityas in this study is that they all worked on sugarcane plantations during their Girit. However, Jasoda, unlike the other Girmityas, did not serve her entire Girit on a single plantation, nor did she only work on sugarcane plantations. While Jasoda and her husband began their Girit on a sugarcane plantation in Lautoka Viti Levu, later, as indicated in Map 3 below, they were transferred to another sugarcane plantation in Labasa Vanua Levu. In Labasa, Jasoda and her husband also served part of their Girit building roads and railway lines for the colonial government.

Map 3: The narrators in Fiji



(Source: Fiji Government website)

As seen in Map 3 above, the majority of the Girmityas worked on Viti Levu during their Girit. Moreover, Ram Sundar Maharaj, Ram Dulhari, Gabriel Aiyappa, and Jasoda Ramdin worked on sugarcane plantations in or around Navua. Ram Rattan Mishar, on the other hand, served his Girit on Fiji's second largest island, Vanua Levu. However, Guldhari Maharaj, who recollects living in the lines, and recollects witnessing her mother's Girit on a sugarcane plantation, does not specify on which plantation, nor in which part of Fiji these incidents took place, and, for this reason, she is absent from Map 3.

Throughout the study, it is these seven Girmityas who will illustrate Girit through their recollections. These re-lived experiences will be linked to literature on Indian indenture in Fiji to help the reader place the life narratives in context, and to realize that despite the commonality of Girit, as the historical temporal frame in which the incidents took place, each life narrative is unique, with different experiences on different plantations, and through the different periods of indenture.

In this, and the following two chapters, decontextualized excerpts of the Girmityas' voices are reproduced, but these excerpts are put back into the context of their respective life narratives: Gabriel Aiyappa's life narrative is presented in Chapter 2, Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative is presented in Chapters 5 and 6, and the remaining five life narratives of Guldhari Maharaj, Ram Sundar Maharaj, Jasoda Ramdin, Ram Dulhari, and Ghor Gosai are presented respectively from Chapters 7 to 12.

1.2 The language of the life narratives

The Girmityas accommodated to living in Fiji. They discarded customs, including caste hierarchy and habits, not suitable for the plantation environment, and replaced them with another set of norms and values more attuned to the new environment. Jasoda recollects in the excerpt below, that the norm in India of a wife preparing food, and serving her husband only after he has bathed was inappropriate for the plantation environment. On this first day, in acknowledgement of their changed environment, and the need to adapt, her husband, who has not had a shower, cooks the food, and serves Jasoda:

J: to muluk me to barā †dhoᅇ †he <i>TOP country LOC TOP big proclamation be.PRS</i>	J: <i>in India there is a strong custom</i>
banāwā khāe nahi āurat <i>make.PFV eat.IP NEG woman</i>	<i>that (the man) doesn't eat the food the wife has cooked</i>
jale †nahāw †nahi <i>until shower NEG</i>	<i>until (he has) had a shower</i>
†dho †nahi <i>wash NEG</i>	<i>(until he has) washed</i>
jale †dhoti †nei †pehino <i>until dhoti NEG wear.IMP</i>	<i>until (he has) worn (new) dhoti</i>
tab inke bāp apne ba †nāe <i>and 3.PROX.GEN father 2.SG.FOM.RFLX make.IP</i>	<i>then his father himself cooked</i>
o apne ham †ouk †diye <i>and 2.SG.FOM.RFLX 1.SG.RFLX.DAT give.IP</i>	<i>and himself gave me (some)</i>

In addition to the new culture that emerged from the plantation environment, a new language, Fiji Hindi, also emerged. Fiji Hindi has features that are distinct to it, and which separate it from Indian Hindi and other transplanted varieties of Hindi, which developed in other Girit colonies (Mesthrie, 1991; Siegel, 1987; 1988). The difference reflects the unique environment in which the language has developed: the sugar plantations of Fiji where the majority of the Girmityas were employed; the predominance of Girmityas from North India, and in particular, United Provinces (today Uttar Pradesh) and Behar (today Bihar); the requirement that the overseers on the plantations be able to communicate with the Girmityas in Hindi; and the requirement that South Indians acquire Hindi on the plantations as quickly as possible (Siegel, 2001: 175-218).

Because of the above factors, on the Colonial Sugar Refining (C.S.R) plantations, two forms of Hindi arose to function as the lingua franca. One form was used across the social boundary, dividing, on the one hand, the North Indians from the South Indians, and on the other, the Girmityas from the plantation authorities. Siegel (1987; 1990) labels this language *Plantation Pidgin Hindi*, an example of which is seen in Ghori's eleventh narrative in Chapter 12, and remnants of the pidginized form of Hindi can be heard in Gabriel Aiyappa's speech in Chapter 2.

Plantation Pidgin Hindi remained a pidginized form, *Pidgin Hindi*, heard today in the market place, a lingua franca between Indian buyers and vendors from other communities, in particular Fijians and Chinese (Mangubhai & Mugler, 2003: 384; Siegel, 1995). The other form of Hindi was used by the North Indian labourers amongst themselves, and with others, who spoke some variety of an Indic language fluently. This form became *Fiji Hindi*, the first language of the children of the plantation, such as Guldhari Maharaj, and which in Fiji is, today, the first language of the descendents of the Girmityas. It is also the language that the seven Girmityas in this collection use to construct their life narratives.

Despite its distinctiveness, Fiji Hindi also has features found in other Eastern dialects and languages of India (Siegel, 1988: 145), as seen in its syntactic construction of thematic roles. Like other Eastern dialects and languages of India, Fiji Hindi is a nominative-accusative language. The genitive, accusative, and dative cases are all marked with *ke* while the instrument is marked with *se*. In terms of agency, the *nominative* form, which is unmarked, has the highest agency; *genitive*, which indicates possession, also equates to high agency, though lower than nominative. Further down the agency scale are the *accusative*, which indicates receiving of action, and has no agency, and the *dative*, which marks the instrumental agent, and indicates passive agency. Finally, the *instrument* has no agency as it is generally a tool used for the carrying out of the action by an animate agent. I do emphasize that as this is not a formal syntactic study, this discussion of thematic roles in Fiji Hindi is limited to how I perceive thematic roles constructed in the language of the narrators.

Another important feature of Fiji Hindi for the life narratives is that it is a pro-drop language. Hence, in Guldhari's excerpt below, there is no need to insert pronouns to indicate that the persons, whose actions she is describing, are herself, and her mother. This can be gauged from the context of the narration. The implied but absent pronouns, which are required in English, are presented in brackets within the translation:

G: reis milat rah (.) ration receive.IP AUX.PST	G: (we) used to receive ration
ahu mai jae khe-huwe fil me kām ↑kare and mother go.IP there field LOC work do.IP	and (my) mother used to go to the field to work
ghanti lage bell sound.IP	when the bell sounded
to jag jai ha↓mei (sniff) TOPIC awake go 1.SG.RFLX	I was the one to wake up
hamei jag jai 1.SG.RFLX awake go	I was the one to wake up
tab batai °oun ↑ke° (.) then tell.IP 3.REM ACC	then (I) used to tell her
hwa- bhojan=ojan- banāwe there food MOD make.IP	then (she) used to make food
↑bāsī ↑sanjhāk ↑khānā ↑banaik stale evening food make.IP.COMP	the food (she) used to make in the evening
↑dhare ↑rahe (.h) put.IP AUX.IP	(she) used to keep some aside
sis↑pān ↑me ↑bhar le (.) billy.can LOC pack take	(she) would pack (it) in a billy can
aur bhar ↑ke and pack COMP	and after packing
>chā wa banaik tea MOD make.IP.COMP	(she) made some tea
tanyak pī ke < (.h) quickly drink COMP	quickly had a sip
>tab tak ↑tem ↑ho ↑jae< (.) then until time happen go.IP	by then it would be time
>mur pe tel=wel hamre dhare< (.h) head LOC oil MOD 1.SG.GEN put.IP	(she) would massage oil into my hair
huwa bas tem ho ↑jae there enough time happen go.IP	and then it would be time

Hence, the narrators' marked use of pronouns are a salient means of attributing or withholding responsibility from characters. The presence of a pronoun, when not required, indicates high saliency, or anaphoric prominence, an aspect that has been discussed in relation to other pro-drop languages (for instance, Falk, 2006: 1, 60-65;

Mohan, 1994). This prominence may be for emphasis on the attribution of responsibility, or blame on the antecedent, which, in turn, holds implications for the narrator's positioning of self-as-character, and her moral stance. An example of this is in Jasoda's narration in her second event narrative, when she positions the nanny as the 'other' through the presence of the anaphoric referential marker *u*, the third person singular, and her evaluations in the last two clauses in the excerpt:

J: ī: hamār ek laṛkā rahā 3.PROX 1.SG.GEN one boy AUX.PST	J: <i>I had a son</i>
n↑ei (.h) NEG	<i>no</i>
to dāik ghar me de ↑āe TOP nanny.GEN house LOC give come.IP	<i>(I) left (him) at the nanny's house</i>
tab uskā dāi māris then 3.REM nanny beat.PFV	<i>then the nanny beat him</i>
māris beat.PFV	<i>(she) beat (him)</i>
āur dhamrāi pur↑āni ↑rahi (.h) and servant old AUX.PST	<i>and (she) was an old hand</i>
u aṅrezi ↑bāt ↑jānat ↑rahi (.h) 3.SG English talk know.IP AUX.PST	<i>she knew English</i>
tab u gorwā se ↑bole then 3.REM Englishman.MOD LOC say.IP	<i>then she told the overseer</i>

Conversely, the dropping of pronoun when required may be an attempt to either mitigate, or to extend the responsibility to a wider range of characters. Guldhari uses this dropping of pronouns throughout her narration to encompass both the sirdar and the overseer in her attribution of responsibility, and blame:

G: ba:s saeb sardār awe enough Sahib Sirdar come.IP	G: <i>the Sahib and Sirdar would come</i>
↑chābuk ↑liye ↑rahe whip carry.IP AUX.IP	<i>carrying the whip</i>
tanka growl	<i>(they/he) would growl</i>

<u>Slightly heavier voice, indicative of male speaker</u> >niklo jaldi< (.) <i>come.out.IMP quickly</i>	<i>get out quickly</i>
_____ kām karnā paṛegā <i>work do.IP must.FUT</i>	<i>(you) need to work</i>
_____ tab ghumai ke (.) <i>then turn COMP</i>	<i>then unfurling (the whip)</i>
_____ <u>māre</u> <i>hit.IP</i>	<i>(they/he) used to hit</i>
↑ māre <i>hit.IP</i>	<i>(they/he) used to hit</i>

1.3 Researching Girit with the Giritiyas

The plantation environment was not a stagnant or stable cosmos. Giritiyas who had completed their contract were replaced; others, like Jasoda and her husband, were transferred and replaced. The newcomers brought with them their own norms, values, and expectations. Hence, identities and agencies need to be considered in relation to this dislocation and cultural regeneration (cf. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007: 65-66). This continual performativity of ‘who I am’ and ‘who I want to be’ is the framing of every life narrative.

Recently, there has been a call to move away from a solely structural mode of narrative analysis to a more performative based analysis (cf. Lanser, 1981; Linde, 1993: 223; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Squire, 2008a; 2008b; Wolfgang, 2006 on need for a methodology that explores both the *how* and *why* of narrative construction). There is a growing body of work along these lines (for instance, Bamberg, forthcoming; Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin, 2011; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Blommaert, 2006; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2007; Shuman, 2006; Stokoe & Edwards, 2006). This study add to the literature by providing a systematic discussion on the benefits of moving from, firstly, Labov’s structural high-point analysis, to then incorporating Bamberg’s stages of positioning analysis.

Researchers, who may have interwoven Labov's high-point analysis with Bamberg's positioning analysis, may quite often feel justified in not explicitly discussing their underlying process. This is because Labov and Waletzky's study (1967/1997), which, according to Holmes (1997: 91), "is cited in every text concerned with narrative structure", has delineated the structure of a well-formed (event) narrative. Moreover, a narrative's referential and evaluative functions has been further expanded upon by Labov (1972; 1997; 2001; 2004; 2006). Likewise, Bamberg, building on the works of Davies & Harre (1990), has had recourse, on more than one occasion (1997; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c; 2007 for instance), to detail the three stages of positioning analysis.

However, unlike Labov, and subsequent narrative analysts, who have followed his approach, this study is not decontextualizing, and analyzing the event narratives; rather, the study is analyzing the structure of the component narrative genres, and contrasting the aspects of identities and agencies displayed in relation to their surrounding narratives. Beginning with Labov & Waletzky's (1967/1997) high-point analysis, this study analyzes how each of these Giritmit recollections has been reconstructed in the life narratives. Further to analysing the structure of each life narrative, the study aims, through using Bamberg's positioning analysis (1997; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c), to understand the linguistically structured performativity of identities and agencies, and the Giritmitas' adopted positionings in, and through their life narratives. The weaving together of Labov & Waletzky's structural analysis of narratives and Bamberg's three levels of positionings. The framework allows for a discussion of the overall point of view on Giritmit that is negotiated through these particular tellings. Through the implementation of the merged analytical processes, a more fine-grained process of analysis, which I have termed narrativization analysis, emerges in Chapter 13.

The purpose of this research is to understand the identities and agencies that are being negotiated through these life narratives. Ultimately, these life narratives are the voices of experience, the articulation of lives remembered, and how the Giritmitas chose to be remembered. This study, therefore, is not attempting to prove or disprove what the Giritmitas state in evidence of their Giritmit experience. Rather, this is a study seeking understanding of the Giritmitas' understandings, and representations of Giritmit.

To facilitate this restorying of Girit, the research turns to the radio documentary, *Girit Gāthā*. As Foucault suggests (cited, and endorsed by Spivak, 1988:285):

...to make visible the unseen can also mean a change of level, addressing oneself to a layer of material which had hitherto had no pertinence for history and which had not been recognized as having any moral, aesthetic or historical value.

Girit Gāthā has, until now, escaped the Girit researchers' attention. The contextualized performativity of their life experiences is a space the Giritiyas use for the negotiation of their identities and agencies. It is the emotions (cf. Sorsoli, 2007: 307; Squire, 2005: 96-97) that the telling of these life narratives evoke, in both the Giritiyas and the other interlocutors, that remind us that Girit was not just the much-theorized mechanics of labour, with its advantages and disadvantages for all involved. It is listening to their life narratives that allows us to obtain some insight into why their experience of Girit remains such a salient memory for them (cf. Portelli, 1997: 50), and how their collective Girit experience represents the beginnings of a new language and community, formed from a fusion of transplanted languages and communities from India.

I began the study with the following question:

How do Indian indentured labourers to Fiji construct life stories in Fiji Hindi to describe their indenture experiences, and through the narration process, illustrate positions of identity and agency?

Through the unfolding process of thinking and writing, I have reformulated the research question as:

How do Indian indentured labourers to Fiji construct life narratives in Fiji Hindi, to reconstruct their indenture experiences, and through the narration process, negotiate positions of identities and agencies?

While the changes in vocabulary may appear minor to non-narrativists, they reflect major shifts in my conception of key points, as discussed below.

I began the study with Linde's (1993: 21) definition of a *life story*. The criteria for a narration to be defined as a life story are: it is one of many discourse units the narrator tells, and retells, in her life time, in which she functions as a character; the main evaluative function of the narration is to serve as an evaluation of the narrator, as opposed to an evaluation of the world; and, finally, the narration is highly contextualized, and salient to the narrator's identity negotiation.

Guldhari's narration, however, did not fit the criteria of a life story but that of a *chronicle* (Linde, 1993: 87). While Guldhari's narration recapitulated the incidents in the same order that Guldhari would have encountered them, the narration was not focused on Guldhari-as-character, but on her mother's experiences of Girit, which Guldhari witnessed. Rather than omitting Guldhari's narration for not fitting the mould of the life story, I saw that Guldhari's narration made the research stronger in its demarcation of Girit life narrators versus the current master narrators. In addition, Guldhari demonstrates, through her telling, that what we witness in our lives is as vivid, and as important as what we participate in.

The inclusion of Guldhari's narration required rethinking on my part for an umbrella term that could encompass both the life story and the chronicle. This study uses the term *life narrative* to encompass all narrations that focus on life incidents that the narrator either experienced, or witnessed. Furthermore, the definition allows for the demarcation of the narratives in this study from the master narratives of indenture.

As the structure of life narratives in Fiji Hindi has not been investigated, its analysis formed a major component of the research. Part of understanding the *re-construction* was to understand the order of the narration of unfolding incidents, and what is emphasized, de-emphasized, or omitted from the causal chain of events of the life narrative. Uncovering the structure also presented an insight into what the life narrative is about, in other words, whether the narrator is presenting an *event narrative*, which is about a specific incident during his Girit, as Ram Rattan Mishar does, or presenting a

habitual narrative, which details the routine of Girit, as Guldhari Maharaj does, or whether the narrator is using a combination of the two narrative genres, as the other narrators do.

In emphasizing the *negotiation* aspect of the telling, it allows for the movement from the structure into the sense-making process of narration (Ochs & Capps, 2001). This means taking into consideration the interactional nature of the telling, rather than focusing solely on the Girit narrator (cf. Bamberg, 1997; Mishler, 1997; Schegloff, 1997). That context is important to the reconstruction of the narration, is reflected in my use of the term *interlocutors*, rather than *audience*. The term *interlocutor* carries the connotations of active involvement in the construction of the narration, whereas, *audience* denotes passivity.

Within the context of the telling and broadcast of the life narratives, there are three levels of interlocutors involved: the principal narrator, the primary interlocutor, and the secondary interlocutors. Schiffrin's (2003a) findings for the interaction between the interlocutors in the elicitation of holocaust narratives in an interview situation are applicable to the construction of the life narratives in this collection. The interlocutor, whose life incidents are being narrated, and, therefore, knows most about the incidents that transpired, is the *principal narrator*, in this case, the Giritiya. The other *primary interlocutor*, who is present during the telling, takes the role of the interviewer, whose questions and feedback to the Girit narrator encourage the syntagmatic movement (Cohan & Shires, 1988:64-65) of the narration through seeking clarification; signalling approval of the telling (through the presence of suprasegmental and segmental features, such as, laughter (Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff, 1987), backchannelling (Schegloff, 1982), silence, and repetitions (Tannen, 2007: 48-100) in the contributions of the interviewer, thereby, indicating 'involvement' (Chafe, 1985:116)); and even by signalling disapproval of the telling (through the absence of these transition relevant place features (Goodwin, 1981: 21) at instances when they would be expected), thereby, signalling for a negotiation of change of direction in the narration. In these life narratives, both the Girit narrator and the interviewer co-construct the life narrative for the benefit of the future *secondary interlocutors*, or radio listeners.

As this is one version of possible versions of life narratives (Hermans, 2001: 8), at this level of analysis, the study is interested in the performative interaction of the principal narrator and the other interlocutors in the contextualized telling, and the process through which identities and agencies are negotiated (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974), and brought off through the telling. That is, which characters are present in the life narrative; how are the characters positioned in the life narrative; how much responsibility, praise, and/or blame can be, and is attributed to the characters; and, in turn, how the naming of characters, and their attributions in the causal chain of events illustrate the subjectivities (cf. Culler, 1981: 33), or the moral stance of the narrators in negotiating ‘Who am I?’ and ‘Who do I want to be?’

This negotiation is influenced by the ‘baggage’ the interlocutors bring with them to the telling of the life narrative. In the case of the life narratives of Girit, the baggage that the interlocutors carry, to varying degrees, include the master narratives of Girit, and the social norms of behaviour within the community in which these life narratives are told, and heard. These master narratives are the images of indenture that are prevalent in the community, and form the shared knowledge: the spatial and temporal settings, as well as the positioning of characters in their roles, and the identities and agencies associated with these roles.

The knowledge of the positioning of the Giritiyas within the master narratives would have an influence on the interviewer’s, and the secondary interlocutors’ positioning of the Giritiyas. In relation to these stereotyped positionings, the Girit narrator’s credibility will also be judged. Moreover, the knowledge of the master narratives would have an influence on the questions asked, and not asked by the two interlocutors present at the telling, as well as what is said, and left unsaid, and what is assumed by the Girit narrator to be understood by the other interlocutors.

This study is interested in the discursive *performativity* (Butler, 1990; 1993: 107; 1995) of identities, but in the context of the telling of life narratives. The life narrative is, first of all, a re-presentation of the narrator’s past acts of narrations, either to other interlocutors, or to oneself, hence, my use of the term ‘*re-construction*’ of the life

narrative. Secondly, this life narrative is a situated act in itself, but consisting of many acts, which reinforce the positioning of the characters, including the narrator-as-character, within the life narrative. Performativity also builds on the cultural ideologies in which the life narratives are told, which, in this case, is the culture of telling narratives in Fiji Hindi. This performativity, therefore, builds on the way the narrator makes use of the discourse available to her, as well as the community's 'shared knowledge' (Holmes, 1998) of the Girit master narratives.

In looking at the *discursive* performativity of identities, the study adopts Schiffrin's (2002: 315-16) view of "'storied' worlds", created through the retrospective narration of past incidents, and people, including oneself, with the understanding of the present. As Byrne (2003: 30) points out, "This negotiation between the self of the present and the self/selves of the past is an inherent part of telling one's life story". The concept of understanding one's self(s), and one's identities through narrative has been articulated by Bamberg (2004a), Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin (2006), Baynham & De Fina (2005), Brockmeier & Carbaugh (2001), Bruner (1987/2004; 1990; 1991; 1999), Carr (1986), De Fina (2000; 2003), Freeman (2006), Gardner (2002), Klapproth (2004), MacIntyre (1981), Ochs & Capps (2001), Polkinghorne (1991), Ricoeur (1991), Riessman (1993), Sarbin (1986), and Smith (1994) amongst others, although with differing emphases on the relationship between the representation, and configuration of identities through narrative (refer, for instance, to Ritivoi, 2008: 232-233, for a discussion on the perspectives of Bruner, McIntyre, and Ricoeur).

In its focus on *discursive performativity*, this research takes the view that the telling of life narratives is an interactive process (Markus & Cross, 1990: 576; Quasthoff & Becker, 2005; Taylor, 1989: 39). Through narrativization, one is, ultimately, involved in the negotiation of self(s). This negotiation is both how one is seen by relevant others (Gullestad, 2004: 218; Wortham, 2001: 1), and also how one wants to be perceived within the locally situated *discourse*, which functions within the larger *Discourse* (Gee, 2010; De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg, 2006: 14), or the *Master Narratives* of Girit.

The research draws on the fields of Linguistics, Narrative Analysis, and Indian Indenture studies. This research is symbolic in that it looks at the construction of life

narratives by the first generation of speakers of Fiji Hindi. Through its focus on Fiji Hindi life narratives, the study contributes to the field of Linguistics. Prior studies on Fiji Hindi have largely focused on providing an overview of grammar (Moag, 1977; Pillai, 1975a; Siegel, 1987; 1988), or code switching, and language maintenance and shift (Mangubhai & Mugler, 2003; Mugler & Tent, 1998; Shameem, 1995; Siegel, 1992a; 1992b; 1998). Brenneis is the only other author to have studied the discourse features in Fiji Hindi, although his work is situated on performative genres present in a Fiji Indian village context (Brenneis, 1987a). One of these genres is singing in Fiji Hindi, although ‘challenge singing’ (Brenneis & Padarath, 1975) is now considered archaic. Another of Brenneis’ focus is the outmoded *panchayat* system (Brenneis, 1984a), an establishment of an Indian council system in the village for dispute settlement. The *panchayat* would have involved a re-construction of social incidents into a coherent narration, that is, the construction of ‘storied’ worlds from the points of view of both defendant and accused. The final genre, which Brenneis focused on, is *talanoa* (Brenneis, 1984b; 1987b), a particular form of informal conversation in the “he-said-she-said” production format (Goodwin, 1990), which is also seen in the Girit life narratives. This study follows on from Brenneis’ in its focus on discursive performativity in Fiji Hindi, but in the genre of telling life narratives.

The few written pieces available from the Girit era, such as, the Mauritian letters Marina Carter (1996) studied, which are attributed to Giritiyas, are, most often, not written by Giritiyas. The exception is Totaram Sanadhya (1914/1991), who has written the only published memoir of the Girit experience. The letters that Carter (1994; 1996) has studied are often written by an official on behalf of a Giritiya. This raises questions, as Carter herself (1996:1-18), and Allen (1996: 178) point out, about the form of language used, the point of view, and moral stance displayed in the construction of the narration, as well as the information revealed in the letters, and, conversely, that which is not revealed. The latter is of even more importance in letters attributed to women Giritiyas (Carter, 1994), for the officials who wrote these letters were men. Hence, it is the Giritiyas’ oral life narratives that provide the best access to their Girit experience.

Keeping the Girmityas at the centre of the study, without taking their words out of context of the surrounding narration, was a conscious decision. The majority of researchers writing about Indian indenture have privileged official documents produced on the indenture system over the Girmityas' voices, which are either absent, or, at best, excerpted to support commentaries on indenture (refer, for instance, to Ali, 2004; Gillion, 1962; Lal, 2000; 2004a; Naidu, 2004, which are some of the predominant works on Fiji's Indian indenture). Such academic research has become the official master narrative of Girit. Below is an excerpt from Lal, whose immense contributions to the field makes him one of the most widely cited indenture researchers:

The Girmityas called [indenture] 'narak' which means hell, an experience which robbed them of 'izzat', honour, which denied them 'insaf', justice. The words are theirs, not mine.

(Lal, 2000: x)

This all-encompassing voice, which persists in the master narratives, obliterates all other Girmityas' voices, and all other Girit experiences. The postcolonialist, bell hooks' poetic cynicism (1990: 343) regarding representation and re-presentation comes to mind:

No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better
than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice.
Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story.
And then I will tell it back to you in a new way.
Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine,
my own. Re-writing you I write myself anew.
I am still author, authority.

The power of these master narratives is best described by Said (1985: 94), "such texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality that they appear to describe". This study provides an alternative approach to Girit research. The study counters the representation of the Girmityas through decontextualized excerpts. Moreover, the study questions the portrayal of a fixed version of the Girmityas' identity through such

excerpts. Coming from a poststructuralist perspective (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 10-13), I see *identities*, constantly in process, within each life narrative. In addition, the study moves from the thematic analysis mode, which predominates the Girit master narratives, and which seeks a generalizable Girit narrative, to the contextualized language usage, and performative aspects of analysis. While this study has not set out to disprove the existence of the Girit of the master narratives, these seven Giritias show us that Girit experiences were varied, and how the Giritias choose to articulate their recollections of these experiences are also varied. In other words, while the Girit and the Girit of the master narratives may have existed, there is no typical Girit, and there is no typical Girit experience.

1.4 Research outline

Chapter 2, *Girit in the words of Gabriel Aiyappa*, is for those readers who may be interested in narrative analysis, but who do not necessarily have knowledge about Indian indenture. The Giritias were telling their life narratives in a community where they assumed their interlocutors would have some knowledge of Girit, and, for this reason, they leave out of their life narratives much of the background provided in this section, against which their life narratives take place. Through Gabriel Aiyappa's life narrative, this chapter establishes shared knowledge (Holmes, 1998) between the readers and the Giritias.

Chapter 3, *Behind the scenes of Girit Gāthā*, is an overview of the context in which the radio documentary arose, the interviewees, the interviewers, and the interview. Through the above, the life narratives are situated in the context in which they were produced, which is important to keep in mind when considering why the life narratives were produced in *this* manner (Riessman, 1993; 2002; 2003; Riessman & Speedy, 2007: 429).

Chapter 4, *Transposing the oral into written*, provides information on how to read the life narratives. This chapter discusses my re-presentation of the Giritias' words from the oral to the visual (cf. Gottlieb, 1994 on diagonal translation). Here, I am conscious of my facilitations (cf. Nida, 1964: 145-155; 1991: 21) in the Giritias'

performativities. Through my contributions, these life narratives are made available in another form, to another set of interlocutors, one that is potentially wider than the set of interlocutors who can understand the Girmityas' life narratives in the original voice. For this reason, this chapter details the processes undertaken, as well as the rationale behind the re-presentation of the life narratives.

Chapters 5 and 6 trace my approach to developing the analytical framework of the study. Chapter 5, *Ram Rattan Mishar's construction of the Gimit life narrative*, begins by defining the life narrative through the case study of Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative, after which, the life narrative components are differentiated through their structure, and focus. An issue raised in relation to experience-centered researchers is that such researchers are all too quick to begin analysis of the 'why' of narrative construction without much emphasis on the 'how' (Squire, 2008a: 54; Tamboukou, 2008). This chapter delineates the Gimit life narrative, the independent variable, and it also retraces my process of understanding how the Gimit life narrative holds together structurally.

Chapter 6, *Ram Rattan Mishar's reconstruction of identities and agencies*, continues in its focus on Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative, and concerns the storyworld organization of the life narrative. This chapter, firstly, details the influences on the ordering of characters, and incidents in the storyworld, and, secondly, discusses the identities and agencies, the dependent variables, that emerge from the positioning of characters within the temporal and spatial frames of the narration. Finally, the chapter summarizes how the interweaving of Labov and Bamberg's frameworks takes the study from the textual representation into the social world of production of the life narratives.

Chapters 7 to 12 are each devoted to the five remaining life narratives. Here, the study analyzes how the Girmityas perceive themselves, and wish to be perceived through their narrative re-presentations of that period of their life: Do they view themselves as victims of their circumstances, or as agents, who overcame a difficult period in their lives? How are their narratives linguistically constructed to allow the other interlocutors to understand the positions the Girmityas wish to take up for themselves in relation to the other characters in the narrative? This analysis is followed by a discussion on how these narratives relate to the literature on indenture, as well as

aspects of narrative construction, positioning, and construction of identities and agencies. An outline of the life narrative's sections is provided at the onset of each chapter. This serves the dual function of providing the reader with details as to what is present in the analysis of each life narrative, and also providing an overview of the structure of each life narrative.

Chapter 13, *Constructing 'I' through the life narrative*, draws together the factors that influence the performativity of the life narratives. The sequencing of incidents in the life narrative, that is, the order in which incidents are narrated, together with the selective emphasis on incidents, and their thematic organization, contribute to the manner of narration, and, thereby, provide a window on the Girit narrator's construction of identities and agencies through the life narrative, which is told within the interaction of memory, master narratives of Girit, and cultural ideologies.

Chapter 14, *Conclusions and Beginnings*, draws together the major discussions in the study. This is followed by a discussion of the study's limitations, and the significance of the findings for further research in the areas of Narrative analysis, Fiji Hindi, and Girit studies.

1.5 The co-construction of Girit

Just like the narrators in this collection, I too must practice the narrating techniques of flattening and sharpening, of foreshadowing and backshadowing (Cohan & Shires, 1988: 84-85; Genette, 1980: 40; Martin, 1986: 124; Ochs & Capps, 2001: 42) in order to present an illusion of a coherent whole (Polkinghorne, 2005: 9) in this depiction of the Girit era. Hence, this is as much my story as the Giritiyas, for this study is my understanding of the narrators' perceptions, their choices in positionings, and their choices in remembering, and articulating experiences of Girit, from the vantage point of the present.

As a Fiji Indian, I bring certain cultural preconceived notions of behaviour, and storytelling, into my understanding of these life narratives. In doing so, I follow in the footsteps of Livia Polanyi (1985), by bringing native speaker intuitions into my analyses. I feel justified in doing so as the life narratives were broadcast on, at the time,

the only Hindi radio station in Fiji, with the Fiji Indian community forming its primary set of interlocutors. These interlocutors would, like me, have brought their own perceptions, ingrained in the Fiji Indian culture of their upbringing, into their listening and understanding of the life narratives, and the narrators' point(s) of view.

However, these cultural presuppositions may create a point of contention between the reader's and my own understanding of the life narratives. My background will have influenced the manner in which I transliterated, and translated the life narratives from Fiji Hindi into English, and influenced what I have taken as given through my upbringing as an Indian in Fiji, which may not be what a reader from another culture will perceive as given. Hence, this study is a co-construction of meaning between the narrators' words and my interpretation of the life narratives. This co-construction will continue as the reader interprets my own words, and construes new meanings, and new parallels, reflecting the experiences that she brings with her into the readings.

2

Gabriel Aiyappa's Gimit

Chale
Reiwāṅā ke Gebrial Aiyapā se
sab se pahile puchte he
kī Gīrmīt prathā ke antargat
unkā Fījī ānā keise hua

*Let us first of all
ask Gabriel Aiyappa from Raiwaqa
how it was that he came to be in Fiji
during the Gimit period
(Tej Ram Prem)*

Indian indenture began in Fiji with the arrival of the first immigrant ship, *Leonidas*, on 4th March 1879. The system was to last for 37 years in Fiji, ending in 1920. In that period, 87 voyages were made to Fiji, and 60, 965 Indians went to work on the plantations of Fiji.

The labourers referred to their indenture as *Gimit* /'gɪr,mɪt/, coined from the English word *Agreement*, because the *Gimityas* /'gɪr,mɪtjəz/ saw the signing of their indenture contract in India as representing their agreement to be indentured. This research is an analysis of the voices of seven of these Gimityas recollecting their Gimit experience.

The chapter begins with an overview of the Indian indenture system, and the factors leading to the implementation of the Gimit system in Fiji. Following this is a discussion of what the Gimit system meant to those who were employed under it. The chapter ends with an overview of the circumstances, and the people, who were instrumental in leading to the abolishment of the Indian indenture system.

In this chapter, Gabriel Aiyappa provides his viewpoint on his experiences of the stages of the Gimit process the labourers went through, from their recruitment until their

arrival on the plantations of Fiji. In this introduction to Girit, the research has focused on Gabriel's life narrative for three reasons. Gabriel was the first Giritiya whose interview was played on *Girit Gāthā*, the radio documentary in which the Giritiyas in this study told their life narratives. Furthermore, in his life narrative, Gabriel details each stage of the Girit process, which four of the seven Giritiyas do not. A final reason for focusing on Gabriel is because he is a South Indian. By focusing on Gabriel's recollections of Girit, this study counters the master narrators' emphasis on North Indian Giritiyas.

Each individual's experience of Girit was unique. Nevertheless, as they trace their Girit journey from India and across the *kala pani* or 'black seas' to the sugar plantations of Fiji, there is a common thread in the stages the Girit narrators underwent in becoming Giritiyas. It is this commonality that is drawn upon in this chapter.

2.1 Fiji's call for Giritiyas

The Girit era came after the abolishment of the slave trade to meet the demands of labour shortage on the colonial plantations. All the Giritiyas in this study were assigned manual work on the sugar plantations. The Girit system lasted over 80 years, from 1834 until 1920, and proved quite profitable to the 'King Sugar' colonies (Lal, 2000: 74-75), which are listed below:

Table 2: Establishment of Girit in the 'King Sugar' colonies

Colonies employing Giritiyas	Year of establishment of Girit
Mauritius	1834
British Guiana	1838
Trinidad	1845
Jamaica	1845
Grenada	1856
St Lucia	1858
Natal	1860
St Kitts	1860
St Vincents	1860
Reunion	1861
Suriname	1873
Fiji	1879

(Adapted from Lal, 2000: 75)

As seen in Table 2 above, in 1879, Fiji was the last colony to import Indian labour. This need for Indian labour arose due to the country's inability to rely on previous labour sources.

The Pacific labour trade was growing increasingly precarious. The once readily available labour from the neighbouring Pacific Islands, such as New Hebrides, Gilbert, and the Solomon Islands had now become increasingly difficult to obtain. On the one hand, the native populations in those islands had declined, and consequently, Fiji was facing growing competition from Queensland, Samoa, and New Caledonia for labour. At the same time, the growing criticisms of the abuse of the Pacific labourers in Fiji, particularly in recruitment, and transportation, made it necessary for Great Britain to look elsewhere for labour (Lal, 2000: 70).

In addition to the shortage of labour from the neighbouring islands, the planters had great difficulty in recruiting the native Fijians for mass labour. Of the 135,000 indigenous Fijians, approximately 27,000 died during the 1876 measles epidemic (Cliff, Haggett, & Smallman-Raynor, 2000: 158). Moreover, Sir Arthur Gordon, the Governor of Fiji, was keen on preserving the Fijian way of life, and reluctant for the Fijians to be used for Western profiteering (Gillion, 1962: 5-8). Furthermore, many Fijians were themselves reluctant to work as labourers for poor wages, often under harsh and uncompassionate treatment by the plantation authorities (Lal, 2000: 69-70).

Although labour was guaranteed through the Girit system, the planters were in dire straits, due to the collapse of the cotton boom (Knapman, 1985: 53-82). The colonial government urgently needed to increase its revenue. Sir Arthur Gordon realized the need to look at alternative crop sources, and he turned to the sugar industry. The Australian Colonial Sugar Refining Company (C.S.R. Company) was invited to set up operations in Fiji, which it did in 1882 (Lal, 2000: 16). At the time, there were other companies producing sugar, but by 1924, the C.S.R. Company had become the sole miller of sugarcane in Fiji. It had investments in excess of 1.4 million pounds, and was the employer of three quarters of the Giritiyas. Hence, Girit became associated with the sugar industry, and in particular, with the C.S.R. Company.

2.2 Girmmit across the *kala pani*

The machinery of Girmmit was quite complex, as illustrated in Naidu (2004: 9), and most of it may not have been known to the Girmityas. From the Girmityas' life narratives, their contact with the system can be divided into five phases: (i) being recruited, registered, and taken to the sub-depot then (ii) the emigration depot, followed by (iii) the voyage to Fiji. Once in Fiji, they were taken to (iv) the quarantine station, and, finally, (v) the plantation to serve their five years of Girmmit.

*Gabriel Aiyappa*¹

<p>Amrā gao me kām nei miltā rā. Am chale geyā taun. Taun me ek admī dholak bajae ke jātā he. Bole kā bai, jon ādmī Pīche Tāpu jai gā, uske talab saṛe bais rupeiyā talab. Tab agar kon kām? Bole, "Kisān ke ketī bāt kām he". Am bolā, "Achā".</p>	<p><i>In my village, work was not available. I went to town. In the town, a man playing a drum was going by. He said, "Brother, the man who will go to the Fiji islands, he will receive twenty two and a half rupees in wages. I asked him what work. He said, "Work related to vegetable and rice farming". I said, "Ok".</i></p>
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The majority of the emigrants to Fiji were recruited in North India, as indicated in Table 3 below. The recruitment was focussed largely on the United Provinces (today Uttar Pradesh) and Behar (today Bihar), and to a smaller degree on Punjab, and the Central Provinces (Lal, 2004a: 2). However, towards the end of Girmmit, this supply of labour from the United Provinces and Behar, which had initially been plentiful, became insufficient. At this point, recruitment spread to the South of India, which is when Gabriel went to the city in search of work.

Table 3: Numbers of men and women recruited from North and South India

	Men	Women
North Indian	31, 456	13, 696
South Indian	9, 701	3, 810

(Adapted from Lal, 2000: 102, 108, 403)

¹ In this chapter, the words of Gabriel are presented in prose form, with a bare transcript, and, for the most part, without the input of the interviewer. Chapter 4 discusses why this is not the ideal method of representing the Girmityas' voices.

Gabriel mentions that he became a Girmitya with the understanding that it involved vegetable farming, rather than the planting of sugarcane, and the assurance of earning twenty two and a half rupees. It was the recruiter's responsibility to entice people, mainly men, to agree to emigrate to the colonies. The recruiter would either work on his own, or would make use of *arkhati*, unlicensed men, boys, and women to gather recruits for him. A recruiter would be aware of places in the large cities where crowds of strangers and travelers would be easy to pick out. These would be near temples, market places, and railway stations (Gillion, 1962: 31-2). Like Gabriel, villagers would be in the city looking for employment. The recruiter's promise of twenty two and a half rupees would have been a great incentive to register as a potential recruit.

For the majority of the recruits, once they had agreed to work in Fiji, they were taken by the recruiters to be formally registered as a potential migrant. The registering officer was generally a sub-divisional magistrate. The recruiters would then take the recruits to a sub-depot, maintained by a sub-agent. On delivery of the registered recruits, the sub-agent would pay the recruiter his commission (Gillion, 1962: 32):

Gabriel Aiyappa

<p>To le geyā kaṅānī ke lage, jon āguā, jon ādmī bhartī kartā. To u puchā he. Bole, "Tum Pijī Tāpu jāne maṅtā?" Am bolā, "Hā". "To sāre pais rupeiyā mile gā, to reinek jaga mile gā, sab kuch". Ham bolā "Achā". To wa uske gare tīn chār roj rā. Uskā bād chār pāche ādmī jamā kar diyā. Tab u le ke Mitas le ke giyā.</p>	<p><i>He took me to the Kangani, the one who is a leader, the one who enrolls men. He asked, "You want to go to the Fiji islands?" I said, "Yes". "You will receive twenty two and a half rupees, a place to live, everything. I said, "Ok". There, I stayed, at his house, for three or four days. After he had gathered four or five men, he took (us) to Madras.</i></p>
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Once he had a sizeable number of recruits, the sub-agent would then take them to the emigration depot. For the Northern part of India, the depot was in Calcutta, while for the Southern part of India, it was in Madras (Gillion, 1962: 51; Lal, 2004a: 71-97).

At the emigration depot, the recruits would be medically examined to meet the standard for physical fitness (Gillion, 1962: 32). After their examination, the Girmityas were interviewed by the Protector of Emigrants. His duty was to ensure the Girmityas were leaving voluntarily, and were aware of the terms of their contract (Gillion, 1962: 34).

The indenture contract was written in English, in addition, for those recruited in the North, in Hindi and Urdu; and for the Southern recruits in Tamil and Telegu. The terms in the contract are here summarized from Gillion (1962: 104-9), and Lal (2000: 47-48; 2004a: 37-8). The implementation of the terms of the contract will be discussed later in the chapter from Gabriel's viewpoint, upon his arrival onto the plantation.

The Girmityas' work would involve cultivation of plantation crops. The Girmityas were required to work nine hours per weekday. On weekends, they were required to work five hours on Saturday, with Sunday being their day of rest. The Girmityas were employed on either time work, or task work, depending on their employer.

Weekly wages were set according to age and gender. An adult, according to the contract, was a person over fifteen. An adult man was entitled one shilling, and an adult woman nine pence. Children were to be paid proportionately to the work they accomplished.

Moreover, it was the employer's responsibility to provide rations "at a Government prescribed scale" to the Girmityas for the first six months (Lal, 2000: 48). Four pence per day was to be deducted from the Girmitya's wages to subsidize the cost of rations. Children between five and twelve received half the rations of an adult. Those under the age of five received nine *chittacks* of milk a day during their first year on the plantation (Lal, 2004a: 11).

In addition, the Girmityas were entitled to "free, suitable rent-free dwellings 'kept in good repair by their employers', and free hospital accommodation, medical attendance, and medicines during their period of service" (Lal, 2000: 48).

An Agent General of Immigration (AGI) would look into the welfare of the Girmityas on the plantation. His duty was to take into consideration any complaints made by the employer, or labourers.

The emigrants had a choice to either return to India at the end of five years of Gimit, at their own expense, or to spend another five years working in Fiji, and be repatriated at

the Government's expense. Children who had come with their parents to Fiji could claim a free passage to India before the age of twenty four. Those who were born in Fiji during Giritmit could claim this right up to the age of twelve, on the condition that they were accompanied by a guardian (Lal, 2004a: 11). If the Giritmitya chose to remain in Fiji, she or he would be entitled to a piece of land on completion of her or his Giritmit (Gillion, 1962: 136-163).

Those who agreed to the conditions, had their details recorded on their emigration pass (cf. Lal, 2004a on the quantitative analysis of emigration passes of Giritmityas from the Calcutta depot), and were allowed to board the ship to Fiji. Below, in Picture 1, is Velayuda Goundai, my husband Ryan Gounder's paternal great-grandfather, with his wife, also an ex-indentured labourer, whom he married in Fiji, and one of their grand daughters. Velayuda Goundai, like Gabriel Aiyappa, embarked on his Giritmit journey from Madras depot, as noted on his emigration pass in Picture 2.

Picture 1: Velayuda Goundai



Picture 2: Velayuda Goundai's emigration pass

FORM No. 44.

SHIP No. 446th

49841

DEPOT No. 2143. HEALTH CLASS.

**MAN'S
EMIGRATION PASS.**

For Steam Ship **SUTLEJ.** proceeding to Fiji.
MADRAS, 8th September 1911.

Name Velayuda Goundai

Father's Name... .. Kata Goundai

Age 25 years

Caste Vannia

Height 5 feet 8 inches

Name of next-of-kin Kata Goundai (Father)

If married, to whom

District... .. North Arcot

Taluq Tiruvannamalai

Village Mangalam

Bodily marks A scar on left shoulder blade.
A scar on left in-step.

Occupation in India Cultivator

Chest measurement 35"

Certified that we have examined and passed the above-named man as fit to emigrate ; that he is free from all bodily and mental disease ; and that he has been vaccinated since engaging to emigrate.

[Signature]
Surgeon Superintendent.

[Signature]
Depôt Surgeon.

Certified that the man above described has appeared before me and has been engaged by me on behalf of the Government of Fiji as willing to proceed to that country to work for hire, and that I have explained to him all matters concerning his engagement and duties.

[Signature]
Government Emigration Agent for Fiji.

Permitted to proceed as in a fit state of health to undertake the voyage to Fiji.

[Signature]
8 SEP 1911
Protector of Emigrants.

Following the reading of the contract, the Girmityas were given board and lodgings at the emigration depot until their ship arrived:

Gabriel Aiyappa

<p>Mitras tīpu me joun kaprā ham pein ke giyā sab utār ke bīg diyo. Dusre kaprā ulog deo. U kaprā pein ke tipu me ek meinā rā. To ek ajār ādmī jamā hua. Tab jā ke jāy aiyā.</p>	<p><i>The clothes I had worn to the Madras depot I had to throw away. They gave me another set of clothes. Those clothes I wore and lived in the depot for one month. It was after one thousand men had gathered there that the ship arrived.</i></p>
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As Gabriel mentions, the recruits could spend up to a month at the depot. Those who were unmarried were segregated by gender. For the Girmityas, this great length of time, compounded with the total isolation from the society outside the depot, would have resulted in many societal, and in particular, caste restrictions being relinquished (Mayer, 1963: 16). For the majority of the recruits, their Hindu societal structure, mentally represented as caste hierarchy, would need to be altered if the recruits were to live together in the depot, and, ultimately, on the plantation (Jayawardana, 1971: 89-119). Hence, the fragmentation of societal and cultural norms began not on the plantations in the colonies, but in the depots in India. By the time the recruits were ready to embark on their journey, new bonds had been forged across caste lines and religions that would last a lifetime. This marked a dramatic social change, and the beginnings of a caste-free Fiji Indian society.

The same isolation applied to the South Indian recruits, like Gabriel Aiyappa, at the Madras depot. However, these recruits would have been surrounded mainly by other South Indian recruits. Hence, they would have been associating largely with speakers of Dravidian languages (Gillion, 1962: 51). For these reasons, while the South Indian recruits, like the North Indian recruits, would have accommodated societal and cultural norms to their new environment, their time in the depot would not have adequately prepared them for life on the plantations of Fiji.

As seen in Table 3 above, the majority of the Girmityas to Fiji were North Indian, and as most of the South Indian Girmityas arrived in the latter half of Gimit, they came to plantations that would have had a distinctly North Indian orientation. When the first

South Indian Girmityas arrived, they would have found that the language spoken on the plantation amongst the Girmityas, which was the beginnings of Fiji Hindi, was a fusion of North Indian languages. The colonial patronage extended to the language the plantation overseer or owner used on the plantation with the Girmityas. This pidgin language would have been a form of Hindi, again, a language of North India. This lack of acclimatization of the South Indian recruits to the culture of the plantation environment may have contributed to the high number of South Indian suicides during Gimit, discussed in the next section.

Gabriel was still not aware that he was to travel and work such a great distance away from India, as he tells his interviewer:

Interviewer: Āp ko batāyā giyā thā Fijī kahā he, ketnā dur he? Gabriel: Kuch bi nei	<i>Interviewer: Were you told where Fiji is, how far away it is? Gabriel: Not at all</i>
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He recollects the first two days of his voyage:

Jāz se beitā he sanjā ke che baje. To kyā diyā? I kaṛā biskit, chinī jahāj me, joun roj jaik utrā. To wei kai ke amlog gujārā kiyā. To ek tin walā lotā our ek tin walā kap, he sab tin ke diyā, "I tumlog ke". Tab dusrā roz sabere, bas bāt tarkārī sab ko diyā. Phin ham jāno twenti seban dei rā.	<i>I sat on the ship in the evening at six o'clock. On the day that we sat on the ship, they gave us this hard biscuit and sugar. We sustained ourselves by eating that. They gave us a jug and cup made of tin, saying "This is yours". Then the next day, they gave everyone rice and curry. I was on the ship for twenty seven days.</i>
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The segregation which began in the depot continued onto the ship's deck, which served as the Girmityas' accomodation: "the single men in the bow, then the married couples, and the single women in the stern-with sleeping platforms stretching from end to end" (Gillion, 1962: 60). The Girmityas, on the whole, were treated well while on board ship, although Gabriel admits he found the voyage difficult:

Twentī seban dei rā. Wā etnā taklīf bhe. Dwi blenkat, karyā blenkat, bohut bār usme. Ek	<i>I was on the ship for twenty seven days. I suffered great hardship. They gave us two</i>
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bichāne ke, ek horne ke.	<i>black blankets, one for lying on and one for covering oneself.</i>
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The Surgeon-Superintendent, who was ultimately responsible for the welfare of the Girmityas on the journey (Gillion, 1962: 60-1), did the best to his ability to see that the Girmityas were well fed and cared for. In addition, the recruits were encouraged to maintain a daily routine, to play games, sing, and dance, so as not to become despondent on the long voyage (Gillion, 1962: 63). The bonds that developed in the depot were strengthened during the voyage through the shared experiences of these activities, and helped establish a sense of community on board. These bonds of *jahajibhai* were maintained until the end of the emigrants' lives, and were akin to blood ties (Lal, 2000: 144).

Gabriel Aiyappa

Tab ai ke nakaltipolā utārā	<i>Then the ship dropped us off at Nukulau.</i>
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Except for the first emigrant ship, *Leonidas*, all the ships berthed at the port of Suva. The Girmityas were put on barges, and towed by small tugs or steam launches to the small island of Nukulau, the quarantine station. They would be medically examined, and, again, divided according to their level of fitness. Those who were unwell would be detained at the medical centre on the island, while those who were judged to be unfit would be returned to India (Gillion, 1962: 66-7). The remainder, who were declared physically strong, were segregated by gender, and put into quarantine for approximately one week. This gave the Girmityas time to recuperate from their journey. At the end of their recuperation period, the Girmityas would be divided up for employment based on the number of labourers required by each planter:

Gabriel Aiyappa

Wā ai ke utārā. Ek haptā yā rā. Tab i kah kah menajar log, Bā, Latokā, Lambāsā ke admī, sab menajar log aiyā. Sab koi ke bīnā. "I māṅo", "U māṅo", eisa binā. To amārā kotī me bī koī tīn, chār ādmī amlog aiyā.... Wā aiyā. Lein se khaṛā kiyā. To nām pukārā he. Hājīr sab hoe giyā tab chuṛī kudārī sabal sab	<i>We were dropped off there, and we remained there for one week. Then managers from Ba, Lautoka, Labasa came and picked through the Girmityas, "I want this, I want that". They picked the Girmityas in this way. On my plantation some three or four of us men came.... We arrived there. He made us stand</i>
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kuch hāt me diyā.	<i>in a line and called out our names. When he had ensured we were all present, he put in each one's hand a knife, a hoe, and a spade.</i>
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In addition to the free accommodation promised in their contract, the labourers were also entitled to free rations for the first six months of their Girmity:

Gabriel Aiyappa

To sab koi ke soudā diyā. Tīn goṛ walā handī, dwi handī, ketne Indyan kānā oloṅ khaigā, otne sab chij, chaur, ātā, ghī, masālā, sab kuch. dei dek khalās, lein pe geyā.	<i>He gave everyone groceries: two three-legged cast iron pots, and all the ingredients for Indian cooking, such as rice, flour, ghee, masala. After he finished giving everything, we went to the lines.</i>
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As per the indenture contract, to cover the cost of the rations, the Girmityas' wages were reduced by four pence per day. An unfortunate consequence of the rationing was that those who were unable to complete their tasks did not have much money in hand at the end of the week after having their wages deducted, both for incomplete tasks as well as the compulsory rations. After six months, the Girmityas bought their own groceries. This would be from the store, or from 'free' Indians, who had completed their Girmity.

The Girmityas were given accommodation in the *lines*. These were rooms connected to each other in long lines, with corrugated roofs and tarred black walls. For those who were unmarried, the segregation by gender, which began in the depots in India, continued onto the plantations in Fiji:

Gabriel Aiyappa

Ek ek siṅal men ke, dwī admī ke, ek rum. Dabal men ke ek rum. Ek ek lein ke koī pandrā rum sorā rum rahā ye eise. Etnē etnē chaklā wālā lakṛī ke bet he. Nīche edam matī.	<i>Two unmarried men shared one room in the line for unmarried individuals, while a married couple had one room in the line for those who were married. Each line had fifteen or sixteen rooms. The rooms were made of thin planks and had only a dirt floor.</i>
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The rooms were 10 feet by 7 feet in the early years of Girmity, and from 1908, 10 feet by 12 feet (Gillion, 1962: 105; Naidu, 2004: 15). In addition, the walls stopped some

distance short of the ceiling, and were topped with wire netting. While this was for ventilation purposes, as there were no windows in the rooms, it also meant the Girmityas had no privacy (Gillion, 1962: 105; Naidu, 2004: 34-5).

Gabriel mentions that he arrived at his plantation late at night. Therefore, he did not meet the other Girmityas living in the lines, and was unaware of what to expect the next morning:

<p>U jon pilātā he admī logan ke, u ai ke palā ā ke kutkuta, "Uto kānā banao, uto kānā banao, uto kānā banao". Sab palā deko. Kitnā baje? Tīn baje sabere. To ulog jantā he. To hamlog thore jane.</p>	<p><i>The waterbearer came and knocked on all the doors, saying, "Get up and cook, get up and cook, get up and cook". Do you know what time? Three o'clock in the morning. The other Girmityas knew what was happening, we, of course, didn't know.</i></p>
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After the muster, the Girmityas would walk to the sugarcane plantation. The plantation could be up to two miles away from their lines. On the plantation, they would be allocated tasks for the day by the sirdar (Gillion, 1962: 108).

Gabriel Aiyappa

<p>To sabere huwā sab koi ādmī jātā he sispān lei ke, "Ue, ie", kar ke. Hamlog bhī pīche geiyā. Wei to bāt he, kī joun roj geiyā, u roz bas bhukā rā, dusrā roz, wo bhī bhukā. Ko chiz to he nei khāne ko. Chiz to he, magari konchiz keise banai? Chulā nei, praimas nei, lakṛī nei.</p>	<p><i>In the morning, all the men were going with their food container, calling out to each other. We also went after them. The thing is, that day (I) went hungry to the plantation. The next day too, I went hungry. There was nothing to eat-I had the ingredients, but what do I cook with? There was no stove, no primas, no wood.</i></p>
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On a sugarcane plantation, a typical task for the day would be one of the following: "draining 200-300 cubic feet; holing 150-200 holes; weeding and trashing 10-15 chains, 6 feet wide; cutting, 3 tons per day; loading, 36 cwt. of cane; shovel-ploughing, 7-10 chains" (Gillion, 1962: 109), a chain being equivalent to 22 yards (Lal, 2000: 176). The Girmityas generally worked in gangs, with men and women working in separate gangs, supervised by an Indian foreman (Gillion, 1962: 108).

2.3 Social structure and its problems on the Girit Plantations

Based on the life narratives, the individuals on the plantation can be categorized into four groups, within which would have been present further hierarchies. The **plantation authorities** comprised of the *sirdar*, or the Indian foreman, and the overseer, owner, or manager of the plantation, whom the Girmityas refer to as *coolambar*. The **Girmityas** carried out the directives of the plantation authorities. During Girit, there were some who worked as house servants for the coolambar, but the majority worked on the sugarcane plantation, as was the case for all the Girmityas in this study. On the plantation, it was the sirdar whom the Girmityas came into most contact with, and it is most probably the sirdar who provided Gabriel with his implements and rations in the excerpt above.

There were also the **children of the Girmityas**, who do not feature in Gabriel's life narrative. Children around the age of fifteen were assigned tasks to do. Those who were younger were often left with an old hand, who functioned as the *dai* or 'nanny' (Gillion, 1962: 108). The **dai's** position on the plantation is ambiguous, and it is difficult to place her in the plantation hierarchy. As her contact was largely with the mothers, this study views the dai's position as below that of the plantation authorities, and above that of the women Girmityas, who left their children with her in the lines, while they went to work on the plantation.

As seen from the above hierarchy, the plantation social strata was dominated, and populated by men. This was helped by the desirability of more men than women Girmityas, with a ratio of 40 women to every 100 men enlisted (Lal, 2000: 130). In addition, despite the work being binary gendered, there were no women sirdars or overseers, which re-emphasized the patriarchal gendered system of organization of the indenture system. In fact, the women Girmityas were blamed for many of the social problems on the plantations (Lal, 2000: 54, 199).

On the Girit plantation, the hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005) therefore, lay in the hands of the overseer and the sirdar. These were positions of authority endorsed by the plantation officials, and recognized by the Girmityas. As the sirdar on many plantations was chosen for his 'bullying capabilities' (Lal, 2000: 51), this hegemonic

masculinity was not about suppressing only women, but about suppressing all Girmityas. Hence, from the Girmityas' point of view, these are not the heroes of Girmit, but the tyrants.

In order to fulfill the legal requirements of the indenture contract, the colonial authorities were required to have a mediator between the plantation authorities and the Girmityas. In Fiji, the office of the Agent General of Immigrants (AGI) was established to carry out this role. The AGI, in turn, appointed the Inspectors of Immigrants to visit the plantations, and to listen to the planters and Girmityas' complaints.

Ironically, it was the C.S.R. Company's overseers who were appointed to the role of Inspector of Immigrants (Gillion, 1962: 111). These ex-overseers typically took the side of the plantation authorities, and the Girmityas' complaints often went unheard. Moreover, in making complaints, the Girmityas risked increasing these authorities' infliction of abuse. For these reasons, the labourers often felt embittered by the legal system, and on many occasions decided to take matters into their own hands. The Girmityas' system of justice could often be quite vicious, resulting in serious injuries, and even the death of the overseer or sirdar.

Most of the Girmityas in this study depict living on the plantation environment as a brutal experience. In addition to the violence between the plantation authorities and the Girmityas, was the violence between the Girmityas. Moreover, Fiji had one of the highest suicide rates in all the indentured colonies (Lal, 1993: 187):

Gabriel Aiyappa

<p>Tutek roz, hamlog jai ke wā utrā. Sab chīj diyā. Suk ke sabere māṅo kām par jao. To fin dusrā roz Sanichar bheyā. Ek admī amārā sāt rā. U admī Suk ka roz, ek roz, kām par geiyā. Sanichar ke sabere ame bole, "Tum jao, pīche ham aigā". To u latak geyā. Phāsī lagae liyā. Tab ham aiyā, palā khutkhutaiyā. To ek frī admī dek liya ou kuch latke he rum me. U hamrā sāt rā e lein me. Tab Sanichar ke roz he, bajār he. To hame jāne chār ānā peisā</p>	<p><i>On Thursday we arrived on the plantation. He gave us everything. Friday morning we had to begin work. The next day was Saturday. There was a man living with me. That man, on Friday, went to work, for one day. On Saturday morning, he said to me, "You go, I'll come later". He hanged himself. Then I returned, and knocked on the door. A free man had seen that something was hanging in the room. It was a Saturday, bazaar day. The free man</i></p>
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<p>diyā, "Tum jao", u admī hamse bāttā. U nei bole ki admī eise gurug giyā kar ke. Chār ānā peisā diyā, "Tum jao bajār me, koi chi lei ke kao, kai ke tor derī me ānā". To ham giyā. To otnā me kuch ke le ke geyā apnā rum me. Othe me murdā nikaltā. Jai ke ham kulambar se bataiyā. To kulambar ke tār mārā he. To kulambar pulis steišan ke u kabar dek, u lei liyā.</p>	<p><i>gave me four pennies, saying, "You go". He isn't saying that the man has hanged himself. "You go to the bazaar, and buy yourself something to eat, then return after a while". I went, bought things, and returned to the room. At that moment, he was taking the corpse out of the room. I rang for the coolambar. The coolambar told the police, who came and took away the corpse.</i></p>
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2.4 And after

The Girit system was not without its critics. The missionary, J.W. Burton (1910/1998) brought out a book on the abuses pervading the Indian indenture system. The book was used by parliamentarian G.K. Gokhale, who requested the British Indian government to immediately abolish the system. His request was denied. However, the government agreed to send a delegation to the colonies employing Indian labour for an assessment of the system. In its report, the delegation concluded that the system was beneficial to the labourers as they had exchanged the 'grinding poverty' of their homeland for economic prosperity in the colonies (Lal, 1993: 187). This did not convince the critics of Girit, and C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson were sent to Fiji to investigate further.

In their 1918 report, C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson moved for the immediate abolishment of the system of Indian indenture. Their report condemned the physical conditions of the lines in which the Giritiyas lived, the high mortality rate of the labourers and children, the poor medical care, the use of over-tasking by the authorities, and the excessively high conviction rate for minor offences. Social concerns were also outlined, such as the disproportion of the sexes, and the fragmentation of social and cultural values. In addition, an extremely high rate of suicide amongst the labourers, resulting through a combination of the above factors, was used to back up claims that the Indian indenture system was inhumane to those who laboured under it (Mayer, 1963: 21).

The final indenture ship, *SS Sutlej*, arrived in Fiji on November 11th 1916 with 888 Girmityas (Lal, 2008: 89). In that same year, Gimit was abolished, with all remaining contracts cancelled on 2nd January 1920. Of the 60,965 Indians who went as Girmityas, sixty percent chose to settle in Fiji on completion of their Gimit, or in the case of those who went towards the end of Gimit, upon the termination of the system. This study is a representation of seven of these Girmityas, and their negotiation of their identities and agencies in their recollections of their Gimit experiences.

2.5 Summary and Discussion

This chapter outlined the broad spatial and temporal frame of Gimit, the thematic focus of the Girmityas' life narratives. The spatial frame of the plantation and the temporal frame of Gimit are not only the situated context of the action, but imbues for the Fiji Indian interlocutors familiar with Gimit master narratives, the stereotyped atmosphere of brutality, hardship, and discomfort endured by their forebears, only a few generations earlier. The chapter also outlined the characters present in the plantation hierarchy, who feature in the life narratives. Again, the stereotyped agencies associated with the roles of the characters circulate within the community. Hence, the atmosphere of the master narratives operates in tandem with the unfolding life narrative.

What becomes apparent through this chapter is that Gimit worked towards constructing binary genders. As seen throughout the stages of indenture, the depot life, the voyage to Fiji, the division of labour and accommodation on the plantation, all were marked by the segregation of men and women. The only individuals who transcended this binary division were the authorities of the indenture system.

Moreover, male dominance was institutionalized by the CSR Company on its sugar plantations. There was the presence of the plantation authorities, in the form of the overseer and the sirdar, both of whom were men. The inspectors of the plantations were also men. Finally, there was a desire for male labourers rather than females. This patriarchal gendered plantation is reflected in the focus of the Girmityas' life narratives.

In relation to this male dominance, hegemonic masculinity needs to be considered. Connell (2005) emphasizes that hegemonic masculinity does not necessarily equate to

the use of violence. However, on many of the Girit plantations, violence imbued every level of the social strata: from the nanny with the children, to familial relations, to the interaction between the Giritias and plantation authorities, and ultimately, the violence inflicted on oneself as presented in Gabriel Aiyappa's life narrative. Hence, the dominating hegemonic masculinity, which lay in the hands of the plantation authorities, its maintenance, as well as its countering were often associated with violence. For this reason, on the plantation, the hegemonic masculinity was associated with hierarchy, authority, and violence, and to be maintained, it had to be continually performed.

The following chapter focuses on the series in which the Giritias' narrated their Girit experiences. The chapter ends with a discussion on the influences memory and cultural ideologies would have played on the telling and hearing of the life narratives.

3

Behind the scenes of *Girmit Gāthā*

Har Maṅalwār ke rāt
saṛe āt baje se
ham prastat kareṅe
Girmit Gāthā

*Every Tuesday night
from half past eight
we will be presenting
Girmit Gatha
(Tej Ram Prem)*

This chapter begins by discussing the context in which the *Girmit Gāthā* programme was produced. This is followed by an overview of the Girmit narrator, and the primary and secondary interlocutors involved in the co-construction of these life narratives. The chapter ends by discussing the strengths and limitations of using life narratives from the *Girmit Gāthā* series as data for this study.

3.1 *Girmit Gāthā*

Girmit Gāthā was played weekly on Tuesday nights at half past eight. The series was first broadcast in 1979, on what, at the time, was Fiji's only Hindi radio station, *Radio Fiji 2*. This is a radio station that is aimed at Fiji Indians, who generally are themselves descendents of Girmityas (cf. Dean, 2003 on Fiji Indian pan-ethnicity; Mangubhai & Mugler, 2003: 381 on Fiji Indian sub-ethnicities who came after Girmit).

The series, which comprised of the reconstruction of the Girmityas' lives during and after Girmit, reflected the vested interest of the community. Fiji Indians were becoming vocal in their quest for communal expressions of identities, be these identities that still

held tight to the skirts of *Bhārat Mātā*, or ‘Mother India’ (Pillai, 1978). The community’s interest, therefore, lay in understanding Girmit, and what had brought their forebears to Fiji. This interest, ultimately, lay in negotiating a cultural identity of Indians born in Fiji, with their own language, norms, and traditions. This transcultural identity was a “hybrid identity” (Bhabha, 1994; Gilroy, 1993), a fusion of the culture of the country of origin of their forebears and that of the Fiji Indians’ own place of origin.

The initial purpose behind the production of the series was to commemorate Fiji’s Girmit centenary. Hence, the broadcast of the *Girmit Gāthā* series was carefully managed to coincide with the interest of the community in its Girmit history. The centenary was also marked by literary and academic events (Munro, 2005: 100). There were works of academics on Girmit, Girmityas, and their descendents published to mark the occasion (for instance Mishra, 1979; Subramani, 1979). In addition, a Girmit centennial function was held at the Indian Cultural Centre with Indian and Fiji Indian poets expressing their point of view, or the Hindi translation of the viewpoint of other Fiji Indian poets, who had written about Girmit in English. The poems were also broadcast on *Radio Fiji 2*.

The points of view expressed by these poets and academics held similar sentiments to the radio personality, Tej Ram Prem’s, in his introduction to the *Girmit Gāthā* series. Below, Tej Ram Prem presents his viewpoint on the historical factors behind the implementation of Girmit in Fiji:

<p>Us wakt, Fiji ke gavnā, Se Ātha Hemiltan Godan, Maurišas ke bhī gavnar re chukhe the. Tathā, Bhārtīye mazduro ki himat our kaṛī mehnat se khub achhī tarā parachit bhī the. Unhe ye bhī patā thā kī Bhartiye mazduro ko šartbandī, yāne agrimant, jise hamāre purwajo ne girmit ke nām se amar kar diyā he, nāmak parthā ke tahak, kitne āsāni se laiṃ jā saktā he. Nāmak parthā ke tahak kitne āsāni se laiṃ jā saktā he. Goro ko ārthik stithī sudhārne ke liye, unko kheto me mazdur pradhān karne ke liye, Se Āthā Godan ne girmit ka širī ganeš kiyā, jiske phal sarup athārā sou nawāsī me, Lionidās jahāz se prathām Bhartiye mazdur dal</p>	<p><i>At that time, Fiji’s Governor was Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, who had also been the Governor of Mauritius. Hence, the Indian labourers’ courage and hard work was very familiar to him. He also knew that the Indian labourers could very easily be brought to Fiji through the use of contracts, which our forefathers have made immortal with the term ‘Girmit’. With the use of this ploy, how easily they could be brought to Fiji. To resolve the European’s dire situation without labourers on their fields, Sir Arthur Gordon gave his blessings to Girmit, the result of which was seen in 1879, when, on</i></p>
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Fijī utārā geyā.	<i>the ship Leonidas, the first Indian labourers were brought to Fiji.</i>
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As seen in the excerpt above, Tej Ram Prem’s overview is not impartial. Tej Ram Prem favours the Girmityas (“*the Indian labourers’ courage and hard work was very familiar to him*”) to elicit the secondary interlocutors’ empathy for the Girmityas. In addition, Tej Ram Prem appeals to the prevalent viewpoint of the community (“*He also knew that the Indian labourers could very easily be brought to Fiji through the use of contracts... With the use of this ploy, how easily they could be brought to Fiji*”).

Tej Ram Prem elaborates on this point of view. He begins by emphasizing the hardship the Girmityas faced during Girmit, and then praises the Girmityas for firstly, having survived Girmit through their inner strength, and secondly, for having developed Fiji into a prosperous nation:

jahā girmit ka prayambik ithihās šram yātnā, piṛā, kleš, āsu, bimārī, our mout kī ithihās he, wahī sangarš, sangalp, dhirdh nišche, ou vije ka bhī ithihās he. Hamāre purwajo ko mahinat, masakat, unki kurbānī se jeise Fiji des abād huā, weise hī unko santān bhī deš ko āj himat our vikās kī or le jā rahī he.	<i>While from the beginning, the history of Girmit is one of torment, shame, suffering, anguish, tears, illness, and death, it is also a history of struggle, strong resolve, and intelligence. And just as our forefathers’ hard work, toil, and sacrifice have made Fiji bountiful, their descendants today are taking the country forward through their spirit, and knowledge.</i>
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The perceived treachery practiced on the part of the colonial authorities in enlisting Indians for Fiji and the hard work of the Indians for the benefit of Fiji are both viewpoints favoured by many members of the community even today. These viewpoints are reflected in a 2005 BBC documentary on the Indian indenture system (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbcfour/documentaries/features/coolies.shtml>), as well as in personal, and family life writings, such as Prasad (2004), and in contributions to Fiji’s official Girmit website (Fiji Girmit, 2008). More recently, there has been public debate² in Fiji’s largest daily newspaper, *The Fiji Times*, on whether the British Government

² Some instances of these opinions are:
 Naidu, March 11th 2010; Samuels, March 5th 2010; Singh, March 3rd 2010; Singh, March 1st 2010;
 March 11th 2010.

and CSR Company owe the Girmityas, and their descendents, an apology for the implementation of Girmit, and the treatment of the Girmityas. The stance of the community on Girmit is, therefore, partly reflected in (and re-emphasized by) Tej Ram Prem’s introductory words to *Girmit Gāthā*.

Within the community, there was a sense of urgency to capture the historical legacy of Girmit. In their description of the Girmityas, the interviewers report that the Girmityas were close to a hundred years of age, with Ghorī Gosai claiming to have exceeded this. In addition, in the original broadcast in 1979, Tej Ram Prem concludes his introduction to the series with the following words:

<p>A: Mazduro ko gīrmīt ke liye Fījī lānā unis sou solā me band hua. Tab se le kar āj, hamāre madh me inhe gine hi mul gīrmīyā bache he. Lekīn unke awāze hamare pās keid he, our unkī yāde sadye bane rahe gī.</p>	<p>A: <i>The bringing of the labourers to Fiji for Girmit ended in 1916. In our midst today, there are less than a handful of surviving Girmityas left, but their voices remain with us, and their memories will remain for centuries.</i></p>
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According to Jitendra Shyam (Fiji Broadcasting Commission, personal communication, 2008), an announcer at *Radio Fiji 2*, there are, in total, only twenty-two audio recordings in the series. Of these recordings, twenty are of Girmityas recollecting their life experiences.

3.2 Interviewees

Girmit Gāthā is a series whereby ordinary people, who, because of extraordinary circumstances, were given a voice. But, as Hendy (2004: 174-5) asks, who are these “ordinary people”? The importance of a series like *Girmit Gāthā* is the use of voices of experience. The Girmityas’ relived experiences are conveyed through the emotions in their voices. The recollections evoke pride, anger, pain, resignation, bitterness, laughter, and relief. It is these experiences that make them the authorities on Girmit, and give authenticity to their narration.

The dates of the recording of these interviews range in my collection from the late 1960s to the late 1970s, reflecting a decade of interviewing. In the collection are the

voices not only of those who worked under Girit, but of children who accompanied their parent(s) to the plantations of Fiji, and witnessed their lives under the rule of the plantation authorities. Of the twenty Giritias' life narratives, seven will be discussed in detail in this study. The two non-Giritias in the series were Gulam Nabi Dean from Fiji and Ram Lala from Mauritius, neither of whom are included in the research for their interviews do not qualify as either life stories or I-as-witness recollections.

3.3 Interviewers

The Giritias' voices, while being the predominant voices in *Girit Gāthā*, are not the only voices that we hear. There is also the interviewer, or primary interlocutor, who is present in each of the interviews. In this collection, there are four interviewers, one woman and three men. All four interviewers were well known radio announcers. While the announcers were not trained oral historians, they were experienced journalists, and could draw on this experience.

The interviewer has an influence on the manner, and form of the life narratives (Dunn, 2005: 215; Elliott, 2005: 31; Tisdale, 2000:45). Using Ghori Gosai's life narrative as a case in point, the interviewer encourages the continuation of the narration through backchannelling, laughter, questions, silences, and emotive constructs. Furthermore, when the timing of Ghori's input and that of the interviewer is managed so that they do not overlap, the contributions appear to work in rhythm to each other, and the narration takes the semblance of an informal conversation, rather than a life narrative (cf. Falk, 1980 on 'conversational duets'; Young, 2004: 76-107 on framing). Hence, these interviewers played a significant part in shaping the life narratives through their presence, their comments, and the questions they asked, as well as the questions they did not ask (Dunn, 2005: 215).

In addition, the interviewer not only has an impact on the Giritiya, but also has an impact on the secondary interlocutors. The interviewer's request for clarification; the presence of the above mentioned suprasegmental and segmental features, thereby indicating approval of the telling; or, the absence of these transition relevant place features when they are expected, thereby indicating a desire for a change of direction in

the telling, allow the secondary interlocutors to deduce the interviewer's viewpoint on the narration.

3.4 The interview

The radio announcers travelled across both Viti Levu and Vanua Levu (Map 3) to obtain these interviews. All the Girmityas in the series, with one exception, were interviewed at home. The exception was Jagesar Prasad, a Girmitya not in this study, who went to the radio station of his own accord, and requested to have his life narrative heard.

In each interview, the Girmitya's voice is superseded by the interviewer's voice. The interviewer orients the secondary interlocutors to the Girmitya. An example can be seen at the beginning of Jasoda Ramdin's interview, below:

<p>A: Dāku Lambāsa ke ek veiyo vrid mahila, śri mati Jasoda Rāmdin ki gātha sune. Ma Jasodā ki umar karib ek sou sāl ki he. We abi bhi tanman he, aur khet me jā kar bhāji tarkāri tor lāti he. Lambe kad, aur dubre śarir ki mā Jāsodā, achhi tara sunti he, bolti he, aur mehmāno ke sāt beit kar bāṛe prem se bāte karti he.</p>	<p>A: <i>Listen to this story by a well-respected woman Mrs Jasoda Ramdin from Daku Labasa. Mother Jasoda is almost a hundred years old. Even now she is very fit and active, and she still goes into the garden and picks vegetables. Tall and slim, mother Jasoda can hear and speak very well, and she sit with visitors speaking very affectionately to them.</i></p>
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Continuing with Jasoda's interview as an example, the questions that follow establish factual information about her, such as the year she arrived in Fiji as a Girmitya:

<p>A: Sab se pahile meine unse puchhā ki wo Bhārat se kab Fiji ai thi. J: Jeise ham paṛhā waṛhā nei he, hamre hīsāb hoe asi nagich hot hoi.</p>	<p>A: <i>The first thing I had asked her was when did she come from India to Fiji?</i> J: <i>As I am unable to read and write, in my estimation it must be near eighty years.</i></p>
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Her age when she became a Girmitya:

A: Achhā, jab āp Bhārat se ai hia, tab us same āp kītne sāl ki thī?	A: <i>Okay, when you came from India to Fiji, then at that time, how old were you?</i>
J: Sora sāl.	J: <i>sixteen years old.</i>

Her marital status when she arrived as a Girmitya:

A: Our āp ki šādi ho chuki thī?	A: <i>And had your marriage occurred?</i>
J: Hmm, sadī Bharat me bout chhote par hoe.	J: <i>Hmm, in India marriages occur at an early age</i>
A: Achha bache bhī the kuch?	A: <i>Okay, did you have any children as well</i>
J: Nei, bache hia bhe	J: <i>No, children were born here.</i>

The name of the ship she travelled on:

A: Accha, kis jahāz me āp Fījī ai?	A: <i>Okay, on which ship did you come to Fiji?</i>
J: Hem jahāj, dusrā	J: <i>on Em II.</i>

The number of Girmityas onboard the ship:

A: Our kitne log jajāz par rahe ho ge?	A: <i>And how many people would have been on the ship?</i>
J: Ham jāno kōī das sou. U pāl walā raha, ye stima walā nahi.	J: <i>I think a thousand people. It was a sailing ship, not a steam ship.</i>

And the places she served her Girmitya:

<p>A: Achha māji, girmit kis istān par thā?</p>	<p>A: <i>Okay mother, which place did you serve your Girmit?</i></p>
<p>J: Girmit Loutokā rahā hamār tīn sāl, tab hua se badali āwā Lambāsā, tab hia rahā Dāku, oūr Papalānji.</p>	<p>J: <i>My Girmit was in Lautoka for three years, then from there I was transferred to Labasa, where I stayed in Daku and in Papalangi.</i></p>

These closed question and answer sessions serve two purposes. They provide the Girmit narrator's temporal and spatial background for the secondary interlocutors. Moreover, the questioning is also designed to set the Girmitya at ease. The questions draw the Girmitya gradually into giving details about her life, particularly those aspects that concern her Girmit experience. The Girmitya is, therefore, not asked to immediately reconstruct her life experience, as she would probably be at a loss as to where to begin.

The closed question and answer sequence is followed with a more open-ended question, or a question that could be replied to in the affirmative or negative, but which would need justification, or further explanation. The purpose of such questions (cf. Elliott, 2005: 30-1; Schiffrin, 2003c: 90) is to orient the Girmitya to provide specific details from her Girmit life. For Jasoda, it was a question about whether the work was strenuous during Girmit:

<p>A: Achha, girmit ke same, āploᅇ ko bohot kaᅇā kām karna partā thā?</p>	<p>A: <i>Okay, during Girmit, did you all have a lot of hard work that you had to do?</i></p>
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Although this question could have been one to which Jasoda simply replies in the affirmative, she elaborates on why she feels the work was strenuous, using examples from her first day of Girmit. Presumably, if Jasoda had replied in the affirmative, and stopped, the interviewer would then have asked her to support her affirmation.

A further example of a slightly more open-ended question, after the closed-question format at the beginning of the interview, can be seen in Ram Dulhari's life narrative. In

Ram Dulhari’s interview, the interviewer asks him to ‘begin at the beginning’: How did he become a Girmitya?

<p>A: Keise ana hua? Keise āp pohuch ge Fiji?</p>	<p>A: <i>How did you come? How did you end up in Fiji?</i></p>
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Another piece of factual information that was relevant in establishing credibility was the Girmitya’s place of origin in India. Some Girmityas, like Jasoda Ramdin and Ram Dulhari, included this information in their narration as they described the reason they had left India. If this information was not given during the narration, as in Ram Rattan Mishar’s life narrative, this was elicited towards the end of the interview by another question from the interviewer:

<p>A: Muluk me, ap ka kon stan he? Kaha ap ka janam hua?</p>	<p>A: <i>Where is your province in India? Where were you born?</i></p>
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In addition, the interviewer is responsible for directing the interview, in both pace and content, towards what he feels will be of interest to the secondary interlocutors. For the remainder of each interview, the interviewer provides encouragement through back-channelling, laughter, expressions of sympathy, recognitionals and silences (Schiffrin, 2003c). In this manner, the interviewer gives the Girmitya the floor space, and support needed to construct the life narrative. In allowing the Girmitya to use airtime to reveal their point of view in a manner that appears natural, and unrushed, the programme fulfills a purpose that Corner (cited in Hendy, 2004: 186) refers to as “an integrity to testimony”. That is, both emotion and information about characters and incidents are revealed at a natural pace. This allows the secondary interlocutors to find empathy with the Girmitya, and understand the Girmitya’s viewpoint. By building a rapport with the Girmitya, in turn, should allow the interlocutors to view the Girmitya as being credible.

The producers would have been aware that the life narratives that were played in the series would be measured against each other as well as against the community’s knowledge of Gimit. The plausibility and reportability of a life narrative would be

determined by its typicality (Hendy, 2004: 172). That is, if a life narrative was one that did not question the prevalent viewpoint on Girmitya, it would be judged extremely typical, and, therefore, plausible, but not interesting. On the other hand, if a life narrative completely opposed the prevalent viewpoint on Girmitya, and completely opposed what the secondary interlocutors would deem probable and possible, it would be judged highly atypical, and, therefore, interesting, but not plausible. The life narrative would, therefore, not be seen as being a true representation of the Girmitya's experience, but an attempt to sensationalize events.

Feldstein (2004: 13) states that the presence of the interviewer "...not only inhibits candour, but subtly pressurizes towards a socially acceptable testimony". In the first section of this chapter Tej Ram Prem presents a strongly voiced opinion on Girmitya, which echoes the prevalent viewpoint that Girmitya was a system filled with betrayal, fear, and pain for the Girmityas. However the producers of the series would not want to have all the life narratives reiterating the same theme of victimization. Such a theme would result in a "self-confirmatory circle" (Hendy, 2004: 182), which, on the one hand, would provide support to the prevalent viewpoint on indenture. On the other hand, this theme would be repetitive, and predictive. Hence, it would not engage the secondary interlocutors for the entire series.

In this study, there are counter narratives embedded within the life narratives. For instance, Ram Sundar Maharaj, Jasoda Ramdin, and Ram Dulhari worked on plantations that were in close proximity, yet their experiences of Girmitya are extremely varied. In addition, there is the life narrative of Ghori Gosai, which almost completely opposes the master narratives, and other life narratives. Interestingly, while other interviews in the series had only one session devoted to each of the interviews, Ghori's interview was played over two sessions, each session being an hour long.

3.5 Strengths of *Girmitya Gāthā* as data

This data has a number of strengths, and these strengths are *because* the interviews were elicited for public broadcast (cf. Kitch, 2008; Zelizer, 2008). One such strength is the use of Fiji Indian radio announcers to interview the Girmityas. The interviewers would have had the experience, and awareness, of when to ask questions, and when to let the Girmitya take the floor. As seen in Jasoda’s excerpt below, the interviewer guides Jasoda *respectfully* (cf. Atkinson, Coffey & Delamont 2007: 375 on levels of empowerment in interviewing) back to a point she had made earlier in the life narrative, asking her to elaborate:

<p>A: Āp ne abhi batāya, māji, āploᅇ ganā ke pati nikāl rahe the. Iske ilāwā, our kon kon kām istiryo ko karnā partā tha?</p>	<p>A: <i>You have just told us, mother, that you were taking the leaves off the sugarcane. Other than this, what other work did the women have to do?</i></p>
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In addition, they were journalists from the Girmityas’ own community, and, as such, were aware of what would interest the secondary interlocutors. In this respect, the announcers are the representatives of the wider, unseen set of interlocutors. Hence, the *Girmit Gāthā* series is not just valuable in capturing the voices of the Girmityas; it is also valuable in capturing the interest of the Fiji Indian community at this point in time.

3.6 Limitations of the *Girmit Gāthā* life narratives

Since its inaugural broadcast, *Girmit Gāthā* has been played annually to mark Girmit anniversaries (Jitendra Shyam, Fiji Broadcasting Commission, personal communication, 2008). While today, these interviews are valuable, historical voices, they were ultimately produced for the radio, and this has its own limitations.

In the elicitation of the life narratives, there is an overlap in purposes between that of the oral historian and that of the radio announcer. One of the major functions of *Girmit Gāthā* was to attempt to capture the Girmityas’ recollections of their Girmit experience. Secondly, there was an attempt to hear these experiences in the Girmityas’ own voices. Both these reasons for elicitation of the life narratives would parallel the purposes of elicitation by an oral historian (Feldstein, 2004). But then we move into the domain of journalism.

We must remember that this, after all, is a radio documentary, and being a radio documentary, it has its own purposes. One of these purposes is to keep the attention of the secondary interlocutors for the entire series (Hendy, 2000: 115). There is, therefore, a possibility that in the series we are hearing what would be the more interesting narrativizations. In addition, these are documentaries for public broadcast. Hence, in the interest of upholding norms and expectations of societal etiquette on what is, and is not uttered, and heard in a public forum (Mangubhai & Mugler, 2003: 414), there is the possibility that we are hearing only the sanctioned voices, and the recollections of sanctioned experiences (cf. Foucault, 1971: 8 on the existent unwritten cultural rules of prohibited discourse).

Furthermore, we must remember that we are not hearing all the voices of Girit. We can only hear the recollections of those who survived Girit. In addition, of the handful of Giritiyas who remained at the time of the interviews, it is possible that not all would have been interviewed. Some Giritiyas may have been overlooked, while others may have refused to participate in these interviews. There are a number of possible reasons for this refusal. Some may have been unwilling to re-live their experiences, particularly for a public hearing (Natkiewicz, 2003: 1-22). Other Giritiyas may have bowed to the pressure of family members. Finally, missing from the field of indenture studies are the voices of the coolumbar, who are often vilified in Girit master narratives. Their voices remain unheard in this study.

3.7 Summary and Discussion

The life narratives in this study are from the radio program *Girit Gāthā*. In this liminal, or third space of enunciation (Bhabha, 1994: 37), the Giritiyas present a range of identities and agencies. However, because the interviews were elicited for public broadcast, this would undoubtedly have influenced what was said and what was left unsaid. The future hearing of the life narratives in a public sphere would also have influenced what types of life narratives were elicited, and also, what life narratives and voices remained hidden, and, which, therefore, today, are lost. Hence, the articulation, and hearing of the life narratives were within the influences of what is remembered,

suppressed, or forgotten; the cultural norms of what is sanctioned to be articulated, and heard in public; and the shared knowledge of Girit present within the community.

In this study, the influences of memory, the shared knowledge of cultural ideologies and Girit shaped the structure, focus, and manner of telling, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Before that, Chapter 4 discusses the re-presentation of the oral life narratives in their visual form.

4

Transposing the oral into written

Hamāre madh me
inhe gine hi mul Gīrmītyā bache he
lekīn unke awāze
hamare pās keid he

*In our midst
there are less than a handful of Girmityas left
but their voices remain with us*
(Tej Ram Prem)

The processes of transcription, transliteration, and translation were an integral part of this research, because the end product is the textual representation that will be the reader's access to the narrators, and their life narratives. By transcribing, transliterating, and translating these life narratives, I am aware that I am adding my own voice, to the voice of the original narrators (cf. Nida, 1964: 145-155; Tymoczko, 2003).

This chapter attempts to provide constructive reflections on three major aspects of the process: firstly, the steps of transcription, transliteration, and translation undertaken; secondly, my purposes for undertaking these steps; and finally, the challenges encountered throughout the process, and how these challenges were overcome.

4.1 The process as a whole

Each stage in the transcription, transliteration, and translation process involved relistening to the life narratives. So by the time the entire process was complete, I felt I had developed a bond with each narrator. For this reason, I would continue doing my own transcribing, transliterating, and translating, as the wealth of information that one is able to elicit through undertaking the task is invaluable.

In addition, patterns that were not noticed in a preliminary listening emerged, such as the presence, and function of habitual narratives, and the awareness of the fluidity of

meanings in life narratives. Moreover, my awareness of the dependence of these meanings on the temporal and spatial frame of the narration, and the people, who are participants in the narrating process, was reinforced. This awareness had a greater impact on the translation: the desire, and increased possibility to capture the essence of the life narratives, and not just the literal meaning of the words uttered. Finally, the familiarity with the life narratives had an immense impact on my ability to analyze them, to describe their form. Through this familiarity, I believe I was in a stronger position to understand how the life narrative is structured to establish the point of view of the narrators.

Although reliability and validity are seen to be elements of concern primarily in quantitative studies, scholars have put forward warranted arguments that these are criteria that should also be taken into consideration in qualitative studies (cf. Elliott, 2005; Kirk & Miller, 1986; Roberts & Robinson, 2004; Silverman, 1997; 2000). Paying meticulous attention to the process undertaken entails being able to describe the process explicitly; this, in turn, entails greater reliability and validity to the study.

A major test for a study's reliability and validity is whether or not the study can be replicated. Hence, instruments, and methods of analyses used in the research should be replicable. In the case of studies using transcripts, the transcription conventions used, and the process of transcribing must be "sufficiently reliable according to widely accepted and expected social scientific standards, which guard against unwarranted empirical and theoretical claims" (Roberts & Robinson, 2004: 379). In addition, the process undergone to produce these transcripts must be explicit to allow future researchers in the area to be able to understand and replicate the study.

To meet the criteria of validity, I needed to be willing to acknowledge not just what the strengths of the instruments and analyses are, but also the limitations. The remainder of the chapter is divided into three sections: transcription, transliteration and translation. Each section details the decisions that went into the processes, which resulted in the textual representations of the life narratives as presented in this research.

4.2 Transcribing

The initial stage of the transcription process involved listening to the life narratives in order to familiarize myself with both the life narratives and the narration. Once I became more familiar with the rhythm of the narration (cf. Grossman, 2010), and the gist of the life narrative, I then proceeded to listen more closely to identify what those features were that, for me, contributed to this rhythm. These were the features that I would need to encapsulate in my transcriptions.

This concern of capturing the manner of narration is an integral part of Labov's evaluation, as well as Bamberg's Positioning 2. Hence, it was pertinent to find what features I felt were salient to the narration, rather than to impose a particular conventional method of transcribing onto the life narratives. Indeed, there are a number of transcription methods in place for analysing audio data, including Bucholtz & Du Bois (2006); Jefferson (2004), and variations on her transcription conventions; Ochs (1979); and Schiffrin (2003c).

In considering the presentation of the transcripts, I had to bear in mind that too much detail is in itself problematic in transcription (cf. Macaulay, 1991: 282). One needs to achieve a balance, and present a transcript that is not overwhelmingly covered in transcriptional notations, making it laborious for the reader to capture the gist of the life narrative. At the same time, I had to avoid presenting a life narrative entirely devoid of the features that defined it as an oral, interactively achieved construction (cf. Bucholtz, 2007: 786-787), as in the presentation of Gabriel Aiyappa's life narrative in Chapter 2. This decontextualization would give a misconceived implication that the voice constructed is actively that of the principal narrator, with no input from other interlocutors and the context in which the life narrative arose. An example of such decontextualization, and the implications of voice associated with it, can be seen in the presentation of the principal narrator's viewpoint in master narratives of Girit. In such writings, the Girit narrator's words are lifted out of the context of an interview, and presented on their own (cf. Schiffrin, 2000; 2003b for similar comments on decontextualization, and shifts in meaning). A case in point is the excerpt below from Naidu (2004: 50). This excerpt was placed amongst other excerpts from Giritiyas summing up their experiences of Girit:

Hausildhar: We were whipped for small mistakes. If you woke up late, i.e. later than 3 a.m; you got whipped. No matter what happened, whether there was rain or thunder you had to work-we were here to work and work we had to do, otherwise we were abused and beaten up. The sardars did this to the women too. No one can say that he or she was not beaten. The *kulambar* would spy on us from his house on the hill through his binoculars. At the slightest excuse he would come riding on his horse and proceed to whip (the whip, he hid behind his back) those concerned. I too was beaten in this way.

In this “cleaned transcript” (Elliott, 2005: 52), with the absence of the interviewer’s surrounding input, it is difficult to ascertain how this victimized voice arose. Moreover, the voice is presented as the sole construction of the Girmitya. To illustrate the possible influence of the interviewer, an excerpt from Ram Dulhari’s narration is presented below, where an alternative construction can be seen: that of co-construction of voice, which is initiated by the interviewer, and consolidated by the Girmitya narrator:

to bharti wāle beithai=k <i>TOP recruit MOD sit.IP.COMP</i>	<i>the recruiters sat (me) down</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(and) said</i>
↑ chalo <i>walk.IMP</i>	<i>come</i>
bombeī ghumai ↑ lai (.h) <i>Bombay visit.FUT take.FUT</i>	<i>(we) will take you to Bombay for a ride</i>
to bombeī ghu ↑ main (.h) <i>TOP Bombay visit.PFV</i>	<i>(they) took (me) for a ride to Bombay</i>
oto rāt ke <i>TOP night ACCDUR</i> kakaj band kar din hiya dipu ↑ mao <i>kakaj close do PFV here depot LOC</i>	<i>at night they locked (me) in the depot</i>
A: oh: <i>EXCLM</i>	A: <i>EXCLAMATION</i>
āp jānat na ↓ ro <i>2.SG.FOM know.IP NEG AUX.PST</i>	<i>you didn't know</i>

R: ↑ nei NEG	R: no
ham wei pahile dafā ai rā ↑ pardes (.) 1.SG that first time come AUX.PST abroad	<i>that was the first time I had come abroad</i>
au nei ai [ra] and NEG come AUX.PST	<i>(I) hadn't come before</i>

The interviewer inserts a comment after Ram Dulhari explains that he was taken by the arkhati and locked in a depot in Bombay: “*Oh, and you didn't know*”. This insertion of the interviewer's is not a question, but a statement, indicated by a fall in intonation at the end of the statement, rather than a rise. The implications of the statement are clear. The interviewer is inviting Ram Dulhari to expand on his lack of awareness at this point in time in his narration. This elaboration places emphasis on Ram Dulhari's position as a victim of the arkhati's treachery. Ram Dulhari's contribution, which follows the interviewer's comment, is in accordance with the signal given by the interviewer. He states that this was his first trip abroad, and after a pause, reiterates this statement. The co-constructed point of view that the secondary interlocutors are left with is that Ram Dulhari was a naïve boy from the village, who was easy prey for the arkhati. This co-constructed viewpoint is intended to elicit the secondary interlocutors' sympathy for Ram Dulhari.

As illustrated through the above discussion of Ram Dulhari's excerpt, the interviewer's presence is quite important in directing, and establishing the point of view that we, as the secondary interlocutors, come away with at this point in time in the narration. A compromise, therefore, needs to be reached as to how much detail to include in the transcription (Cook, 1990), in order to provide a fair representation of the narrator(s) voice(s). This decision of what to include, and what to exclude, will, of course, be guided by the researcher's own interests in studying the life narratives (Bucholtz, 2000: 1441-1446; 2007: 786-788).

Related to the issue of how much detail to reveal is the politics in transcription (Bucholtz, 2000). These choices that include which features to transcribe, and which to ignore, may not be as apparent as the politics implicated in translation choices, but, nevertheless, are very much present. As pointed out by Jaffe (2007: 834), “controlling

details is one form of exercising authority but including detail is another.” Hence, I am very much aware that by transcribing these life narratives, with these notations, highlighting these features of the narration, I am not only making the life narratives accessible to a wider set of interlocutors, but I am also making them accessible from my particular analytical viewpoint.

In addition, I am able to relisten to the life narratives. Therefore, I am able to clarify any doubts about what I heard. Moreover, it is also possible that my own understanding of the viewpoint of the narrators is altered with repeated listenings. Hence, my understanding of the viewpoint of the life narrative may differ from that of the ‘actual’ secondary interlocutors (cf. Ashmore & Reed, 2000: Section 5), who have the opportunity of annually relistening to the life narratives, but without my “privilege of rewind”.

During my listenings to the life narratives, I began to discern features that were salient in putting across the narrators’ point of view. The function of prosody in narration, noted by others, such as Michaels (1983), and Hymes (1996: 165-83), as hinting at the interactive nature of life narrative constructions, was also a core feature of my own analysis. The prosodic features were prominent in all the life narratives. However, as prosodic features are narrator-specific, some features played a more salient role than others in the different life narratives. There was also the issue of silence, which differs from pauses, and which is just as meaningful in conveying point of view, and manner of narration. In the case of silence, it “represents an act of the form: ‘I could have said something here, but I decided to keep it to myself’” (Bamberg, 2004c: 367), while the act of pausing does not involve withholding information, but is a technique commonly used for dramatic impact.

It is, of course, a matter of subjectivity what is, and is not salient to the life narrative, depending on who is listening, and for what purpose (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990: 11; Mondada, 2007). In other words, the prosodic features outlined above as being salient and pertinent in my own listening may not be viewed as pertinent by another listener with an emphasis on sociology or history. Such a reader may not be interested in life narrative analysis per se, but will be more interested in the indenture process (cf. Bucholtz, 2007; Mondada, 2007; Snell-Hornby, 2006). For that individual, it would

probably be the content of the narration, such as, the date of arrival, or the names of the ships (Lal, 2004a), the places of indenture, and possibly to some extent, the more subjective aspects of the conditions of indenture as described by the Girmityas (Naidu, 2004: 49-51), that would be of more importance than the manner in which this information is conveyed.

Since my own interests lie not only in the content of the narration, but also the manner in which the content is narrated, I decided to use Gail Jefferson's transcription method. Jefferson's transcription system was developed in the field of Conversational Analysis and not in Narrative Analysis (Slembrouck, 2007: 823). However, Jefferson's transcription method focuses on prosody, the aspect of narration that I felt would be of great importance when discussing Labov's (1972) evaluation, and Bamberg's (1997; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c) positioning at level 2. In addition, Jefferson's transcription conventions, as well as other transcription methods developed in the same field, not only capture details of the lexical forms uttered (cf. Chaume's 2004: 17 linguistic code), and the manner of speech (cf. Chaume's 2004: 17 paralinguistic code), but have maintained the importance of the acknowledgement of all the interlocutors present, and their oral input (cf. Bucholtz, 2007; Edwards & Lampert, 1993; Elliott, 2005; Flewitt 2006; Goffman, 1981; Norris, 2002; Ochs, 1979; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). As seen above in Ram Dulhari's excerpt, this turn-taking aspect of the interaction (Sacks, 1984) is important in the final form, and meaning conveyed.

Indeed, there is no particular transcription system for Narrative Analysis. However, narrative analysts have attempted to construct 'hybrid' transcripts in line with their data, and focus (Blommaert, 2007: 829). These hybrid transcripts are in tune with suggestions to use, or to identify a transcription method that distinguishes life narratives from conversations (Blommaert, 2007: 830). As Portelli (1997: 15) mentions "there is no all-purpose transcript", and in a future study, with a different focus, I may follow the path that Blommaert (2007: 830) suggests: to construct a hybrid transcript that is more in tune with the new focus.

4.3 Transcriptional Symbols

This section discusses the transcription symbols present in the transcripts. Throughout the transcriptions, the interviewer is indicated as 'A' and the narrator by the first initial of her name. For instance, in Jasoda's narration, she is identified in the transcript as 'J'.

- overlapping utterances []

This is used when the interlocutors' utterances overlap, as seen below in Jasoda's narration:

A: achha <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>okay</i>
gimit ke same <i>Gimit ACCDUR time</i>	<i>during Gimit</i>
āploᅇ ko bohut <i>2.PL.FOM DAT plenty</i>	<i>did you all have plenty</i>
er	<i>er</i>
kaᅇā kām karna partā <i>hard work do.INF compulsion.IP</i> [↑thā] <i>AUX.PST</i>	<i>hard work that (you) had to do</i>
J: [hā:] <i>AFM</i>	J: <i>yes</i>

- pause (.)

When there is a pause between utterances, either for dramatic impact, or because the narrator does not wish to say any more on the topic:

J: ham ↑to (.) <i>1.SG TOP</i> kahe jhut bolī <i>why lie say.PFV</i>	J: <i>why should I lie</i>
--	-------------------------------

- inbreath (.h)

When the narrator breathes in. This is a feature that can be used as pausing, as seen in Guldhari Maharaj's narration, where it is used for dramatic impact, allowing the other

interlocutor to reflect on what was just uttered. Inbreath may also be used when the narrator is remembering a difficult incident in her life. When used in such a recounting, inbreath is an indicator of emotional upheaval within the narrator. This is seen below in Jasoda's contribution:

J: tab hia rahā ↑dāku (.h) <i>then here stay.PST Daku</i>	J: <i>then here (I) stayed in Daku</i>
---	---

- palato-alveolar click (**tut**)

The palato-alveolar click can be used for the same purposes as for inbreath above.

Ghori uses the palato-alveolar click in the same manner that Guldhari uses inbreath:

↑banduk ↑dhar ↑ke <i>gun put COMP</i>	<i>(I) positioned the gun after which</i>
golī le liyā <i>bullet take take.1.PFV</i>	<i>(I) took the bullets</i>
↑jeb ↑me ↑bhar ↑ke (tut) <i>pocket LOC pack COMP</i>	<i>(I) filled (them) in my pocket after which</i>
chalā ↑āyā <i>walk.PFV come.PFV</i>	<i>(I) came</i>

- lengthening of sound immediately preceding the colon :

A: mā jāśodā: ↑ach↓hi ↑ta↓ra <i>mother Jasoda good manner</i>	A: <i>Mother Jasoda can</i>
↑sun↓ti: ↑he <i>listen.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>hear very well</i>

- emphasis of sound underlined _____

A: ↑ <u>kis</u> jahāz me āp ↑fiji ↑ai <i>which ship LOC 2.SG.FOM Fiji come</i>	A: <i>on which ship did you come to Fiji</i>
--	---

- rising intonation ↑

↑na <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>
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- falling intonation ↓

J: jeise ham paṛhā waṛhā ↓ nei ↓ he (.h) <i>like 1.SG literate MOD NEG be.PROG</i>	J: <i>as I am unable to read and write</i>
--	---

- utterance within the superscripted circles is softer than utterances preceding and following it ^oword^o

A: =[^o achha ^o] <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>ok</i>
--	-----------------

- speed of utterance between the brackets is slower than surrounding utterances outside the brackets < >

A: aur <khet me:> (.) <i>and garden LOC</i>	A: <i>and in the garden</i>
---	--------------------------------

- speed of utterance between the brackets is faster than surrounding utterances outside the brackets > <

A: >yāni khet me jā kar< <i>that.is garden LOC go do</i>	A: <i>that is (she) still goes into the garden</i>
--	---

- speech which is too muffled for transcription

A: [ou kon ↑māre] <i>and who beat.IP</i>	A: <i>and who was beating (her)</i>
J: [.....]	
A: kon ↑use ↑mārā ↑thā= <i>who use beat.PFV AUX.PST</i>	A: <i>who had beaten her</i>

- speech transcribed but utterance is unclear and therefore unsure of transcription
word

This is not seen in Jasoda's transcript, but occurs a few times in Gabriel's transcript, as in the following example:

<p>G: pahile—kī—sa↑H <i>previous LOC year</i> ek ek siṅal men ke <i>one one single man ACC</i></p>	<p>G: <i>in the first year for the single man</i></p>
---	--

- one utterance merging into the next without pause =

<p>A: achhā AFM</p>	<p>A: ok</p>
<p>jab āp bhārat se ↑ai hi↓a= <i>when 2.FOM India LOC come here</i></p>	<p><i>when you came from India to Fiji</i></p>
<p>J: =ha AFM</p>	<p>J: yes</p>

This may be between interlocutors' speech, as seen above. It may also be within the same interlocutor's speech, as seen below, when the interlocutor does not pause between utterances:

<p>J: nā: = kuch NEG some</p>	<p>J: or anything</p>
---	----------------------------

- More than one prosodic feature may occur simultaneously in speech, as seen below in examples from Jasoda's transcript. In this instance, both a rising intonation and a stress on the word occurs together to produce ↑kis

<p>A: ↑<u>kis</u> jahāz me āp ↑fijī ↑ai <i>which ship LOC 2.SG.FOM Fiji come</i></p>	<p>A: <i>on which ship did you come to Fiji</i></p>
--	--

- In addition to the glossing of prosodic features, vocal features are also indicated in the transcript.

For instance, when Jasoda’s voice quivers with emotion, obviously suppressing tears this has been glossed as:

<p>J: <u>Tears in her voice</u> bohut māre sardār ↑sa↓heb <i>plenty beat Sirdar sir</i></p>	<p>J: <i>the Sirdar used to beat (the Girmityas) a lot</i></p>
--	---

Other marking of vocal features in Jasoda’s transcript was the marking of incredulity in her voice, as she describes the injustice of the Coolumbar’s treatment of her:

<p>J: <u>Incredulity in voice</u> to u TOP 3.REM</p>	<p>J: <i>he</i></p>
<p>_____</p> <p>sār EXP</p>	<p>EXPLETIVE</p>
<p>_____</p> <p>jarur <i>really</i></p>	<p><i>really</i></p>
<p>_____</p> <p>hamre eise mār dhis 1.SG <i>this.way hit give</i></p>	<p><i>did hit me like this</i></p>

She is indignant when she describes how the Coolumbar blamed her, and not the nanny, for being the cause of the argument:

<p>J: <u>Sounds indignant</u> bole <i>says</i></p>	<p>J: <i>(he) said</i></p>
<p>_____</p> <p>↑kāe ↑jhagrā ↑karo dāis <i>why argue do.IMP nanny.LOC</i></p>	<p><i>why do (you) argue with the nanny</i></p>
<p>_____</p> <p>↓kāi ↓jhagrā ↓karo (.h) <i>why argue do.IMP</i></p>	<p><i>why do (you) argue</i></p>

A final example of vocal marking is the giving of voice to characters, or mimicking. This is seen most markedly in Ghori's narration. In giving voice to characters, thereby, attributing constructed speech to these characters, Ghori shifts from his normal use of prosodic features to a markedly different one, as seen below in his mimicking of the Bengali's voice:

koi koi roj <i>some some day</i> <u>change in voice: lack aspiration</u> baṅālī bole= <i>Bengali says</i>	<i>some days the Bengali said</i>
_____ =sālā log <i>EXP PL</i>	<i>you bastards</i>
_____ khae lo <i>eat.3.IP take</i>	<i>finish eating</i>
_____ <ko thīk he> (.) <i>that good be.PROG</i>	<i>that is good</i>
_____ <u>mālu</u> hoi <i>find.out happen.FUT</i>	<i>(you) will find out</i>
_____ sālā <i>EXP</i>	<i>bastard</i>
_____ jab <u>tāpu</u> jeio (.) <i>when island go.IMP</i>	<i>when (you) go to Fiji</i>

4.4 Transliterating

Another representational issue that required a great deal of thought was the orthographic representation of the life narratives. A number of decisions had to be made regarding the codification of the life narratives: firstly, whether to use phonetics, or to use a more conventional script; secondly, whether to use a roman script, or the more traditional, devanagri script; thirdly, whether or not to maintain the actual pronunciation of the narrators; and finally, whether to maintain the transcriptional notations, or to remove

them from the final version of the life narratives. The final decision on each issue came after deliberate consideration of the *implications* of each of these orthographic representations in the eyes of the reader.

Fiji Hindi is not officially coded, and proposals have been made by linguists Pillai (1975a), and Siegel (1987) to code the language using roman script. Reproduced below are Pillai and Siegel's Hindi phonology and orthography charts:

Table 4: Reproduction of Pillai's (1975a: 41) Hindi phonology and orthography

	Shudh Hindi	Fiji Hindi
Retroflex nasal	ɳ	ṅ
Bilabial fricative	ɸ	f
Retroflex fricative	ʂ	s ś
Voiceless velar fricative	x	k ^h
Vocied velar fricative	ɣ	g
Voiced glottal fricative	ɦ	h
Bilabial approximant	β	b v w

Table 5: Reproduction of Siegel's (1987: 8) Hindi phonology and orthography

CONSONANTS ^a	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Apico-dental	Apico-alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Retroflex	Dorso-velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops								
unaspirated	p		t			ʈ	k	
aspirated	(p ^h)		t ^h			ʈ ^h	k ^h	
Voiced stops								
unaspirated	b		d			ɖ	g	
aspirated	b ^h		d ^h			ɖ ^h	g ^h	
Nasals	m		n		(ɳ)	ɳ	ŋ	
Taps								
unaspirated				r		ɽ		
aspirated						ɽ ^h		
Voiceless affricates								
unaspirated					c			
aspirated					c ^h			
Voiced affricates								
unaspirated					j			
aspirated					j ^h			
Fricatives								
voiceless		f [f~ɸ]		s	(š)			h
voiced		v [v~β]		z				
Lateral				l				
Glides	w				y			

VOWELS ^b			
	Front	Central	Back
High	ī [i:]		ū [u:]
	i [i~ɪ]		u [u~ʊ]
Mid	e [e~ɛ]		o [o~ɔ]
		a [ə]	
Low		ā [a]	

^a In Fiji Hindustani, the following occur in free variation for many speakers: [v] with [b], [pʰ] with [f], and [š] with [s]. Also the nasals [ɳ̃] and [ŋ] are not phonemes but along with [ŋ] are allophones of [ŋ] preceding a consonant.

^b Diphthongs: ai, au; phonemic nasalization marked '̃' e.g. õ, ā̃.

Rather than adding yet another codification system, I have chosen to adopt Siegel's (1987: 7-8) phonemic chart, which is adapted from Grierson (1903-27), and the Central Hindi Directorate (1972) of India. As seen from Tables 4 and 5 above, Siegel's consonantal chart is more comprehensive than Pillai's. For instance, the velar nasal, which is a prominent feature in the life narratives, is present in Siegel's chart but not in Pillai's. In addition to the consonantal phonemes, Siegel marks the phonemic vowels in Fiji Hindi. Although Pillai (1975a: 6-7) does briefly discuss vowel shifts in Fiji Hindi as compared to Shudh Hindi, the marking of phonemic vowels in Fiji Hindi is an aspect that is lacking in Pillai's chart.

Moreover, while Siegel's codification system is thorough in its attempts to encode the different phonemes, it remains uncomplicated enough for a non-linguist to be able to follow. This level of accessibility was an important consideration. The life narratives in this collection have been transcribed with the intention that they may be accessible to Fiji Indians, who are interested in their history, but do not necessarily have a linguistics background. It is also for this reason of accessibility that I have chosen to use Siegel's romanized codification system, rather than devanagari, as the vehicle of transcription. Although both English and Shudh Hindi form the accrolectal end of the language continuum in the Fiji Indian community (Mangubhai & Mugler, 2003; Mugler & Tent, 1998), most Fiji Indians today are more competent in English than Shudh Hindi (Shameem, 2007). Finally, in a country with three major religions, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam, the roman script can, at present, be seen as a 'religiously neutral' form of orthography, with devanagari commonly associated with Hinduism (cf. Moag, 1982: 276 on the 'social neutrality' of English).

To capture details of actual pronunciation, and to do so as accurately as possible, I decided to, first of all, transcribe the life narratives phonetically by hand, and then to type the transcript using Siegel's orthography. I made the decision to keep the transcriptional notations in the final Fiji Hindi transcripts. These transcriptional notations, in my opinion, do not detract too much from the actual reading. Moreover, they serve as a reminder that the life narratives are oral, and that the transcripts are visual representations of individual voices.

A final issue in the politics of representation in orthography is the issue of whether to represent the words “as uttered” or “as grammatically correct” (Bucholtz, 2000). If I decided to represent the lexical items as I heard them uttered, would it be politically correct to represent the items using non-standard spelling (cf. Jefferson, 1983; Macaulay, 1991; Schenkein, 1978; West, 1996)? Or would this be an unfair representation of the narrator’s manner of speaking, drawing attention to what could unkindly be referred to as a dialectal manner of speech (cf. Jaffe, 2007; Jaffe & Walton, 2000; Preston, 1982; 1985)?

I chose to keep the pronunciation of the lexical items as I heard them spoken, with a gloss beneath, thereby, acknowledging the historical value of the life narratives, not only in their content but also in the language use. My reason for doing so is that this study is interested in the performativity or manner of narration. The research is interested in how change in the pronunciation of the same lexical item is a method utilized by the narrator to emphasize his viewpoint. Within the same life narrative, it is possible to distinguish instances where the same lexical item is uttered informally, and at a different point in the narration, more formally. An example of this can be seen within Ram Rattan Mishar’s life narrative in the Manager’s use of negation:

<i>M:</i> <u>Louder</u> _____= to u bole TOP 3.SG.REM says	<i>M:</i> he says
bole says	says
<u>na</u> NEG	no
nahi NEG	no
<u>kate</u> nei deb cut.IP NEG give.INF	(I) won't let (you) harvest

The use of the negation *nahi*, *nei*, and *na* can be used interchangeably, without a change in lexical meaning. However, *nahi* carries more emphasis, as it is higher up on the formality scale than *nei*, which, in turn, carries more formality than *na*. In the attributed

dialogue above, the manager is depicted as uttering the negation thrice, and in all the possible forms. In addition, the least formal negation is also given stress for emphasis, followed by the much stronger negation *nahi*, strengthening Ram Rattan Mishar's positioning of the Manager as an obstinate man. However, these subtle nuances do not have equivalence in meaning in the target language (cf. Diaz Cintas & Remael, 2007: 184-236), as seen in the translated text above.

4.5 Translating

Just as there were concerns in the transcription, and transliteration processes that influenced the steps undertaken, there were also concerns in the translation process. These concerns regarding translation influenced the final presentation of the life narratives in their visible re-presentation in another language. There were two major concerns in the translation process: the attempt to be as honest as possible; and an attempt to translate not just lexical items, but the context and meanings associated with the lexis, as understood by members of the community. I was also extremely aware that any flaws in my translation would be picked up by members of the community, who might not be linguists, but who would be able to read and understand both languages. These readers could, therefore, pass judgment on the "accuracy" of my translations (cf. Cronin, 2003: 167 on translation ecology). Hence, the translation process was not seen as deserving any less attention than the transcription; nor does the English translation have a subordinate role to the Fiji Hindi transcription (cf. Jaffe, 2007: 835; Venuti, 1998: 32).

Consulting members of the community proved an important stage in the translation process. This decision arose when I found that there were instances where I was at a loss as to how to translate certain lexical items. These were lexical items that were either transferred from the regional Indian dialect of the Girmitya, or were lexical items that I, a fourth generation Fiji Indian, was not familiar. Such lexical forms are expressions that have become, or are becoming archaic, although, still at times heard in the villages, spoken by the older members of the community. As an example, Jasoda Ramdin uses the term *dhari* in her life narrative, a term which was quite specific to the Girmitya era, and a term that I did not understand:

J: ↑ dhā:ri ↑ pakrāis> (.) <i>clump.of.sugarcane hold.PFV</i>	J: <i>and made (us) hold the clump of sugarcane</i>
↑ samjho ↑ dhā:ri [(.)] <i>understand.IMP dhari</i>	<i>do (you) understand dhari</i>
A: [ji] <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>yes</i>

When Jasoda suspends her narration to query the primary interlocutor, a young man, “*do (you) understand ‘dhari’*”, she is acknowledging the chasm that lies between those who are Giritmit-initiated and the others, who want to understand about her experience, but will never have to live it. As the interviewer is the vocal representative of the wider community, which will be hearing her life narrative, Jasoda takes the interviewer’s indication of knowledge of the term as a representation of the knowledge of the wider community, and consequently, does not elaborate on what *dhari* means.

For such translations, older members of the community proved invaluable. They listened to the recordings, and explained meanings to me, as well as gave me more information about those who had used such words at one time in the community. Hence, I not only acquired the meaning of the words but also learnt more about the history of the community.

Another issue in the translation was to do with the language structure, which is important for the interlinear glossing. Because there is limited work available on Fiji Hindi structure (Moag, 1977; Pillai, 1975a; Siegel, 1987; 1988: 121-49), the language structure required close attention, to decipher the meaning of the morphemes. The ‘ke’ use appeared the most complicated until I finally realized that there was more than one form.

In relation to the issue of attempting to capture the accuracy of the translation was the issue of polysemes, where a single lexical item has different meanings in different contexts (cf. Jakobson, 2004: 139). Polysemy occurs in all languages, making it difficult to provide the same translation for each word on its every occurrence, without being true to the meaning of the words in context (cf. Bucholtz’s 2007: 801-2 on

Moerman's use of style shifting through the use of synonyms in translation of the same lexical item; Koller, 1979 on connotative equivalence). These differences in meaning may be a matter of degree within the same category. For instance, the Girmityas generally refer to those in authority as *sardār* or 'sirdar' for the Indian foreman and *gorā* or *coolambar* for 'Englishman'. *gorā* is used in reference to all Englishmen, regardless of their role in the indenture system. In this study's translation and analysis, I have referred to the Englishmen according to their role in the life narrative. For instance, Ram Rattan Mishar's conflict is with a *gorā* and he goes to see a *gorā* to resolve the conflict. To translate, I have relied on the information provided in the life narrative about the roles of these two different Englishmen. So the person that Ram Rattan Mishar is having a conflict with is labelled as the Manager, as he appears to be an employee of the CSR Company. The other *gorā* that Ram Rattan Mishar goes to see regarding this conflict is labelled as the Inspector of Immigrants, whose role during indenture was to resolve conflicts between the Girmityas and the plantation authorities.

As anyone who has been involved with the process of translation knows, these are difficulties that one constantly faces: how to capture the nuances of meanings, not just the literal meaning of the words on the page (Lewis, 2004). For these reasons I chose to use a three-way translation: "transcription in the source language, literal translation word-per-word in the target language, accessible paraphrase in the target language" (Slembrouck, 2007: 825). By providing a syntactic gloss following the Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie, Haspelmath & Bickel, 2008) under the Fiji Hindi transcript (cf. Jaffe, 2007: 835 on the benefits of interlinear glossing), I have attempted to mediate between the two languages and the alteration in meaning of lexical items (cf. Benjamin, 2004: 81-2). To do so, I have kept the Fiji Hindi lexical forms intact.

It is also impossible to not be aware of the politics involved in translation. The implications here are perhaps much more noticeable than those in transcription, and even orthography, in the eyes of both linguists and non-linguists. A major issue when considering politics in translation involves the manner in which the original language and the translated language are ordered. The placing of the two languages is intricately linked to the perception of the status of the translated version to the original transcript. The set up of the languages could, therefore, be:

Fiji Hindi

INTERLINEAR GLOSS

English

as illustrated with this excerpt from Guldhari Maharaj's narration:

mātā pitā k sāt ai ↑ yā
MOTHER FATHER INV TOGETHER COME.PFV
(I) came with my parents

our chhotā rah ↑ ā
AND SMALL AUX.PST
And (I) was small

reis milat rah(.)
RATION RECEIVE.IP AUX.PST
(We) used to receive ration

ahu mai jae khe-huwe fil me kām ↑ kare
AND MOTHER GO.IP THERE FIELD LOC WORK DO.IP
And (my) mother used to go to the field to work

This set up would imply that it is Fiji Hindi that is given prominence as being the original language, and English is given the subordinate role due to its being the translated language.

On the other hand, as shown below, the placing of the languages side by side with an interlinear gloss under the Fiji Hindi transcript, gives both languages equal status. Such a set up also provides the reader with the choice of language in which she wishes to read the life narratives. To facilitate this choice, I believe, this second set up is easier on the eye of the reader. For these reasons, this is my preferred form for presenting the life narratives:

Fiji Hindi <i>Interlinear Gloss</i>	<i>English</i>
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Using the same example above from Guldhari Maharaj’s life narrative, the textual representation of her narration is:

G: mātā pitā=k sāt ai↑yā mother father.INV together come.PFV	G: (I) came with my parents
our chhotā rah↑ā and small AUX.PST	And (I) was small
reis milat rah(.) ration receive.IP AUX.PST	(We) used to receive ration
ahu mai jae and mother go.IP khe-huwe fil me kām ↑kare there field LOC work do.IP	And (my) mother used to go to the field to work

In an attempt to translate the implied meaning in the cotext, and to facilitate understanding in the translated version, I have had to, at times, build bridges between the Fiji Hindi and English versions. I have done so by inserting words that are not present in the original version, but are implied and understood by members of the community. Because Fiji Hindi is a pro-drop language, and English is not, I had to insert the absent, but implied, pronouns, and nouns in the translation. These insertions were placed in brackets. Below, is reproduced an example from Gabriel Aiyappa’s life narrative, as he describes how the Girmityas were chosen by the managers for their new life on the plantation:

tab ai ↑ke: (.) then come COMP	then (the ship) arrived
nakaltipolā utārā Nukulau drop.off.PFV	and dropped (us) off at Nukulau
wā ai ke there come COMP	(we) arrived there
utār↑ā drop.off.PFV	(and we were) dropped off
ek haptā yā ↑rā (.h) one week here COP.PFV	and (we) stayed there for one week
tab i ↓kah ↓kah menajar ↓log (.) then 3.PROX where where manager PL	then managers from all over
↑bā latok↑ā: lambā↑sā ke admī= Ba Lautoka Labasa ACCLOC man	men from Ba, Lautoka, Labasa

=sab menajar log ai ↑ yā (h) <i>all manager PL come.PFV</i>	<i>all the managers came</i>
sab koi ke bīn ↑ ā <i>all some ACC pick.PFV</i>	<i>and picked through all (the Girmityas)</i>
i māṇo <i>3.PROX want.IMP</i>	<i>(I) want this</i>
u māṇo <i>3.REM want.IMP</i>	<i>(I) want that</i>
u māṇo <i>3.REM want.IMP</i>	<i>(I) want that</i>
eisa bin ↓ ā <i>this.way pick.PFV</i>	<i>(they) picked (the Girmityas) in this way</i>

By placing the insertions in brackets, there is an acknowledgement that the words in brackets were not present in the original, but were inserted by me into the translation.

As pointed out by Bamberg (2004c: 366-367), and Diaz Cintas & Remael (2007: 63-4), even the most detailed transcription cannot capture the interactive nature of conversation. This is a task even more difficult to achieve in a translation. One of the greatest difficulties I faced was attempting to capture the manner of narration in the translation as in the original language. As seen in the excerpt above, the Fiji Hindi version has segmental features of hesitations, repairs, pauses, backchannelling, and other suprasegmental features. However, these are difficult to insert at the exact points of occurrence in the English version, due largely to word-order differences between the two languages (cf. Jaffe, 2007: 835; Slembrouck, 2007: 825 on similar points). Hence, the translated version appears to be devoid of many of the prosodic features, overlaps, repairs and hesitations, and is not a true representation of the life narrative in context, and the manner of narration. This is a problem that cannot be wholly remedied. However, by placing the English version next to the Fiji Hindi version of the life narratives, with transcriptional notations maintained in this original transcript, and by using an italicized font for the translation, this visual presentation will serve as a constant reminder to the English reader that this is a translation of a language with its own system, and in its own context, and that these are aspects of language that cannot be wholly captured in another.

4.6 Summary and Discussion

Chapter 4 retraced my steps in transcribing, transliterating, and translating the life narratives. This chapter reflected on each step and explained why the life narratives have been presented in this form, using my knowledge of the original language, the knowledge of other members of the community, and my own training as a linguist.

A great deal of thought was placed in the transcribing, transliterating, and translating processes. This is because one of the aims of the study is to give the life narratives back to the Fiji Indian community, which is bilingual in Fiji Hindi and English. At the same time, the aim is to make the life narratives available to the larger public. For this reason, each life narrative is arranged in clause pattern in two columns, with the column on the left containing the Fiji Hindi transcription, and a gloss beneath, while the right column consists of the English translation. The created source text also contains prosodic features, as their presence is important in the reader's understanding of the narrator's point of view. The translated text, in the right column, contains lexical forms in brackets, which are implied, but absent from the source text. In this manner, I have attempted to provide easy access to the life narratives in two languages, allowing the reader to choose the language in which she prefers, or is able, to read the narratives.

However, because the word order of the two languages is different, the prosodic features are difficult to encode in the translation. If, as I believe, these prosodic features underline the narrator's point of view, then the lack of these features in the translated version may affect the non-Fiji Hindi reader's understanding of the narratives.

Similarly, while I have attempted to provide translations true to the original, it is still unavoidable that nuances are affected by the change of language. While these are issues that affect all translations, and are unavoidable, it is important to acknowledge them.

5

Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative construction

Āp apne bāre me kuch bataiye, Babaji
keise āpkā ānā hia huā
Girmit me kaha par rahe
aur keise kya kya kām kia āpne

*Please tell us something about yourself, father
how you came here
where did you stay during Girmit
and what sort of work did you do*
(Bhainji)

This chapter narrates my journey in understanding the *life narrative*. The chapter begins by explaining why the narrations in this study are termed *life narratives*. The life narrative is further differentiated into a *life story* or *chronicle* based on Linde's (1993) work. The section that follows discusses the structural components of the life narrative. The *event narrative* is defined through an analysis of Ram Rattan Mishar's narrative, and differentiated from the *habitual narrative*. The situated function of the habitual narrative is then demonstrated, through a comparison of its use in Guldhari Maharaj and Ghorī Gosai's life narratives, and, this research consequently argues for greater inclusion of the habitual narrative in narrative analyses. The chapter ends with a discussion of the temporal, and thematic sequencing of incidents in the life narrative that allow the life narrative to be recognized as a coherent unit of discourse.

5.1 Differentiating components by focus

I had initially thought of using Linde's (1993) term *life story* to classify the narrations. However, as discussed in this section, the term would have excluded Guldhari's narration, the only *chronicle* in this collection. The umbrella term that I have, therefore, decided to use in this research is *life narrative*, which through its focus on life incidents that are either experienced, or witnessed, can be distinguished from other narrative genres present in the community.

A life story is an oral, socially constructed unit, which is discontinuous, as it is not told in any one sitting. It is also subject to change, as we alter our perceptions on incidents in light of new experiences, with different interlocutors, and with different purposes behind the narration (Linde, 1993: 4). For a discourse unit to qualify to be part of the life story, it must fulfill two criteria (Linde, 1993: 21). On the one hand, its purpose must be to provide a moral viewpoint on the narrator, rather than on how incidents are in the world. At the same time, the telling of a narrative relies as much on the interlocutors' understanding of what does not need to be spelt out within a particular cultural setting, as it does on the narrator's ability to perform a 'new' story (Brockmeier & Harre, 2001: 52). The balance between successfully manipulating the cultural narrative structures, and genres, and the ability to construct a narrative that contains information that is new to the interlocutors is termed *reportability* (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997; Labov, 2006). According to Linde (1993: 21), for a discourse unit to qualify as a life story it must also have high reportability.

In all the life narratives in this collection, the Narrating-I, who speaks, equates to an Experiencing-I, taking the form of *homodiegesis* (Genette, 1980: 244-245). It is this Experiencing-I, that is, the younger incarnation of the narrator, who serves as the focal character through whose eyes incidents in the 'storied' world are seen. In all the life narratives, save one, the narration is in a special category of homodiegesis, which is *autodiegesis*: the Experiencing-I is the protagonist of the life narrative, therefore, conforming to the definition above of a life story. The exception to this form is Guldhari's life narrative.

The incidents recollected in Guldhari's narration have a high degree of reportability, as they describe the experience of Girmit, a "landmark event" (Linde, 1993: 23) that is of interest to the interlocutors. However, Guldhari's focalization is on incidents experienced by other women Girmitiyas. Guldhari's moral viewpoint, indicated in the coda below, is this is how Girmit was, rather than this is how *my* Girmit was:

G: i sab rahā (.h) <i>3.PROX all AUX.PST</i>	G: <i>this is how it was</i>	<i>Coda</i>
to wahi=m thorā thorā <i>TOP in.that.LOC little little</i>	<i>(they) made do by rationing (everything) into small, small amounts</i>	<i>Coda</i>

chalāwe <i>make.do.IP</i>		
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Despite her narration not conforming to the definition of a life story, Guldhari’s narration is included in this collection. As Barker & Galasinki (2001: 123) state, “What we think of as our identity is dependent on what we think we are *not*.” By telling a story from the vantage point of witness that does not focus on self, Guldhari defines what she is not: a Girmitya.

Guldhari’s narration fits Linde’s definition of a chronicle (1993: 87). The narration has no event narrative component; it is reported in the same order in which the incidents took place, from Guldhari-as-witness’s point of view; and it is an evaluation of her mother’s Girit experience. The narration, therefore, reads like an evaluated commentary on Girit, unfolding through the eyes of a child, but interpreted retrospectively through the words of a woman.

While this research has bounded the life story and chronicle from other forms of discourse (cf. Bakhtin, 1981 on forms of discourse), these narrative genres draw on other speech genres that are available to the Girit narrator (cf. Schiffrin, 2009; Silverstein & Urban, 1996; Todorov, 1990: 15; Wierzbicka, 1985; 1991: 149-196). Within the Girit life narratives, there are structures of songs, folk drama (Pillai, 1975b), religious plays (Barz & Thiel-Horstmann, 1989), parables, fables, sermons (Brenneis 1984a), features of informal conversation (Brenneis 1984b), narratives of personal experience, and narratives of others’ experience, although not all present in any one life narrative. The genres listed here are broad categorizations of narrative genres present in the ‘narrative community’ (Noy, 2006). However, an analysis of the features of each genre listed here would merit a study of their own.

5.2 Differentiating components by structure

My approach to narrative analysis began with Labov & Waletzky’s 1967 seminal work. Hence, my first attempt was to understand the structure of narratives within the interviews before I began to see the interviews as ‘whole’ narratives (cf. Gee, 1986; 1991; Mishler 1986; 1991; Riessman, 1993; Schegloff, 1997: 103-104).

I approached the interviews with the understanding that for a narration to classify as a narrative, it needs to focus on a singular or reportable event (Labov, 1997). I considered Ram Rattan Mishar's narration a narrative, as it focuses on a singular incident during Girit, hence, fulfilling the criteria of reportability. Because it is a long narration, I decided to "thematically chunk" the narrative into manageable sections (Gee, 1997). Each of these sections turned out to be meaningful narrative and sub-narrative units. Each section was given the heading that sums up the theme of that section:

Sub-narrative 1: *The Arrival*

Sub-narrative 2: *Unable to Harvest (1)*

Sub-narrative 3: *The Helper*

Sub-narrative 4: *The Wife*

Sub-narrative 5: *Unable to Harvest (2)*

Sub-narrative 6: *Small Argument Happened*

Sub-narrative 7: *Agreement on Selling Rice*

Sub-narrative 8: *Borrowing Money*

Sub-narrative 9: *Paying Money*

Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative is quite different from the other life narratives in this collection. Firstly, almost the entire action is framed in the form of reconstructed dialogue between the characters (Toolan, 2001: 153-155). In addition, Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative describes a conflict that occurred over the purchase of rice by the Manager from Ram Rattan Mishar. Hence, this is a life narrative on a dispute between a landlord and his tenant, and the manner in which it was resolved. It is this focus which makes this Girit life narrative unusual.

5.3 Causal chain

In order to establish credibility for the reportable incident, the narrator must describe the causal chain (Labov, 2001; 2004; 2006) that resulted in the reportable incident. The causal chain can be summed up as:

- i. Choose the most reportable incident (e^0) to form the main complicating action of the narrative.

- ii. Given that (e^0) is an unexpected incident that is reportable and needs accounting for, choose an incident (e^{-1}) prior to the incident, which is a direct cause of (e^0) and answers the voiced or unvoiced question “How did that happen?”
- iii. Keep establishing a recursive chain of incidents (e^{-2}) (e^{-3}), (e^{-4}), (e^{-5})....until the orientation section (e^n) is reached, where the questions “How did that happen?” or “Why did the character do that?” are no longer meaningful as the incident in (e^n) is considered to be culturally ordinary, not requiring any explanation.

I have chosen to sum up the core of Ram Rattan Mishar’s narrative through the inverse causal chain, that is, with the most ordinary incident occurring first, and building up to the most reportable incident:

Ram Rattan Mishar wants to lease land from the Manager to plant rice
 But the Manager tells Ram Rattan Mishar
 He cannot have the land in his own name
 Because Ram Rattan Mishar is serving indenture
 So Ram Rattan Mishar receives fifty chains of land from the Manager
 With the agreement
 To harvest the rice
 Then sell the rice
 Then pay the Manager
 So Ram Rattan Mishar plants rice on the land
 But when Ram Rattan Mishar is ready to harvest the rice
 The Manager demands payment before harvest

The most reportable incident is followed by the resolution, which is:

So Ram Rattan Mishar tries to reason with him
But the Manager threatens to sell the land the next day
 So Ram Rattan Mishar needs to pay the Manager
But Ram Rattan Mishar is short by five pounds
 So Ram Rattan Mishar gets a loan of five pounds from the Girmityas
 And goes to see the Inspector of immigrants
 Who promises

That the Manager will receive a letter from him
in Ram Rattan Mishar's favour in five days time

The causal skeleton outlines the underlying plot or 'kernal' incidents (Chatman, 1978: 54). The causal skeleton lacks elaborations, and actions of the 'participant action chart' (Labov, 2004) that do not contribute directly to the causal chain, but which are found in the narration. In Ram Rattan Mishar's narration, not all the sub-narratives are causally related, and those that do not contribute to the causal chain (*The Helper*, *The Wife*, and *A Small Argument Happened*) have been omitted. While these sub-narratives or 'satellite' incidents (Chatman, 1978: 54) may not contribute directly to the causal structure of the narrative, they do contribute to the overall effect of the narrative on the interlocutor, and therefore, they have a significant evaluative function.

5.4 Ram Rattan Mishar's well-formed narrative

A well-formed narrative, according to Labov (1972: 363), has an abstract, complicating action, resolution, evaluation, and coda, all of which are present in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative. While a *well-formed* narrative may have the above sections, not all the sections are obligatory for a discourse to be classified as a narrative.

Abstract

An abstract can be likened to a mini-narrative, a precursor of what is to come. It reveals enough to whet the interest of the other interlocutors, awakening their anticipation of the full narrative which is to follow. Toolan (2001: 149-151) describes the abstract as an advertisement of the full narrative that may follow. The abstract promises more than it can deliver, and, simultaneously, performs the function of a request by the narrator to have the floor to tell the full narrative.

Ram Rattan Mishar's narrative is framed by the interviewer's opening questions:

<p>A: āp apne bāre me <i>2.SG.FOM 2.SG.RFLX about LOC</i> kuch bataiye <i>some tell.IP</i></p>	<p>A: <i>please tell us something about yourself</i></p>	<p><i>Abstract</i></p>
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babaji <i>father</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
keise āpka āna hia <i>how 2.SG.FOM.GEN come here</i> hu↑a <i>happen.PFV</i>	<i>how you came here</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
gimit me kaha par ra↑he: <i>gimit LOC where LOC stay.IP</i>	<i>where did (you) stay during gimit</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
aur keise kya kya kām kia āp↑ne <i>and how what what work did 2.SG.RFLX</i>	<i>and what sort of work did you do</i>	<i>Abstract</i>

The announcer's initial questions to Ram Rattan Mishar form the abstract for both Ram Rattan Mishar and the secondary interlocutors. The abstract thematically grounds the life narrative that is to come. The announcer's abstract does not perform the function of request for the floor, although, it may be argued, it performs the functions of an advertisement, promising that the narrative will be worthy of the secondary interlocutors' attention. At the same time, the onus lies on Ram Rattan Mishar to deliver on this promise, and to elaborate on the abstract in his life narrative. Moreover, while the overall abstract to the life narrative is provided by the interviewer, Ram Rattan Mishar is solely responsible for the abstracts for six of the nine sub-narratives (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9). The other three sub-narratives are co-constructed (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 2) between him and the interviewer.

The clauses towards the end of *The Arrival* form the abstract for the subsequent core sub-narratives *Unable to Harvest 1* and *Unable to Harvest 2*:

R: to lam-lambāsam rahat ra↑hā (.h) <i>TOP Labasa.LOC stay.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>R:</i> <i>(I) stayed in Labasa</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
to: u gorā āis <i>TOP 3.SG.REM Englishman come.PFV</i> ↑he <i>be.PRS</i>	<i>that Englishman has arrived</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
to wei jamīn dīs he= <i>TOP that.one land give.PFV be.PRS</i>	<i>he was the one who has given the land (to me)</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
=>kompani diye rahā	<i>the Company had given (it)</i>	<i>Abstract</i>

<i>Company give.3.IP AUX.PST</i> oke <i>3.SG.REM.ACC</i>	<i>to him</i>	
ek hajār eikā < ↓ le (.h) <i>one thousand acre approximately</i>	<i>one thousand acres</i> <i>approximately</i>	<i>Abstract</i>

Orientation

Orientations, like abstracts, are optional in a narrative. A large part of an orientation may occur at the beginning of the narrative, introducing the participants of the narrative, and setting the time and place of the narrative. At the same time, other orientation elements, in the form of clauses, phrases, or lexical items, may be dispersed throughout the narrative. These *displaced orientations*, such as sub-narratives 6 and 7, provide the information as it is required for the interlocutor to understand the narrative.

Sub-narrative 1: *The Arrival* acts as the orientation for the main narrative. It introduces the main characters, as well as the spatial and temporal setting of the narrative. *The Arrival* consists of two incidents occurring almost simultaneously: Ram Rattan Mishar's arrival, and the Manager's arrival at Labasa. In the lines, Ram Rattan Mishar found out that a new Manager had also arrived recently:

R: aur nawe gora ais ra ↓ ha <i>and new Englishman come.PFV AUX.PST</i>	<i>R:</i> <i>and the Englishman had</i> <i>arrived recently</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
to lam-lambāsam rahat ra ↑ hā (.h) <i>TOP Labasa.LOC stay.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>(I) stayed in Labasa</i>	<i>Orientation</i>

The order in which the incident is narrated indicates the order in which Ram Rattan Mishar himself would have learnt of it.

The orientations in the narrative are divided into three categories: spatial, temporal, and character action. The spatial and temporal frame of the peripheral incidents, surrounding the complicating action and resolution, can be gleaned from the narrative.

Spatial Orientation

The setting for most of the life narrative occurs in the confines of the plantation environment, on the land that Ram Rattan Mishar has received from the Manager (*Unable to Harvest 1, The Helper, The Wife, Small Argument Happened and Agreement on Selling Rice*), and outside the lines (*Borrowing Money from the Labourers*). The only change in spatial setting occurs in the final sub-narrative (*Paying Money*), when Ram Rattan Mishar leaves the plantation, and goes to see the Inspector of Immigrants.

Temporal Orientation

Ram Rattan Mishar's narrative is quite elaborate, and fluctuates between the storyline present and incidents which occurred before this present. But it is possible to gauge the order of incidents as they would have logically occurred.

Ram Rattan Mishar introduces the main event of the narrative in sub-narrative 2:

Unable to Harvest (1):

R: gir-girmit me <i>Girmit LOC</i>	<i>R:</i> <i>during Girmit</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
umm	<i>umm</i>	
hia pe khali e-ek sāl lein me rahā (.h) <i>here LOC only one year line LOC AUX.PST</i>	<i>(I) was here in the line only one year</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
phir ek sāl bād <i>after one year later</i>	<i>after one year</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
lein se (.h) koi bīs pachīs ↑chein <i>line from some twenty fifty chain</i>	<i>some twenty or fifty chains from the lines</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
pachīs chēin udar <i>fifty chain that.direction</i>	<i>fifty chains in that direction</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
ek jamīn rahi= <i>one land AUX.PST</i>	<i>there was a piece of land</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
=> edam kinarwe eki< (.) <i>EMPH corner.RFLX one</i>	<i>alone right in the corner</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
A: ↑hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>A:</i> <i>yes</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
R: pachīs chēin jamīn rah↑ī (.h) <i>fifty chain land AUX.PST</i>	<i>R:</i> <i>there were fifty chains of land</i>	<i>Orientation</i>

achhā AFM	ok	Evaluation
to (.h) pachīs chein TOP fifty chain creaky voice	when a man has fifty chains of land	Evaluation
jab ek ādmi ke ↑ rahe (.) jamīn when one man GEN AUX.IP land		
°hukum se° official INS	given officially	Evaluation
to weise jamīn ↑ me (.h) TOP RFLX land LOC	in that type of land	Evaluation
ek sāl dhān lagāwa kotou (par) ^h one year rice plant.PFV kotou LOC	one year (I) planted rice	Complicating Action

Four to six months before the harvest of the rice, the Manager had asked Ram Rattan Mishar to sell the rice to him. Ram Rattan Mishar agreed, and verbal arrangements were made about the Manager's payment for the rice, and Ram Rattan Mishar's payment for the land (sub-narrative 7).

Sometime after this, there was an argument between the Manager and Ram Rattan Mishar (sub-narrative 6), in which the Manager threatened Ram Rattan Mishar. The reasons for the argument are not given. The exact time frame of the argument is unclear from the sub-narrative; suffice to say that in the logical progression of the narration, the argument occurred after the agreement above, and before the harvest below.

There is a definite time frame given for the complicating action, and its resolution. On the morning of the harvest, the Manager prevents Ram Rattan Mishar from harvesting the rice:

R: tab kāte ke jab taim bhe then cut.IP LOC when time happen	R: then when it was time to harvest	Orientation
to u bole TOP 3.SG said	he said	Complicating Action
nāhī	no	Complicating

<i>NEG</i>		<i>Action</i>
hām jamīn <u>beche</u> †deit †he (.h) 1.SG land sell.INF do.IP be.PRS	<i>I will sell the land</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>

In the evening, around 6 o' clock Ram Rattan Mishar goes to see Nirhou in the lines, to borrow five pounds. The next day, he travels with the money, on a steamer, to Wainibokasi, to speak to the Inspector of Immigrants.

Character Orientation

Ram Rattan Mishar's narrative can be likened to a play. As in a play, there are major and minor characters, all of whom have entrances and exits, all of whom are introduced, and dispensed with as needed. The major characters are given dialogues that are most closely connected to the complicating action. The minor characters perform smaller roles, which are less crucial to the progression of the complicating action, but add interest, and possibly draw attention to the viewpoint of the narrator. The major characters in the life narrative are the Narrator-as-character and the Manager. Around these two characters, and their conflict, revolve other characters in the role of the Helper, Ram Rattan Mishar's wife, Nirhou, Nirhou's wife, Other Girmityas, and the Inspector of Immigrants.

Ram Rattan Mishar depicts himself as an individual who has been wronged, and is seeking justice. This positioning forms the moral of the narrative. Being a character in the narrative, and telling the narrative from his own viewpoint (Goffman, 1974: 534-536), allows Ram Rattan Mishar to portray himself as the protagonist of the narrative. Simultaneously, the Manager, who Ram Rattan Mishar feels has wronged him, is portrayed as the antagonist (see also section 6.3 on discussion of Labov's (2004) participant action chart to map this assignment of blame). Ram Rattan Mishar uses not only the Manager's and his own dialogue to reveal this positioning, but he emphasizes these positionings through the dialogues of other characters in the narrative.

The Helper, Ram Rattan Mishar's wife, Nirhou's wife and the Other Girmityas all serve minor roles. These characters appear as needed in the narrative, and after fulfilling their role, they are not heard of again. The most obvious function of these minor characters appears to be in allowing Ram Rattan Mishar to reaffirm his position as the protagonist

of the narrative, either through Ram Rattan Mishar’s dialogues in response to them, as in *The Helper* and *The Wife*, or through their own dialogues.

The final two characters in the narrative are Nirhou and the Inspector of Immigrants. Both the men also have smaller roles to perform in the narrative, but their actions are quite crucial to the progression of the narrative towards a (successful) resolution (Martin, 1986: 65-68). Hence, while they do have small roles in the narrative, they cannot correctly be described as minor characters in the narrative.

Complicating Action

The complicating action is the only obligatory component of a narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997). It forms the core of the narrative, and encapsulates what the story is about.

In sub-narrative 2: *Unable to Harvest (1)*, Ram Rattan Mishar begins the narrative proper, providing details about the main complicating action. The action revolves around the Manager’s attempt to cheat Ram Rattan Mishar out of money, by failing to keep to the agreement between them:

R: to karār ke rahā kī <i>TOP credit POSS AUX.PST that</i>	R: <i>the lending arrangement was that</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
peīsā de↑ho (.h) <i>money give.IMP</i>	<i>give the money</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
dhān kāt leho <u>tab</u> <i>rice cut do.IMP then</i>	<i>after cutting the rice</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
u bīch ke <i>that sell COMP</i>	<i>after selling</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
↑ <u>tab</u> ↓de↑ho (.h) <i>then give.IMP</i>	<i>then give (the money)</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
lekin ī bole <i>but 3.SG.PROX said</i>	<i>but he said</i>	<i>Complicating Action/Evaluation</i>
achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>Complicating Action/Evaluation</i>
peīsā de(o) ^h (.) <i>money give.IMP</i>	<i>give the money</i>	<i>Complicating Action/Evaluation</i>

Although each sub-narrative has its own complicating action, this is the main complicating action throughout the narrative, to which the minor complicating actions act as orientations, and evaluations.

The actions in the dialogues between the Manager and Ram Rattan Mishar in *Unable to Harvest (1)* and *Unable to Harvest (2)*, between Nirhou and Ram Rattan Mishar in *Borrowing Money*, and between the Inspector of Immigrants and Ram Rattan Mishar in *Paying Money* are the main actions of the narrative, as they advance the plot towards a resolution. These actions in sub-narratives *Unable to Harvest (1)*, *Unable to Harvest (2)*, *Borrowing Money* and *Paying Money* can be divided into two categories. The dialogues between the Manager and Ram Rattan Mishar in *Unable to Harvest (1)* and *Unable to Harvest (2)* are clearly demarcated as the complicating action of the narrative, while the dialogues between Nirhou and Ram Rattan Mishar in *Borrowing Money* and between the Inspector of Immigrants and Ram Rattan Mishar in *Paying Money* act as the resolution, or the dénouement, to this complicating action.

Resolution

Sub-narrative 8: *Borrowing Money* is a return to the main narrative and contains the final section of the main complicating action. Ram Rattan Mishar knows that in order to be able to harvest the rice he will need to pay the Manager. To do so, he now turns to the other Girmityas for financial assistance.

In *Unable to Harvest (1)*, Ram Rattan Mishar had tried to reassure the Manager that he would be able to borrow the necessary amount if the Manager had any qualms that the money Ram Rattan Mishar received from the sale of the harvested rice would fall short of the amount agreed upon for payment of the land:

R: ↑kāt ↑deb cut give.INF	R: (I) will harvest	Complicating Action
kāt ↑ke cut COMP	after harvesting	Complicating Action

bīch ↑ke sell COMP	after selling	Complicating Action
tumhe (.h) aur kamti ↑hoe 2.SG.FAM.GEN and less happen	if your money isn't enough	Complicating Action
kuch hām mān ↓lāo some 1.SG borrow bring.IMP	I will borrow some (money)	Complicating Action
kaha ↑se kohī ↑se (.h) where LOC someone INS	from someone somewhere	Complicating Action
koi koi he ādmi someone someone be.PRS man	there are some men	Evaluation
premī he sympathetic be.PRS	(who) are sympathetic	Evaluation
deī deihe ↑sāit (.h) give give.PRS probably	(who) will probably give (it) to me	Evaluation
to tumhār hām sab TOP 2.SG.FAM.GEN 1.SG all bhār de↓be (.h) pay give.INF	I will pay all your (money)	Complicating Action
>hām e sāb se bolā 1.SG this sahib LOC said	I said this to the Sahib	Evaluation
to apne kuch kari < (.h) TOP 2.SG.FOM.RFLX some do.FUT	he himself will do something	Evaluation
to: bole TOP said	(he) said	Complicating Action
↑na (.) NEG	no	Complicating Action

Now, Ram Rattan Mishar shows that this was not an empty claim. In sub-narrative 8, Ram Rattan Mishar goes to see Nirhou, the money-lender on the plantation:

R: to hām bolā TOP 1.SG said	R: I said	Complicating Action
pāch poun peisā sako ↑de (.) five pound money can.IMP give	can (you) give me five pounds	Complicating Action

jamīn u likhāwe jāe māñjat land 3.SG.REM write.IP go want.IP he bi †hān be.PRS tomorrow	he wants to have the land signed tomorrow	Complicating Action
A: hmm hmm	A: hmm hmm	Evaluation
R: to pāñch poun peisā kamti ↓he TOP five pound money less be.PRS	R: five pounds is lacking	Evaluation

Nirhou approves the loan, as do the other Girmityas in the lines. The section, therefore, becomes the beginning of the resolution of the main complicating action:

R: phir uske hām again 3.SG.DAT 1.SG	R: after this to him I	Orientation
°kānām° what.to.say	what to say	Evaluation
chitha †lagāi thumbprint put.PFV	gave (my) thumbprint	Resolution
†nahi NEG	no	Evaluation
pāñch sab †admi five all man	five men in total	Resolution/Evaluation
tab chār †poun pāñch poun chitha then four pound five pound loan ↓mile get.IP	then (you) get four or five pounds loan	Resolution/Evaluation
aur aur and and	and and	
wei chithā sab lein wāle bo †līn that loan all line MOD say.PFV	about the loan all the people in the lines said	Evaluation
kī: maharāj ka †deo that maharaj DAT give.IMP	that give the loan to Maharaj	Evaluation
chitha inkā ↓deo ↓abki loan 3.SG.OBL give.IMP this time	give the loan to him this time	Evaluation
kāheke inkā †jamīn †kā because 3.SG.OBL land GEN †peīsā †bharek †he (.h)	because his land has to be paid for	Evaluation

Sub-narrative 9: *Paying Money* consists of the remainder of the resolution. In this final section, Ram Rattan Mishar takes the money and goes to see a *gorā*. However, he does not specify whom he went to see with the money, although it is obviously someone in a position of authority, who even had authority over the Manager. I would assume that this would be the Inspector of Immigrants, for as discussed in Chapter 2, this was the person to whom the Girmityas could officially complain, if they felt the plantation authorities were treating them unjustly.

Evaluation

Ram Rattan Mishar's narrative is composed almost entirely of dialogue, and this use of dialogue is, in itself, a form of evaluation, as it gives the impression to the interlocutors that this is a blow-by-blow re-enactment of the actual incident (Tannen, 2007: 102-132). In addition to the dialogues forming the complicating action, and resolution, there are dialogues that occur around these core actions. These dialogues, as seen in the excerpts above, act as evaluations, either on the core incidents of the narrative, or as evaluations on the conduct of the participants involved in the complicating action.

Linde (1993: 21-22) states that in addition to having clauses in temporal sequence, for a discourse to qualify as narrative, rather than a simple recount of incidents, it must contain elements of evaluation to indicate the narrator's point of view. Ochs & Capps (2001: 45) express a similar viewpoint when they state that moral stance-taking, which is effectively evaluation, is a crucial element of narrative. In addition, Labov & Waletzky (1967/1997) state that without evaluation sections in narrative, interlocutors often have trouble identifying the complicating action, that is, the main point of the narrative. Furthermore, according to Labov & Waletzky, interlocutors may have trouble distinguishing between the complicating action and the resolution.

Evaluations may exist at all levels of speech (Polanyi, 1985: 13-15). In addition, evaluations may be semantically, formally, or culturally defined (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997: 32-33). I began with Labov's method of representing narrative at the clausal level. In the coding of the narrative components at the clausal level, the first mention is taken as the complicating action, and subsequent mentions are regarded as

evaluations, as marked in the excerpts above. The purpose of these subsequent mentions being for emphasis. Following the coding at the clausal level, I then incorporated suprasegmental features as part of the evaluative strategies used by individuals in presenting their viewpoint. This is because for many narrators it is the suprasegmental features of intonation, and giving voice to characters, which carry emotive content. This is in addition to features at the syntactic level of discourse, such as repetition.

The presence of each of the evaluative devices could constitute an indepth study in their own right, and it would be impossible to successfully list all the examples of each type of evaluation. Hence, there is a need to consider a few examples of the most prominent of these evaluations in Ram Rattan Mishar's narrative. Labov (1972: 371-375) labels as *external evaluations* those evaluations that firstly, pause the complicating action through analepsis, or secondly, as Ram Rattan Mishar steps out of the narrative to give his point of view on the incident to the other interlocutors, and thirdly, those dialogues that occur between Ram Rattan Mishar and other minor characters on the complicating action. Other evaluations indicated through prosodic features, such as the use of rhythmic patterns of speech, pauses, stresses, accelerations of segments, and giving vocal characteristics to speakers, Labov (1972: 375-393) labels as *internal evaluations*.

In addition, entire narratives may function as external evaluations when seen in the context of the whole life narrative. These externally evaluative narratives, in turn, have internal evaluations embedded within them. Ram Rattan Mishar's narrative consists of a main narrative interlaced with four embedded sub-narratives (Cohan & Shires, 1988: 57), which are: *The Helper*, *The Wife*, *Small Argument Happened*, and *Agreement on Selling Rice*. The four embedded narratives may be likened to subordinate clauses in a narrative (Todorov, 1977: 70-1). That is, the embeddings have their own temporal reference, but it is possible to position them anywhere in the narrative without affecting the temporal order and semantic interpretation of the inferred sequence of incidents in the main narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997: 14). This section considers the evaluative functions of *The Helper* and *The Wife*, and leaves the analysis of *Small Argument Happened* and *Agreement on Selling Rice* for the final section of this chapter.

The Helper and *The Wife* occur during the complicating action of *Unable to Harvest* (1). As can be seen from their omission from the causal chain, both *The Helper* and *The Wife* do not have any direct consequence on the progression of the complicating action. Rather, they serve the purpose of heightening the tension in the narrative, through different means. Firstly, the main action, the dispute between the Manager and Ram Rattan Mishar, is paused, allowing for heightened tension. This pause in action then allows for evaluations to be made on the Manager's actions through dialogue with the other participants:

Sub-narrative 3: *The Helper*

R: tab hām bolā (.h) <i>then 1.SG said</i>	R: <i>then I said</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
to jon ādmi raha kāte <i>TOPIC the.one man AUX.PST cut.IP</i> wāl↑ā (.) <i>MOD</i>	<i>the man who was there to cut</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
hām use bolā <i>1.SG 3.SG.OBL said</i>	<i>I said to him</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
tum ↑ jāo (.h) <i>2.SG.FAM go.IMP</i>	<i>you go</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
chala jāo <i>walk go.IMP</i>	<i>go away</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
kāte dete nei <i>cut.IP give.IP NEG</i>	<i>(he) isn't letting (us) harvest</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
↑ jāo (.h) <i>go.IMP</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
↑ chala ↑ jāo <i>walk.PFV go.IMP</i>	<i>go away</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>

Secondly, the embeddings allow the removal of peripheral participants, the Helper and Ram Rattan Mishar's Wife, who were introduced in sub-narrative 2 as witnesses:

R: aur hasuwā lei ↑ke <i>and harvester take COMP</i>	R: <i>with the harvester</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
hāmlog khete me kha↑ra he	<i>we are standing in the field</i>	<i>Orientation</i>

<i>1.PL field.IP LOC stand be.PRS</i>		
dwi jane <i>two people</i>	<i>two people</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
aur ek bulāi ↓lāwā (.h) <i>and one call bring.PFV</i>	<i>and (I) had brought another person</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
to āurat apān larka li↑ye godī <i>TOP wife own boy carry.IP arms</i> ↑me (.) <i>LOC</i>	<i>the wife with her son in her arms</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
hāma sāte ↑khaī <i>1.SG.GEN together stand.PFV</i> ↑rahī (.h) <i>AUX.PST</i>	<i>had been standing with me</i>	<i>Orientation</i>

Their removal in sub-narratives 3 and 4 respectively, emphasizes that the dispute is between Ram Rattan Mishar and the Manager:

R: hām bolā <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>R:</i> <i>I said</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
tu ↑ja hia se <i>2.SG.CMPT go here LOC</i>	<i>you go from here</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
to bole <i>TOP said</i>	<i>(she) said</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
nei <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
<u><i>Slower, slightly lower pitch-an aside to announcer</i></u> to ham jhute ke <i>TOP 1.SG pretend.IP INV</i> peti khole lagā <i>belt open.IP start.PFV</i>	<i>I pretended to take off (my) belt</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
↑nei <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
hām bolā <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
abhi tīn chār peti tumhre- <i>now three four belt 2.SG.FAM.GEN</i>	<i>right now three or four straps your-</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
tumheik (.h) <i>2.SG.FAM.ACC</i>	<i>you</i>	

eke tanti <i>3.SG.OBL.ACC instead</i>	<i>instead of him</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
tumre hām ↓deb (.) <i>2.SG.GEN 1.SG give.INF</i>	<i>I'll give you</i>	
tab yehi- <i>then this.one</i>	<i>then this one</i>	
yeh <u>ou</u> ke pī↑che ↑deb (.) <i>this.one.OBL ACC after give.INF</i>	<i>then (I) will give (it) to this one later</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
tab phir peti khole la↑gā <i>then again belt open.IP start.PFV</i>	<i>then after (I) started taking off (my) belt</i>	<i>Resolution</i>
tab ↑chali (.h) <i>then walk.PFV</i>	<i>then (she) walked</i>	<i>Resolution</i>

This removal of the minor characters, combined with the presence of the threat of violence towards the end of *The Wife*, also heightens the tension. Now Ram Rattan Mishar and the Manager are left alone in the field, with no one to intervene if the dispute turns violent. The violence that Ram Rattan Mishar threatens to inflict on the Manager culminates in the climax of the complicating action, to which Ram Rattan Mishar returns in the next sub-narrative:

R: tab petī kās liyā (.h) <i>then belt tighten do.PFV</i>	<i>R: then (I) tightened the belt</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
kās ke <i>tighten COMP</i>	<i>(I) tightened it</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
tab hām use bolā <i>then 1.SG 3.SG.OBL said</i>	<i>then I said to him</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
tum <u>kāte</u> <u>de↑ho</u> <i>2.SG.FAM cut.IP give.IMP</i>	<i>you are going to let (me) harvest</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
kī nahi <u>kāte</u> <u>de↑ho</u> <i>or NEG cut.IP give.IMP</i>	<i>or will (you) not let (me) harvest</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
<u>Incredulous voice</u> bole <i>said</i>	<i>(he) said</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
_____	<i>no</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
↑ <u>nahi</u> (.h) <i>NEG</i>		
<u>Softer, slightly higher pitch</u>	<i>clever one</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>

°chalāk †ek° <i>clever one</i>		
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Because of the Manager's answer, Ram Rattan Mishar lunges towards the Manager ready to hit him:

R: gusa lagā <i>anger feel.PFV</i>	R: <i>(I) felt angry</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
† neī <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
bas hām lapka pakṛek <i>then 1.SG lunge.PFV grab.IP.COMP</i>	<i>for this reason I lunged to grab (him)</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
† neī <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
hām bolā <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
<u>Loud</u> = <u>yek-ek</u> maru mei= <i>one hit 1.SG</i>	<i>I'll hit (you)</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
= <u>nou</u> -noujawān to † rahā (.h) <i>young TOP AUX.PST</i>	<i>(I) was young</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
yehi dhān kātā he † jab <i>this same rice cut.PFV be.PRES when</i>	<i>when I used to harvest this same rice</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>

This section of the narrative has a high degree of tension. The act of lunging towards the Manager is highly evaluated. Ram Rattan Mishar suspends the narrative at this point and speaks directly to the interviewer, thereby maintaining the tension in the narrative.

Evaluation sections, therefore, have a number of functions, most performed simultaneously. Evaluations may indicate the narrator's point of view on the incidents, or characters in the narrative. Furthermore, evaluations may help delineate the narrative's complicating action, and help distinguish the complicating action from other components of the narrative that surround the complicating action. Those evaluations expressed through changes in intonation patterns and repetition may help emphasize what the narrator feels. Such evaluations are important aspects of the narrative that the

interlocutor needs to focus on in order to follow the narrator’s point of view. A final function of evaluations is as a dramatic feature, whereby the narrator postpones the complicating action or resolution, thereby, heightening the tension in the narrative, and, simultaneously, holding the interlocutors’ interest.

Coda

While narratives may end with a resolution, some narratives also include a coda. This is a final clause that is separated from the resolution by a temporal juncture (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997: 20). The function of the coda is to bridge the narrative from the past occurrence of the incidents into the present situation of the telling. Ram Rattan Mishar ends the narrative on a coda, which simultaneously performs the functions of self-aggrandizement as well as underlining the moral of the narrative. Ram Rattan Mishar’s intentions on relaying this narrative is evident in the final words of the final sub-narrative: his narrative does not aim to illustrate to the interlocutors the hardships of Girit but the solidarity of the labourers during Girit:

<p>R: Softer, more creaky voice _____ to hamlog das bāra †ādmī ek ghut <i>TOP 1.PL ten twelve man one close.group</i> _____ rahi <i>AUX.PST</i></p>	<p>R: <i>we had been ten or twelve men in a close knit group</i></p>	<p><i>Coda</i></p>
<p>_____ sab kām karou he [°...°]= <i>all work do be.PRS</i></p>	<p><i>(we were the ones who) had gotten all the work done</i></p>	<p><i>Coda</i></p>

5.5 Ghorī and Guldhari’s habitual narrative

After “thematically chunking” the life narratives (Gee, 1997: 189-196), in all but one narration, there were structures that I identified as narratives, interspersed with other units, which according to the definition above, were non-narratives as they described “general events which have occurred an indefinite number of times” (Labov, 1972: 361), but which took the appearance of narratives (Linde & Labov, 1975). Guldhari’s narration warranted further attention as it did not conform to Labov’s definition of a

narrative. While Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative is composed entirely of narrative sections, Guldhari's life narrative is composed entirely of what appears to be narrative-like non-narrative structures.

Riessman (1993: 18) talks about a 'narrative genre' to which both narratives that focus on singular incidents as well as narrative-like structures belong. This study refers to narratives which focus on a singular incident as *event* narratives, to distinguish the structure from other narrative-like structures. In doing so, the study draws on Patterson's (2008: 22-40) discussion of narrative approaches across disciplines, including the Labovian approach, and the widespread focus on the "recapitulation of events" in defining narrative (Patterson, 2008: 23).

The narrative-like structure that is of interest to this study is the *habitual* narrative, which is composed of thematically organized incidents that occur regularly, without a peak in action (Riessman, 1993: 18). The habitual narrative is, therefore, the opposite of the event narrative. Cheshire & Ziebland (2005: 24) add to Riessman's definition: "Habitual narratives are a less dramatic style of narration, since they cannot reproduce the blow-by-blow effect of a story about a single occasion".

Riessman's use of the 'habitual narrative' can be compared to Polanyi's (1985) use of 'state clauses'. Patterson (2008: 38) succinctly summarizes the difference between the two approaches: While both have extended Labov's definition of what counts as narrative, "Riessman uses 'habitual' at the level of the narrative whereas Polanyi identifies recurring states at the level of the clause." Because this research intends to move beyond the clausal level, to the larger storyworld organization, the term 'habitual narrative' was chosen to categorize routine incidents in the life narrative.

These narrative-like structures are not discussed in Linde's (1993: 84) findings on Anglo-American life stories. However, the habitual narrative is found quite regularly in the Girit life narratives, and occurs in all but Ram Rattan Mishar's narrative. Whether habitual narratives are as salient in everyday conversational narratives in Fiji Hindi is open to further research.

I initially labelled the habitual narrative structure in this collection as “narrative-like character orientation”, for the structure is not only composed of incidents thematically organized around the routine of Girit life, but it also provides details of the narrator-as-character’s role within this routine. If the narrator-as-character is a protagonist, she describes the routines that she (and others) performed on a regular basis. On the other hand, if the narrator-as-character is in a witness position, than she is describing routines performed by others on a regular basis, which she observed on a regular basis. Because habitual narratives contain components similar to the event narrative, this study has attempted to distinguish between the components of the two. Each habitual narrative component is labelled as a *Descriptive* component, as illustrated below through an example from Guldhari’s narration:

Dai’s care

G: leijae <i>take.IP</i>	<i>G:</i> <i>(they) would take</i>	
aur leijaek = <i>and take.IP.COMP</i>	<i>and they would take (the children)</i>	<i>Descriptive Complicating Action</i>
=huwā †dai †ghar †me †chhoṛe <i>there nanny house LOC leave.IP</i> (sniff)	<i>and drop (them) off there at the nanny’s quarters</i>	<i>Descriptive Complicating Action</i>
†dai †ghar †me †chhoṛe <i>nanny house LOC leave.IP</i>	<i>(they) would drop (the children) off at the nanny’s quarters</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
tab m-maik- liye- chilai (.h) <i>then mother.INV reason scream.IP</i>	<i>then (I) would cry for (my) mother</i>	<i>Descriptive Complicating Action</i>
mai bole <i>mother says</i>	<i>(my) mother would say</i>	<i>Descriptive Complicating Action</i>
†beti=b hamlog bhe <i>daughter.now 1.PL happen.PST</i> aib <i>come.INF</i>	<i>daughter now we will go</i>	<i>Descriptive Complicating Action</i>
ganā le ai (.h) <i>sugarcane bring come.FUT</i>	<i>bring the sugarcane</i>	<i>Descriptive Complicating Action</i>

bas ab phuslae <i>enough now comfort.IP</i>	<i>in that manner (she) used to comfort (me)</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
tab <i>then</i>	<i>then</i>	
()	Gap on tape	
<mai row↑at↑chali↑jae> <i>mother cry.IP walk go.IP</i>	<i>(my) mother would walk away crying</i>	<i>Descriptive Complicating Action</i>
↑mai ↑rote ↑chali↑jae <i>mother cry.IP walk go.IP</i>	<i>(my) mother would walk away crying</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
↓hamlog roi <i>1.PL cry.IP</i>	<i>we would cry</i>	<i>Descriptive Complicating Action</i>
sab (.h) <i>all</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
sab laṛke ↑roe <i>all child.PL cry.IP</i>	<i>all the children would cry</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
mai log rote jae (.h) <i>mother PL cry.IP go.IP</i>	<i>the mothers would walk on crying</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>

There is a difference in the syntactic representation of the habitual narrative and event narrative structures. In the habitual narrative, these incidents are iterative functions presented in the irrealis mode. They appear to be relayed through imperfectives (IP), as in Guldhari's excerpt above. These imperfectives help the interlocutor to understand that these are incidents that occurred habitually, over an extended period of time. The imperfective suffix is unmarked for gender, or number, although there is a slight distinction in the choice of suffix for 3rd person as compared to 1st and 2nd person (Siegel, 1987: 191):

- 1st Person -tā, -at
- 2nd Person -tā, -at
- 3rd Person -e, -at

This use of imperfectives to describe such habitual actions is in contrast to the use of the auxiliary past tense *rahā*, and the perfective markers (PFV) used in event narratives to describe singular incidents.

In my readings on narrative analysis, I found a marked difference in the studies that discussed the habitual narrative, as compared to those that discussed the event narrative, with the habitual narrative acknowledged briefly (or dismissed) in favour of a more in-depth analysis of the event narrative. I believe, however, that in order to clearly understand the identity that is being negotiated, and the situated nature of this negotiation, we need to consider the life narrative as a whole. This section contrasts the use of the habitual narrative in Guldhari and Ghori's narrations to further illustrate the varied functions of the same structure when used by different interlocutors, emphasizing the situated nature of narrativized identity performativity.

Guldhari's narration is composed solely of habitual narratives, an example of which is seen above. In Guldhari's narration, the Girmityas are not individualized. Through her use of the witness position and the habitual narratives, the women, for in her narration, the Girmityas are all women, are collapsed into a composite group of 'women Girmityas'. This is a flattening technique (Polkinghorne, 2005: 9), where by basing her viewpoint on the protagonists of one plantation, Guldhari is able to generalize their experience to all women Girmityas, and, thereby, is able to extend her viewpoint to encapsulate all women Girmityas.

Within the scope of the interlocutors' understanding of what is and is not possible, the life narrative will be judged for its credibility. That is, credibility is gauged by the interlocutors' belief that the reported incident transpired in the sequence, and manner in which it is narrated. In the case of presenting an account of one's life, the principal narrator's attainment, and maintenance of credibility is important, otherwise the other interlocutors will place the narration on the fictional plane (cf. Moissinac, 2007: 230 on repairing credibility). According to Labov (2004: 37), there is an inverse relationship between reportability and credibility: the more reportable the incident, the less credible is the narration, and, therefore, the more effort, and evaluation need to be placed around the incident to establish credibility.

Ghori is the only narrator in the collection who goes to great lengths to establish his credibility. In the other narrations, as discussed in Chapter 3, the interviewer establishes credibility at the onset, through a question and answer session. In Ghori's narration, there are two radio announcers, the first, Tej Ram Prem, introduces Ghori to

the secondary interlocutors from outside the interview. The other announcer is the interviewer, Ambika Maharaj. Both these announcers attempt to provide Ghori with some degree of credibility, as discussed below, but their attempts are to uphold Ghori as a narrator, and this need to establish a Girmitya's credibility as a narrator (rather than as a Girmitya) is not seen in any of the other narrations. In his character orientation of Ghori, Tej Ram Prem builds up to Ghori's claim of being one hundred and forty three years old. Tej Ram Prem begins his orientation by telling the secondary interlocutors that they are about to listen to a life narrative that is different from all others that they have yet heard on the program, thereby, raising their anticipation for a unique narration:

<p>A: girmit gātha ↑me (.) abhi tak <i>Girmit Gātha LOC now until</i> āpne kei <u>vrid</u> sajano <i>2.SG.FOM.RFLX many respectable individuals</i> ko ↓suna ↓he (.) <i>ACC listen.PFV be.PROG</i></p>	<p>A: <i>until now in Girmit Gatha you have heard many respectable people</i></p>
<p>>↑lekin āj< ham <u>jis</u> vektī se <i>but today 1.SG which person LOC</i> āp kī <u>bhet</u> <i>2.SG.FOM GEN introduction</i> kar↑wāne ↑jā ↑rahe ↑he <i>do.IP go AUX.IP be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>but the person I am about to introduce you to today</i></p>
<p>wo ↑šaid ek tara ↑se ↑ouro ↑se <i>3.REM maybe one kind LOC others.RFLX LOC</i> kuch ↓<u>bhin</u> ↓he (.) <i>some different be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>he would seem in one way to be different from all the others</i></p>
<p>↑dekhne me sāf ↑sutre our <u>chust</u> (.) <i>appearance.IP LOC clean tidy and good.health</i></p>	<p><i>appearing clean, tidy and of good health</i></p>
<p>gosai jī kī kah↑ānī <i>Gosai Mr GEN story</i></p>	<p><i>Mr Gosai's story</i></p>
<p>an girmityo se alag ↓he (.h) <i>other Girmitya.RFLX LOC different be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>is different from that of other Girmityas</i></p>
<p>↑we ↑parhe↑likhe ↑he <i>3.REM literate.3.IP be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>he is educated</i></p>
<p>our ha↑māre ↑sāṭī: ambikā maha↑rāj se <i>and 1.GEN colleague Ambika Maharaj LOC</i> batlāte ↑he</p>	<p><i>and tells my colleague Ambika Ram Rattan Mishar</i></p>

<i>tell.3.IP be.PROG</i>	
<i>kī ↑unkī ↑umar ek ↑sou teitālis warš</i> <i>that 3.GEN age one hundred forty.three year</i> <i>kī ↓he</i> <i>that be.PROG</i>	<i>that he is one hundred and forty three years old</i>

This is where Tej Ram Prem's orientation ends, and the interviewer's contribution to the abstract begins.

The abstract is jointly constructed between the interviewer, Ambika Maharaj, and Ghori. The interviewer's first words, directed to Ghori, but also for the benefit of the secondary interlocutors, are regarding Ghori's age:

A: <i>ham dekte he ki</i> <i>1.SG see.IP be.PROG that</i>	A: <i>I can see that</i>
<i>āp zarur sou warš se upar</i> <i>2.SG.FOM definitely hundred year LOC above</i> <i>ke hoṅe</i> <i>COMP happen</i>	<i>you are obviously over a hundred years old</i>
<i>lekin āp ki zubān se sune</i> <i>but 2.SG.FOM GEN voice LOC listen.IP</i>	<i>but let (us) hear in your own words</i>
<i>āp ki umar kyā ↓he</i> <i>2.SG.FOM GEN age what be.PROG</i>	<i>what your age is</i>

Ghori then contributes towards the abstract:

G: <i>hamārā ja ↑nam (.h) koi bhā ↑do</i> <i>1.SG.GEN birth some bhado</i>	G: <i>my birth was in the month of Bhado</i>
<i>agast jisko bolte (.h)</i> <i>August which say.3.IP</i>	<i>August as it is called</i>
<i>bhādo me hamārā tīn tārik</i> <i>August LOC 1.SG.GEN three date</i> <i>ka janam he</i> <i>LOC birth be.PROG</i>	<i>my birth was on the third of August</i>

A: kon sāl me <i>which year LOC</i>	A: <i>in which year</i>
†bābā <i>father</i>	<i>father</i>
G: ham jan†o: <i>1.SG know.IMP</i>	G: <i>I would think</i>
seitīs artis ke bīch me ↓he (tut) <i>thirty.seven thirty.eight LOC middle LOC be.PROG</i>	<i>(it) is in the middle of thirty seven and thirty eight</i>
e-etna ham ↓jante ↓he (tut) <i>this.much 1.SG know.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>this much I know</i>
kyu †kī larke log <u>umar</u> †nei jān sakte <i>why that boy PL age NEG know can.3.IP</i> he= <i>be.PROG</i>	<i>because children cannot know their age</i>
=māi bāp ke ↓binā (.h) <i>mother father INV without</i>	<i>without being told by their parents</i>

Ghori's final comment in the excerpt above would imply that in viewing Ghori as an unreliable narrator, the interlocutors would, indirectly, be disrespecting his parents. But Ghori does not use this affective reasoning as his only claim to credibility. He backs up his claims with verifiable facts, giving the impression of objectivity (Labov, 2001).

Ghori demonstrates the credibility of his claim through four habitual sub-narratives, chronologically sequenced:

Habitual Sub-Narrative 1a: Building the railway lines from Allahabad to Kanpur (1856)

Habitual Sub-Narrative 1b: Plague (1857)

Habitual Sub-Narrative 1c: The influenza epidemic (I) (1858)

Habitual Sub-Narrative 1d: The influenza epidemic (II) (1859)

These are classified as habitual sub-narratives, rather than individual habitual narratives, because they are all held together by a common abstract, seen above, and a common coda. The remainder of this section will illustrate how the first habitual sub-narrative is constructed. The discussion ends by illustrating how all four habitual sub-narratives

work towards the theme of providing Ghori with credibility in his claims to being one hundred and forty three years old.

Habitual Sub-Narrative 1a: Building the railway lines from Ilahabad to Kanpur (1856)

Ghori begins the habitual sub-narrative by providing a short character orientation:

G: magar ha <i>but AFM</i>	G: <i>but yes</i>
uneis baras ↑kā: ham <i>nineteen age GEN 1.SG</i> athārā sou chhapan me ↑ra (.h) <i>eighteen hundred fifty.six LOC AUX.PST</i>	<i>in 1856 I was nineteen years old</i>

This is followed by two descriptive orientation sections. The first descriptive orientation describes the situation during a severe drought, while the second describes the building of the railway line, both would have been major incidents in Kanpur:

Descriptive Orientation

G: ↑wahā ↑par (.h) akāl paṛā rā= <i>there LOC drought lie.PFV AUX.PST</i>	G: <i>(in that year) there was a drought</i>
=bhāri akāl rā kī (tut) <i>big drought AUX.PST that</i>	<i>(it) was such a big drought that</i>
achhe= acche dhanyok pās <i>very.good very.good wealthy.RFLX.GEN near</i> khānā nahī ↑thā (.h) <i>food NEG AUX.PST</i>	<i>even the very wealthy had no food</i>
↑khānā ↑nahī ↑thā: <i>food NEG AUX.PST</i>	<i>(there) was no food</i>

Descriptive Orientation

G: to us wa↑kat ek sarkār meḷ <i>TOP that time one government railway.line</i> nikārā (tut) <i>put.out.PFV</i>	G: <i>at that time the government started a railway line</i>
--	---

kī ↑jon >il↑aha↓bād ko gei kānpur se < (tut) <i>that the.one llahabad ACCLOC went Kanpur LOC</i>	<i>that stretched from llahabad to Kanpur</i>
usme ham ↑kām dektā ↑rā (.h) <i>in.that 1.SG work look.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>I was supervising work there</i>

The two descriptive orientations draw heavily on the temporal and spatial frames of the narration to appear factual (Bock, McCormick & Raffray, 2000; Labov, 2001).

The remainder of the habitual sub-narrative describes incidents that occurred on a daily basis, while Ghorī was employed as a supervisor, during the construction of the railway lines:

Descriptive Complicating Action

G: at↑hāra sou ādmī ↑kām kartā ↑rā <i>eighteen hundred man work do.IP AUX.PST</i>	G: <i>eighteen hundred men were working</i>
ham sabere ↓ghorā ↓par ↑jātā ↑rā (tut) <i>1.SG morning horse LOC go.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>I was going on the horse in the morning</i>
sab par likte (hesitation) <i>all LOC write.3.IP</i>	<i>I was taking attendance</i>
likte ↓chalā ↓jātā ↓rā <i>write.3.IP walk.PFV go.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>(I) was taking attendance and riding on</i>
sanjhā ke jab loutā rā udhar <i>afternoon ACCDUR when return.1.IP AUX.PST there</i> ↑se (.h) <i>LOC</i>	<i>in the afternoon when I was returning from that side</i>
tab ↑ham (tut) peisā dete <i>then 1.SG money give.3.IP</i> chalā ātā rā= <i>walk.PFV come.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>then I was giving the money on my return</i>
=>kyu kī aurto ko peis↑ā< (.h) <i>why that woman.RFLX ACC money</i> chār p-kourī miltā ↑rā= <i>four coins receive.1.IP COP.PFV</i>	<i>because women would receive four coins pay</i>
=>ek dalyā matī ↑ro chār ↓kourī< (.h tut) <i>one heap soil equal four coins</i>	<i>in return for one heap soil (they) got four coins</i>
magar mar↑dāno ko <i>but male.RFLX ACC</i>	<i>but men received eight anna</i>

āt anā ↑miltā ↑rā (.h tut) <i>eight anna receive.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	
to mardānā walā ↑peis ↑ā: <i>TOP male MOD money</i> ham lout ke bāttā rā = <i>1.SG return COMP give.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>so the money for the men I was giving on my way back</i>
=>sab ko dete chalā ātā <i>all ACC give.1.IP walk come.1.IP</i> rā jinke= jinke< (.h) <i>AUX.PST those those</i>	<i>(I) was giving (the money) to all of them as allocated</i>
thekedāro ke ādmī ↑re (tut) <i>landowner.RFLX GEN man AUX.IP</i>	<i>there were the landowners' men</i>
wo ādmi batā dete ↑re <i>that man tell.IP give.1.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>those men would tell me</i>
ham unko peisā ↓dek (.) <i>1.SG 3.REM money give</i>	<i>I would give them the money</i>
↓er	<i>er</i>
<u>Rythmic</u> ↓jātā rā <i>go.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>and would return</i>
_____	<i>I would return to my house</i>
ham apnā kothi ↑par <i>1.SG 1.SG.FOM.GEN house LOC</i> _____	
↑ātā ↑rā (.h) <i>come.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	
_____	<i>and then (I) would sleep there all night</i>
phir huwā rāt bhar ↑suttā ↑rā (tut) <i>then there night entire sleep.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	

In the above descriptive complicating action, Ghori is describing the routine of his life in 1856.

All four habitual sub-narratives share a general abstract and coda. The coda performs the same function as the abstract, that of attempting to establish the credibility of Ghori as a narrator. In the habitual sub-narrative 1a, Ghori states that he was nineteen years old in 1856. In his coda he states that he had witnessed three major epidemics, the plague and two different strains of the influenza epidemic, the three epidemics having

occurred in 1857, 1858 and 1859 respectively. Ghori then uses the coda to tie the habitual sub-narratives together, by describing his role during the three outbreaks:

G: ī tīno bīn-bimārī ↑me: (.h) <i>PROX three.RFLX illness LOC</i>	G: <i>in these three illnesses</i>
ham murdo ko kām karā ↓he (.h) <i>1.SG corpse.RFLX GEN work do be.PROG</i>	<i>I have worked with corpses</i>
murdo ko ↑le ↑jā kar ↑ke <i>corpse.RFLX DAT take go do COMP</i>	<i>(I) would take the corpses and</i>
gaṇā ↑ji ↑me ↑girwai (tut .h) <i>Ganghis.river LOC drop</i>	<i>drop them off in the Ganghis river</i>

The incidents in the coda re-emphasize Ghori's claims to his age. The role of carrying out corpses from the homes would not have been given to a young child, but to someone more mature. Therefore, Ghori's claim that he was in his early twenties during these epidemics, would make him suitable for this role. This coda marks the completion of the habitual narrative, and the completion of Ghori's illustration of being one hundred and forty three.

It is difficult to know whether he succeeds in establishing his credibility in the ears of the secondary interlocutors. However, Ghori feels he has provided enough evidence for the time being to support his claims, for after this habitual narrative, Ghori moves on with his narration to discuss how he became a Girmitya.

The purpose of presenting this portion of the life narrative as incidents that occurred routinely is to illustrate that this was his life from 1856 to 1859. On the other hand, if Ghori had narrated an explicit incident that occurred during his role as supervisor, or when he was carrying corpses during the influenza epidemics, this would have fulfilled the criteria of reportability, but not of credibility. And it is credibility, rather than reportability, that Ghori wishes to establish in this section of his narration.

5.6 Sequencing of incidents in the life narrative

To maintain coherence (cf. Linde, 1993; Tannen, 1984), the Girmitya life narrative is organized thematically, hence, it is possible to chunk the life narrative into sections (cf.

Martin, 1986: 127), as seen in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative, and Ghori's habitual narrative. Moreover, the Girit life narrative has an underlying temporal order as in Ghori's habitual narrative above.

That the Girit narrator is aware of the function of sequential ordering of incidents in indicating his point of view, and positioning, can also be seen in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative. When seen *individually*, each sub-narrative in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative maintains linearity in its unfolding, for instance:

Sub-narrative 2: Unable to Harvest (1)

Ram Rattan Mishar receives fifty chains of land from the Manager

So Ram Rattan Mishar plants rice on the land

But when it was time to harvest the Manager says

He will sell the land

So Ram Rattan Mishar asks for permission

To harvest the rice

Before the land is sold

But the Manager refuses

So Ram Rattan Mishar threatens to hit him

But when seen as a whole, there is disruption to the linearity of the life narrative:

Sub-narrative 6: Small Argument Happened

But Ram Rattan Mishar and the Manager had an argument before the harvest

So the Manager had told Ram Rattan Mishar

That after his Girit finishes

He would give Ram Rattan Mishar a bad reference

So Ram Rattan Mishar would not be able to find work

Nor would he re-employ Ram Rattan Mishar

Nor would he allow

Ram Rattan Mishar to sell vegetables or rice on his plantation

Sub-narrative 7: Agreement on Selling Rice

But four to six months before the argument the Manager had asked him

If he would sell the rice to him

So Ram Rattan Mishar had said

Yes

So Ram Rattan Mishar had asked

If he could lease the land in his own name

But the Manager had said

No

Because Ram Rattan Mishar was serving Girmmit

The placement of the two back-grounding sub-narratives in relation to each other is of importance. In terms of temporal occurrence, *Small Argument Happened* occurred after *Agreement on Selling Rice*, and both occurred before the main complicating action.

However, in the placing of these groundings as part of the life narrative, the order is reversed. This atemporality disqualifies Ram Rattan Mishar's narration as a narrative under Labov's definition, which states that in addition to being reportable, "A *narrative of personal experience* is a report of a sequence of events that have entered into the biography of the speaker by a sequence of clauses that correspond to the order of the original events" (Labov, 1997: 3). On the other hand, Ochs & Capps (2001: 5, 83) discuss that there may be temporal disparity between the order of incidents in the story and the narrative. This temporal discordance Genette (1980: 35-40) terms *anachrony*.

Genette divides anachrony into two types, analepsis, and prolepsis, depending on the order of the temporal discordance. Talib (2007: 5.8) mentions that it is more common to find analepsis in narration, as is the case in this study. In *analepsis*, the opposite of prolepsis, the narrator steps out of the causal sequence to describe "an event that took place earlier than the point in the story where we are at any given moment..." (Genette, 1980: 40). The purpose of analepsis is exposition, or explanation of the background to incidents, or characters being described (Cohan & Shires, 1988: 85; Martin, 1986: 128-9), for the ultimate purpose of indicating the point of view of the narrator (Jahn, 2005: 5.2.1).

In other words, while there is an underlying causal chain, there may be deviation from this linear form in the surface structure of the narrative for evaluative purposes. In his life narrative, Ram Rattan Mishar describes incidents in retrospect, with the vantage of hindsight (Freeman, 2003: 123; 2009). Hence, he would be able to identify, and withhold reporting incidents at the time of occurrence in the causal chain. These incidents, Ram Rattan Mishar could choose to reveal at what he feels would be a more opportune moment (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 168; Polanyi, 1985: 14-15). These would be at points in the narration which would significantly add to his self-aggrandizement, at the expense of the Manager (cf. Bamberg, 1997: 338), and which would also justify his moral stance (cf. Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1997: 291-298). These two functions become more obvious when the placing of these two sub-narratives within the entire narrative is taken into consideration. Sub-narrative 6 begins at the height of the complicating action in sub-narrative 2, when Ram Rattan Mishar reaches out to hit the Manager. In this light, the two sub-narratives simultaneously help him defend his actions as well as help strengthen the position of the Manager as the antagonist.

These functions of analepsis, and the focus of the narration, tie in with Linde's extension of the definition of a (life) narrative: that it is a discourse of personal experience that the narrator sees as salient to his identity portrayal; that it is reportable; and has been evaluated in the telling to indicate an overarching moral point of view in relation to self (Linde, 2001: 21; Klapproth, 2004: 125).

5.7 Summary and Discussion

While other narrative analysts are often not explicit about their framework, and whether or not they have incorporated Labov's delineation of the components of the well-formed narrative, or have modified it to suit their own narratives, in this study I needed to be explicit about my application of the framework and its incorporated use with Bamberg's framework. This is because the focus of the research is not limited to the event narrative but extended to the life narrative, and its constituent narrative genres. To this end, Chapters 5 and 6 are devoted to the narrative analytical framework.

Chapter 5 delineated the structure of the Girit life narrative, through an analysis of Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative, using Labov & Waletzky's (1967/1997) and

Labov's (1972) framework. However, while the framework is useful in delineating the underlying structure and focus of the Girit life narrative, it does not take into consideration the situational circumstances in which the life narrative is told.

This chapter detailed the usefulness of decomposing the life narrative into its parts. However, the following chapter discusses the limitations of stopping at this level of analysis. In the next chapter, I discuss the incorporation of a more experience-centred approach (Squire, 2008a: 41-63) through positioning analysis, to extend the analysis into the social realm of the telling of the life narrative.

6

Ram Rattan Mishar's identity and agency reconstructions

Tab hām use bolā, “Tum kāte deho, kī nahi kāte deho?”

Bole “Nahi”.

Chalāk ek!

Gusa lagā, neī ?

Bas hām lapka pakrek...

Then I said to him, “You are going to let me harvest, or not?”

He said, “No”.

Clever one!

I felt angry, no?

For this reason I lunged to grab him...

(Ram Rattan Mishar)

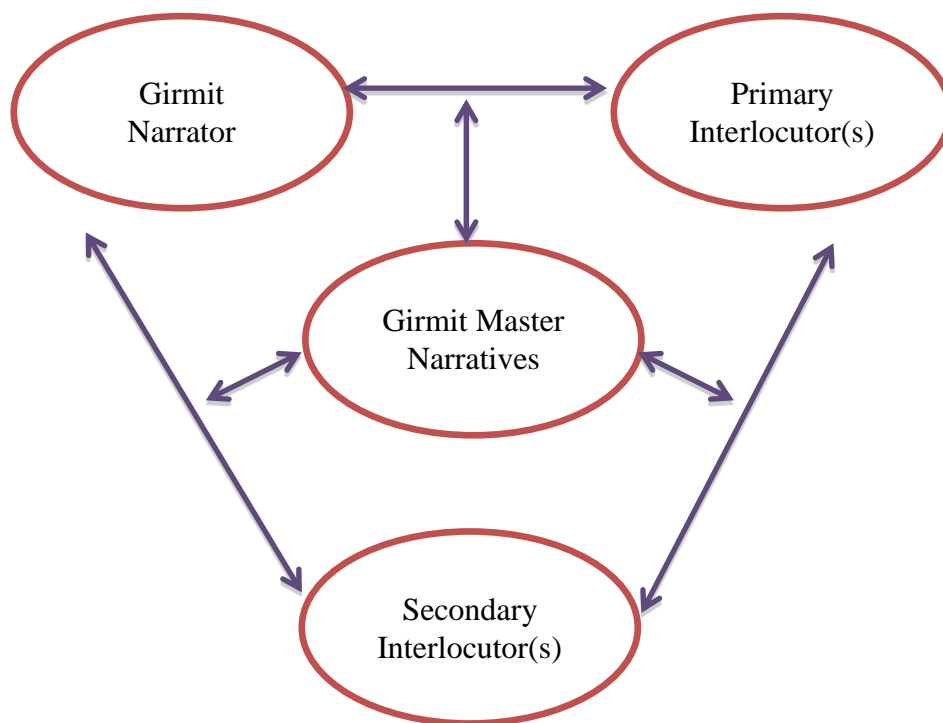
There was a keen awareness on my part that the life narratives were not formed in a vacuum. These life narratives were constructed in the social realm. Moreover, they were constructed for a set of interlocutors who would have their own preconceived notions about Gimit. This shared knowledge would lead to another reading of the Gimit narrators' life narratives.

I was also aware that the life narratives were being moulded, and influenced, on two levels. On the one hand, there is the primary interlocutor's presence, heard through his interactions, and at times interruptions (Duncan, 1972: 286; Gibson, Hall & Callery, 2006: 86; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2000; ten Bosch, Oostdijk & Boves, 2005: 82). The interviewer's actions may signal approval. This may be elicited through the suprasegmental (Schegloff, 1982), and segmental features (Ochs & Capps, 2001; Schiffrin, 2006b: 103-131; Tannen, 2007), through indications of affirmation and understanding, questions and comments, thereby, indicating 'involvement' (Gumperz, 1982; Chafe, 1985: 116). Or the interviewer's actions may signal disapproval, through the absence of these features at instances when they would be expected (Berman, 1998: 7-8; Lanser, 1981: 28-29). Concurrently, there is also the Gimit narrator's own

awareness that his narration is being tape-recorded, to be publicly broadcast to a future set of secondary interlocutors.

While Labov's analysis of narrative structure provides an in-depth understanding of the form, or surface structure of the narrative, the analysis does not place equal emphasis on the situated cultural communicative context. Bamberg's positioning analysis, on the other hand, influenced by Harre's work on positioning (Davies & Harre, 1990; Harre & Van Langenhove, 1992), places great emphasis on the situated nature of narrative construction. Life narratives have a central teller (Schiffrin, 2003a), but the narrative is being told *to* interlocutor(s) for a particular purpose, and it is also told *with* these interlocutors (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 2). In other words, positioning analysis does not give sole attention to the principal narrator of the narrative, as Labov's analysis does. Instead, it takes into consideration the simultaneous influences of primary, and secondary interlocutors, actual, and imagined, recipients of the life narrative, as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Levels of Co-Construction in Narrative Telling and Positionings



As seen in the discussion of Ram Rattan Mishar's abstract in the previous chapter, the primary interlocutor, or interviewer's comments play a major role in shaping the direction of the narrative. For this reason, while Labov omits the interviewer's input in his categories of a well-formed narrative, reducing the narrative to a monologue (Mishler, 1991: 115), I have retained the interviewer's input in the transcript.

Encompassing the Girit narrator, and the interviewer, is the wider society, in which the narrative is told, or heard, or *is to be heard*. Hence, societal norms and expectations of right and wrong, good and bad behaviour, as well as what should and should not be said and heard, will all impinge on the overall telling and structure of the life narrative. These societal norms and expectations are to be found in the culture's own normative discourses. Bamberg (2004a: 5) has referred to these normative discourses as 'culturally expected narratives', and, more frequently, as 'master narratives'. He points out that these normative discourses have been alternately labelled as

master narratives [Bamberg & Andrews, 2004; Mishler, 1995;
Talbot, Bibace, Bokhour & Bamberg, 1996],
master plots [Abbott, 2002],
culturally available narratives [Antaki, 1994],
dominant discourses [Gee, 1992; Gergen, 1995],
or simply cultural texts [Denzin, 1992; Freeman, 2002]

The situated nature of the construction of the storyworld, in the co-presence of these master narratives, extends Labov's analysis into ultimately understanding the negotiation of identity constructions, and subjectivities that emerge through the unfolding life narrative in the social realm. The combination of the structure of the life narratives with the emotions underlying their productions, depicted in the evaluative comments, the attribution of praise and blame, the sharpening of certain incidents and the flattening or ellipsis of others (Polkinghorne, 2005: 9), moves the life narratives from the abstract domain of structure into the interactive world of the 'why': why *these* particular life narratives were constructed, and why they were constructed in *this* way. For the above reasons, this study has chosen to weave Labov's high-point analysis with Bamberg's positioning analysis. The next section discusses Ram Rattan Mishar's

narrative through Positioning Analysis after which follows the rationale and implementation of the merged framework.

6.1 Positioning analysis

Bamberg's positioning analysis (1997) has a sociolinguistic or ethnomethodological slant, and is an approach that stems from the incorporation of developmental, conversation-analytical, and communities of practices' points of views (Bamberg & Korobov, 2004: 525). The framework has acquired currency and prominence across disciplines (cf. Barkhuizen, 2010; Garcia & Hardy, 2007; Gunthner, 2007; Johnson, Møller & Portin, 2009; Moissinac, 2007; Phoenix & Sparkes, 2009; Rugen, 2010), and Korobov (2001) has argued for positioning analysis as a methodology that merges the best of critical discourse analysis and conversational analysis methods.

Positioning analysis, as used by Bamberg, attempts to incorporate two inherently contradictory approaches. The traditional approach views the narrator as *subjected to* discourses pre-existing in the community, while the other views the narrator as *subjectively constructing* these discourses (Bamberg, 2004a: 5).

The traditional top-down perspective to positioning stems from Harre's ontological approach (Davies & Harre, 1990; Harre & Van Langenhove, 1992). The narrator is "constrained by and to a large degree determined by" master narratives (Bamberg, 2004a: 4). That is, positions are grounded in master narratives, which are "inherently contradictive and in competition with one another" (Bamberg, 2003: 475). This viewpoint sees positions as resources sitting on a shelf, which the narrator can use to position self, and others, within the storyworld (Bamberg 2003: 1). According to this 'world-to-person direction of fit' (Bamberg, 2004c: 366-367), individual positions are constrained by positions outlined in the master narratives but, at the same time, individuals have agency over which of the positions they choose from these master narratives. Because of this constrained degree of choice, narrators are attributed a *semi-agentive* position (Bamberg 2003: 1).

The alternative bottom-up viewpoint on positioning draws on Butler's (1990; 1995) conceptualization of performing identities. Positioning here is given a more agentive

role, orientated toward re-presentation of identities and agencies (Bamberg, 2003: 475). Here, there is a leaning towards a ‘person-to-world direction of fit’ (Bamberg, 2004c: 366), where the focus is on the *act* of constructing a situated identity through narrative, which is co-constructed by all the interlocutors. Based on this approach, one cannot freely pick and choose off the shelf what identity would best suit the narrative construction. Instead, the narrative construction, and, by extension, the narrator’s identity constructions are based on the situational, and interactive nature of storytelling. A narrative is formulated in a particular place, at a particular time, with particular interlocutors. Under this second approach to positioning, if any of the three factors are altered, the co-constructed narrative, and its point of view, will also be altered. By extension, the ultimate co-constructed identity of the tellers will also be altered.

Bamberg’s positioning analysis draws more heavily on the second approach outlined above, in terms of positioning being a situated co-constructed act, although he does not reject the presence of the master narratives of the traditional approach (cf. Bal, 1999: vii, comments on Bamberg’s 1997 development of positioning analysis). Instead, according to Bamberg (2004a: 6), there are simultaneous forces on the act of narrating, and identity construction (Jones, 2004: 174, 178; Spreckels, 2004: 206-207), that of world-to-person direction of fit (the influence of master narratives on narration) and person-to-world direction of fit (narration formulated to suit the situation and interlocutors). This is because narratives are told in a cultural context, in *awareness* of expected social norms. This narrative, when seen in terms of ‘culturally expected narratives’, may either conform towards, or counteract the master narratives, as the narrative process balances reportability with credibility, in a bid to put across the overall point of view (Bamberg 2004a: 6). Hence, we must remember that the manner in which characters and incidents are depicted in a narrative, does not imply that this is the manner in which the characters acted, or the incidents unfolded; rather, we need to consider the portrayal of these characters, and incidents, as an indication of the Girit narrator’s orientation to the interlocutors (Bamberg, 2004a: 6) to put across, and *justify* his point of view.

6.2 Levels of positioning analysis

There are three modes of influence on the ultimate structure of the narrative: firstly, there is the organization of the characters within the storyworld; secondly, the impact the interlocutors have upon the telling; and, finally, the impact master narratives have on the telling. The analysis, therefore, draws on Butler's performativity of identity construction. The analysis views identity constructions as a situated act, orientated toward self-revision. At the same time, these situated constructions take place vis-a-vis the master narratives that are present in the community (Bamberg, 2003: 474). These three levels of co-construction of the narrative, and the positioning of the narrators, occur simultaneously, as illustrated in Figure 1; however, for the purposes of clarity, this study will follow Bamberg's approach, and discuss each of the levels individually. To do so, this chapter returns to Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative. The chapter illustrates how my analysis moves to connect the surface structure of the life narrative with the social realm of its production. While it is possible to analyze the actions, and interactions, of any character in the life narrative, this study discusses how Ram Rattan Mishar builds, and maintains the Manager as the major antagonist in the life narrative.

The first level of analysis is '*How are the characters positioned in relation to one other within the reported events?*' (Bamberg, 1997: 337). At this level of analysis, the focus is on the surface structure of the narrative. In particular, the focus is on the theme of the life narrative, and how characters are ordered within the storyworld. Because these are audio recordings, the discussion of the life narratives is limited to discourse features. It is useful to bear in mind Goffman's (1974: 534-536) three levels of differentiation. Firstly, there is the narrator-as-author of the production, from whose point of view the life narrative is told. Secondly, there is the production of the self, or the narrator-as-character. Finally, there are the enacted voices of unpresent others, or the 'not-selves'. In the analysis of Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative, the major 'not-self' is the Manager.

Bamberg has focused on the role of characters (cf. Barthes & Duisit, 1975; Greimas, 1987; Propp, 1968), and referentials (cf. Schiffrin, 2006a). However, at this level, the analysis could also be extended to the traits, that is, "textual indicators" that signify characters (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983: 29-42). These traits, together with the role in which the character is positioned, are drawn upon by the Girit narrator to illustrate his point

of view (level 2). This point of view gives further information for level 3, the culture's 'frames of reference' (Chatman, 1990: 73).

The Manager is the giver of the land to Ram Rattan Mishar:

R: to (.h) pachīs chein <i>TOP fifty chain</i> <u>creaky voice</u> jab ek ādmi ke † rahe (.) jamīn <i>when one man GEN AUX.IP land</i>	R: <i>when a man has fifty chains of land</i>
⁰ hukum se ⁰ <i>official INS</i>	<i>given officially</i>
to wise jamīn † me (.h) <i>TOP RFLX land LOC</i>	<i>in that type of land</i>
ek sāl dhān lagāwa kotou (par) ^h <i>one year rice plant.PFV lease LOC</i>	<i>one year (I) planted rice on lease</i>

In the above excerpt, Ram Rattan Mishar sets up the authority of the Manager. But later, Ram Rattan Mishar readdresses this positioning. He indicates that this giving is associated with pre-meditated deception, which forms the complicating action of the life narrative. Through this sequencing of incidents, the Manager is now portrayed as a man who is violating his position of authority:

R: tab kāte ke jab taim bhe <i>then cut.IP LOC when time happen</i>	R: <i>then when it was time to harvest</i>
to u bole <i>TOP 3.SG said</i>	<i>he said</i>
<u>nāhī</u> <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>
hām jamīn <u>beche</u> † deit † he (.h) <i>1.SG land sell.INF do.IP be.PRS</i>	<i>I will sell the land</i>

At the second level of analysis, the emphasis is on 'How does the speaker position him- or herself to the audience?' (Bamberg, 1997: 337). At this level of analysis, the interest is on the performative interaction of both the Girit narrator and the other interlocutors in the negotiation of the telling, the point of view of the telling, and the negotiation of

the identities of the narrators. I focus here on Ram Rattan Mishar’s evaluations, and how these evaluations allow the interlocutors to perceive his point of view.

The complicating action of the narrative hinges on the dialogue, and the manner in which it is presented to position Ram Rattan Mishar-as-character, and the Manager as the ‘not-self’. For the most part, Ram Rattan Mishar’s narrative is composed of actions of the Manager in the form of dialogue, and Ram Rattan Mishar’s, again, largely verbal, reactions. The excerpt below has been chunked in terms of speech acts (Bakhtin, 1984: 195). Speech acts A and B are the beginning of the main complicating action, which is the Manager’s prohibition of Ram Rattan Mishar’s harvesting of the rice, and Ram Rattan Mishar’s response. The remainder of the speech acts, in the excerpt, are evaluations of the two participants’ actions:

A.	<u>Slight acceleration of speech</u> >to hām bolā TOP 1.SG said	I said
	hama dhān hām kāt ↑lei 1.SG.GEN rice 1.SG cut do	I cut my rice
	tab ↑becho < (.h) then sell.IMP	then sell (it)
B.	↓to bole TOP says	he says
	↑nahi NEG	no
	↑hām bech ↑debe 1.SG sell do.INF	I will sell the land
C.	>are EXCLM	EXCLAMATION
	hām bolā 1.SG said	I said
	hamār dhān laga ki< 1.SG.GEN rice plant.PFV that	my rice is planted
D.	<u>Higher pitch</u> ↑bole says	(he) says
	_____	I don’t know about any rice
	>↑hām = ↑nei = ↑jānit = ↑dhān=huwān< (.h)	

	<i>1.SG NEG know.IP rice.MOD</i>	
E.	to hām bolā <i>TOP 1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
	>dhān nahi eisā kariyo <i>rice NEG this.way do.IMP</i>	<i>I said if (you) don't do this way with the rice</i>
	to hām <i>TOP 1.SG</i>	<i>I</i>
	↑ jāno <i>know.IMP</i>	<i>(you) know</i>
	↑ mahābo karab ↓ tumhe < (.h) <i>beat do.INF 2.SG.FAM</i>	<i>will beat you up</i>
F.	to bole <i>TOPIC says</i>	<i>(he) says</i>
	<u>Higher pitch</u> ↑ nahi: <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>

	↑ hām <u>bech</u> ↓ <u>deb</u> <i>1.SG sell do.INF</i>	<i>I will sell (it)</i>

In life narratives, the turning point of the narration is why “a protagonist has violated social expectations” (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 46). One of the main functions of the narration is to rationalize the protagonist’s behaviour. Ram Rattan Mishar presents himself as having been goaded beyond human endurance to behave in this manner. The narration, therefore, portrays the moral stance of Ram Rattan Mishar: that he is aware of the cultural norms and expectations of appropriate behaviour towards the Manager of his plantation; that in attempting to hit the Manager, he has violated, or transgressed this moral ground, but that he will attempt, through sequencing of incidents transpired, to put forth his point of view that he was justified in behaving in this manner (cf. Ochs & Capps, 2001: 46, 51; Huggins, Haritos-Fatouros & Zimbardo, 2002: 87). The interlocutors’ main function is to assess the reportability and credibility of the narration in order to accept or agree with this point of view.

In the excerpt above, Ram Rattan Mishar shifts from his own voice into an enactment of a new frame, one which involves the embedding of a conversation between the Manager and Ram Rattan Mishar-as-character (Goffman, 1981: 128, 151). In doing so, Ram

Rattan Mishar shifts from his deictic centre, that is, the paralinguistic features the interlocutors have come to identify with Ram Rattan Mishar-as-character, to a second deictic centre, that of the Manager. It is through holding the paralinguistic features of the primary deictic centre as reference values, in this case, pitch, that the interlocutors understand that there has been a change in character (Couper-Kuhlen, 1998: 3).

Ram Rattan Mishar introduces the Manager's voice through the reference marker: (*He*) *says*. However, Ram Rattan Mishar does not directly provide vocal characteristics to the Manager's speech. The Manager's first words in the excerpt form the complicating action. Following this speech act, he is portrayed as stubbornly refusing to allow Ram Rattan Mishar to harvest (D and F). It is these words that are given a separate voice, marked through a higher pitch, fast tempo, and repetition of *nahi* 'no', giving the impression of childlike stubbornness behind the utterance.

Ram Rattan Mishar's own response, as character, is marked through a return to the tempo of the primary deictic centre. In contrast to the above speech acts of the Manager, Ram Rattan Mishar's speech acts (C and E) are more varied, ranging from factual (C) to threatening evaluations (E), portraying Ram Rattan Mishar as doing all he can to try and persuade the Manager to see things from Ram Rattan Mishar's point of view.

This production of the 'self' and 'not-self' is a situated act (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). Remembering that this performance is recipient designed (Couper-Kuhlen, 1998: 10) it is possible that by constructing the 'not-self' or alterity (Hastings & Mannings, 2004), Ram Rattan Mishar constructs a character, who depicts, and is responsible for, another moral stance (cf. Goffman, 1981: 128). As Hastings & Mannings (2004: 301) mention:

stereotyped, essentialized voices of exemplary others are crucial to anchoring the linguistic system by which speakers index their own situational and social positions.

Hence, the words uttered, and the manner of their utterance establishes the Manager as the 'other' in terms of the life narrative, but this 'otherness' is further extended, and

emphasized, through the overt stereotyped generalizations into the real world (cf. Agha, 2005; Hill, 2005; Meek, 2006):

<p>R: ghora =↑ ha:m =↑se ↑khou =↑howe <i>Englishman 1.SG LOC greedy happen.IP</i></p>	<p>R: <i>Englishmen are greedier than us</i></p>
---	--

Here, Ram Rattan Mishar distances himself slightly from the embedding, speaking directly to the interlocutors listening to the production, and seeks a return to the positioning prior to the embedded conversation. This is seen through his return to the primary deictic centre in his tempo, and rhythm. Hence, Ram Rattan Mishar straddles both worlds through the self-as-narrator, who is producing the words the interlocutors hear, and also, remaining as an embedded character in the storyworld (Goffman, 1981:149). Moreover, by placing this ‘not-self’ in contrast to himself-as-character in the storyworld, through a play on language and cultural insight, Ram Rattan Mishar-as-narrator, in the social realm, establishes himself as ‘one of us’ with the Fiji Indian interlocutors (cf. De Fina, 2000: 133).

In the final level of analysis, ‘*How does the speaker position him-or herself vis-à-vis the master narratives?*’ (Bamberg, 1997: 337) the focus is on how the life narrative compares with master narratives. These master narratives, in the case of Girit life narratives, include stereotyped notions of how the Giritiyas came to Fiji as labourers, the Giritiyas’ experiences of indenture, as well as the stereotyped positionings and agencies of all the character types involved in the stages of indenture, as presented in Chapter 2. These stereotypes are present in the community’s collective knowledge, to which the interlocutors have access. Foucault’s definition of ‘discourse’ explains how such master narratives operate:

... in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality
(Foucault, 1971: 8)

As discussed in Chapter 3, the life narratives of Girit were by ex-Girmitias, told to a Fiji Indian journalist. The narratives were told with the understanding that they would be played on public radio for other Fiji Indians to hear. Hence, these master narratives form part of the ‘cultural baggage’, which these Fiji Indian interlocutors bring with them into their understanding, and into their contributions to the narration (Seaton, 2008; Squire, 2000).

That these master narratives are not fixed in time and space, but change as the dominant discourses prevalent within the community change, needs to also be borne in mind (Bamberg, 2004c: 359-263). Suffice to say that at the time of the interviews, and the time when these interviews were played on public broadcast, and even at this point in time in the write up of this study, the master narratives are reinforced through the voice of the academic writing about Girit.

Lal (2000: xii-xiii) sums up the point of view of master narratives of Girit:

The story of indenture is full of drama and tragedy, raising issues which will find resonance in other places and historical contexts. How does a subaltern group, powerless and isolated, cope with the demands and expectations of the dominant group? How and in what ways does an immigrant community, illiterate and leaderless, cut off from its source and cooped up in a hostile environment, reconstitute itself from the surviving fragments of culture and memory?

Lal is one of the foremost academics on Girit, and advocates further research on the Girmitias’ agency (Lal, 1993: 187-215). For these reasons I have chosen to look at one of his positionings of the Girmitias in his more recent work. In the quotation above, which is used here as a typical example of the master narratives, the master narrator adopts the position of the representative voice of the Girmitias. The Girmitias are positioned as being “powerless and isolated”, “illiterate and leaderless”, “in a hostile environment”.

These positionings in the normative discourse of Giritmit are known to both the Giritmit narrator, and other interlocutors, as is illustrated in Ram Rattan Mishar’s narration. On the one hand, Ram Rattan Mishar employs the positions of culturally ordered stereotypes present in the master narratives at level 3, to uphold his point of view at level 2, that the Manager is justifiably the antagonist of the story, and that this narrative has high reportability. On the other hand, and again at level 3, both the characters of the Manager and the Inspector, as discussed below, are depicted as acting out of ‘type’ (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983: 40-42), but for different purposes.

At level 2, in addition to positioning the Manager as the ‘other’, Ram Rattan Mishar also holds him in a position of blame. Shaver (1985: 4) defines the assignment of blame as:

...a particular sort of social explanation. It is the outcome of a process that begins with an event having consequences, involves judgments about causality, personal responsibility, and possible mitigation.

In the narrative, through levels 1 and 2, the Manager is depicted as one who is greedy, deceitful and manipulative. In this respect, the portrayal of the Manager is in accordance with that of master narratives of indenture at level 3, where managers and overseers are often portrayed as being vindictive, and often overstepping the line of good governance on the plantation (Lal, 2000: 179-181, 204; Naidu, 2004: 48-59). Moreover, the manager of a plantation was regarded with fear by the Giritmityas, as he had the authority to use force, if he so wished. In addition the manager is generally portrayed in master narratives of indenture as someone who demanded, rather than asked.

Ram Rattan Mishar employs this character of the Manager of the master narratives, but subverts the actions above held as ‘type’ in the master narratives of the managers of the Giritmit plantations:

<p>R: wahi sāb batāis <i>that.same sahib tell.3.SG.PFV</i></p>	<p>R: <i>that same sahib said</i></p>
---	---

hamkā: (.) dhān tum bech ↑yo 1.SG.GEN rice 2.SG.FAM sell.IMP	<i>will (you) sell the rice to me</i>
hām bolā 1.SG said	<i>I said</i>
hā AFM	<i>yes</i>

That the Manager is asking a question is indicated by the rising of the intonation at the end, despite the words sequenced as a demand. The positioning of the Manager *asking* Ram Rattan Mishar if he would sell the rice to him in sub-narrative 7, prior to the incidents in the complicating action, functions, at level 3, as a counter-positioning to the stereotyped positionings in master narratives. This act, when seen in retrospect, contributes to the build up towards the Manager’s attempted manipulation of Ram Rattan Mishar, at level 2.

Ram Rattan Mishar also employs the character of the Inspector of Immigrants. Generally the inspector of immigrants was an employee of the CSR Company, as were the plantation authorities. Hence, according to the master narratives, the inspector would generally take the side of the plantation authorities, rather than the labourers, in any dispute between the plantation authorities and the Girmityas (Gillion, 1962: 112; Lal, 2000: 50, 172-173). In other words, the inspector is positioned in the master narratives as another antagonist. Furthermore, the master narratives describe the Girmityas as often feeling embittered by the legal system (Gillion, 1962: 115).

At level 3, in light of the above discussion on the Girmityas’ lack of faith in the legal system, and the inspectors of immigrants, Ram Rattan Mishar’s action is an agentive act of defiance against the Manager, and a desire to be seen as an individual who has done all in his power, within the “parameters of accommodation” (Munro, 1993: 22), or legal boundaries. This challenge counters Lal’s description above of the Girmitya. In addition, and countering the character type of the inspector of the master narratives, in Ram Rattan Mishar’s life narrative, the Inspector supports Ram Rattan Mishar, rather than the Manager. The Inspector’s support allows Ram Rattan Mishar to emphasize that there was irrefutable evidence that the Manager was attempting to deceive him.

Through Ram Rattan Mishar-as-character’s own actions, and through the resolution, Ram Rattan Mishar’s narrative forms a counter-narrative to the master narratives of indenture. This countering of the positioning of the Girmityas in the master narratives is further emphasized in Ram Rattan Mishar’s coda, where agency lies in the hands of the Girmityas:

<p>R: Softer, more creaky voice _____ to hamlog das bāra ↑ ādmi ek ghut rahi <i>TOP 1.PL ten twelve man one close.group AUX.PST</i></p>	<p>R: <i>we had been ten or twelve men in a close knit group</i></p>
<p>_____ sab kām karou he [°...°]= <i>all work do be.PRS</i></p>	<p><i>(we were the ones who) got all the work done</i></p>

According to Talbot, Bibace, Bokhour, & Bamberg (1996: 2):

...the discourse setting of the interview is more likely to elicit a detached, reflexive stance that typically pulls narrators back toward acceptance of the master narrative

The increased likelihood of hearing narratives that rectify the master narratives, therefore, emphasizes the importance of any counter narratives found in such a public interview context. Such counter narratives “...can function as challenges and forms of resistance to master narratives” (Talbot, Bibace, Bokhour, & Bamberg, 1996).

6.3 Merging Labov with Bamberg

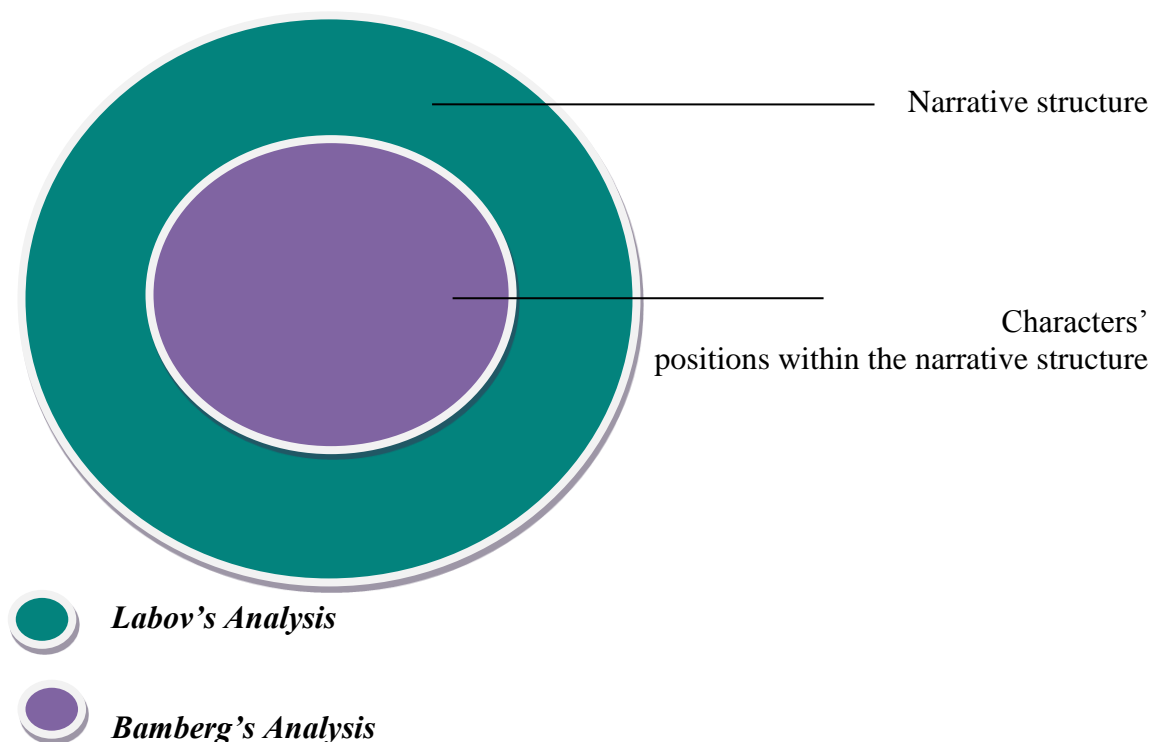
While this ‘one-off’ instantiation of identity negotiation is seen as a weakness of positioning analysis (cf. Hall, 2004; Thorne, 2004), it is this very aspect that attracted me to positioning analysis. It was imperative that I used an analytical process that would allow me to closely analyze the identities and agencies performed in these life narratives, in this one interview setting. I did not have the luxury of observing the Girmityas in other interactional settings, (re)-negotiating their identities (cf. Schiffrin, 2003c) through retellings of their Gimit life narratives (cf. Chafe, 1998; Norrick, 1997; 1998), or of re-interviewing these Gimit narrators (cf. Mieroop, 2009). In this study, I have woven together Labov’s structural high-point analysis with Bamberg’s more

socially oriented positioning analysis. To summarize how positioning analysis complements and extends high-point analysis, this section discusses the intersection between the two analytical processes at each level of positioning analysis.

Level 1

The intersection between Bamberg's positioning analysis and Labov's high-point analysis lies in the positioning of characters within the storyworld. This level of analysis was discussed in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative under Labov's character orientation. In its attempt to explore the underlying structure of the narrative, Labov's analysis identifies the abstract, spatial, temporal and character orientations, as well as the complicating action, resolution, and coda of the narrative. Hence, characters in the life narrative, the characteristics attributed to them, the roles assigned to them, and their positioning in the life narrative in relation to the complicating action(s), and the narrator-as-character are seen in relation to the other structural elements. For this reason, as illustrated in Figure 2, Labov's analysis of a well-formed narrative encompasses Bamberg's analysis at level 1 of who the characters are, and how they are positioned relative to each other in the storyworld.

Figure 2: Merging of frameworks at Level 1



It is at levels 2 and 3 that Bamberg's framework extends Labov's framework.

Level 2

At this level, focus moves to incorporate the situated context in which the life narrative is constructed.

Labov's analysis of external and internal evaluations falls under level 2. At this level of analysis, the causal chain, that is, the order in which the incidents are narrated, as well as the emphasis, de-emphasis, and absence of incidents, are of importance as external evaluations. These aspects of narration, together with the narrator's internal evaluations, consisting of suprasegmental and segmental cues, signify the manner in which the incidents are reflexively narrated to portray the narrator's point of view.

At level 2, the purpose of assigning praise or blame to characters is to justify the narrator-as-character's behaviour, and moral worldview, and to, therefore, justify the narrator-as-character's position as the protagonist. Labov's more recent development of participant action chart (2004) plots assignment of accountability to characters, through the actions attributed to them. Because the participant action chart will be used extensively in the analysis of the life narratives, I will discuss it in detail here.

The participant action chart marks for: agent (*y*), recipient (*x*), and witness (*z*). Incidents which are not mentioned explicitly by the narrator, but which can be inferred from the chain of events are marked (*y*)?, (*x*)?, or (*z*)?, depending on the inferred positioning of the character under analysis. Under the participant action chart, agentivity is realized semantically. The semantic positions of characters, as subjects and objects, provides insight into the roles attributed to these characters, as seen in the dialogue between the Manager and Ram Rattan Mishar:

that same sahib said

(will) you sell the rice to me

I said

yes

Through the above dialogue, the Manager is placed in the subject position, in his speech to Ram Rattan Mishar. The Manager is positioned as having initiated the talk on the sale and purchase of the rice. What can be seen in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative is that the assignment of accountability to the Manager is quite overt. I illustrate this here through Ram Rattan Mishar's main complicating action, presented through the combination of *Unable to Harvest (1)* and *Unable to Harvest (2)*.

As can be seen from the participant action chart, the Manager is the giver of the land and Ram Rattan Mishar is the receiver of this land. From the participant action chart, it would appear that the arrangement of payment for the land is made between two equals, both having agentive positioning. Ram Rattan Mishar then proceeds to plant rice. At this point, it is logical to infer that the Manager would have been aware of the planting. Sometime later, Ram Rattan Mishar is ready to harvest the rice. We can again infer that the Manager would have been aware of the harvest season. This would explain his turning up at the field just as Ram Rattan Mishar is preparing to harvest the rice. From this point on, the Manager is positioned as the antagonist. He dismisses the prior agreement, and demands payment immediately. This marks the climax of the complicating action. Ram Rattan Mishar attempts to reason with the Manager. Finally, because of the Manager's behaviour, Ram Rattan Mishar is able to justify his threat of violence against the Manager.

A major drawback of the participant action chart is that it does not capture degrees of agency. For instance, even though Ram Rattan Mishar can be said to be in an agentive position in agreeing to sell the rice to the Manager, Ram Rattan Mishar's acquiescence with the Manager's wishes is almost inevitable, as the Manager has allowed him to borrow the land, on which he will plant the rice. For this reason, even though the dialogue positions both men agentively, we could question if Ram Rattan Mishar is really in a position of agency or does he feel that he has no other choice but to agree? While such degrees of agency can be hypothesized, they are not demonstrated through the participant action chart, which illustrates only what is present or absent in the attributed positions and actions of characters within the narrative. However, in relation to the aim of this study, a major advantage of the participant action chart is its ability to plot the fluctuation in characters' agencies across the entire life narrative.

Related to the assignment of accountability is the effectiveness of the participant action chart in illustrating the inferred assignment of praise or blame through ambiguity in positioning. While such positionings will be discussed within the context of the life narratives in the following chapters, I will summarize here the aspects from Chapters 7, 8 and 9, which are pertinent in explaining the usefulness of the participant action chart

in illustrating such ambiguous positionings, and the associated accountability. In Guldhari Maharaj's narration in Chapter 7, the dropping of the pronoun creates ambiguity as to who is carrying out the action:

ba:s saeb sardār awe <i>enough sahib sirdar come.IP</i>	<i>the sahib and sirdar would come</i>
↑ chābuk ↑ liye ↑ rahe <i>whip carry.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>(they) would be carrying the whip</i>
tanka <i>growl</i>	<i>(he/they) would growl</i>
<u>Slightly heavier voice, indicative of male speaker</u> >niklo jaldi<(.) <i>come.out.IMP quickly</i>	<i>get out quickly</i>
_____ kām karnā paṛegā <i>work do.IP must.FUT</i>	<i>(you) need to work</i>
_____ tab ghumai ke (.) <i>then turn COMP</i>	<i>then unfurling (the whip)</i>
_____ māre <i>hit.IP</i>	<i>(he/they) used to hit</i>

The ambiguity in positioning allows for the assignment of blame to encompass both the Sirdar and the Overseer:

	Arrival with the whip	Growl to get out quickly and work	Unfurl the whip	Hit
--	--------------------------	--------------------------------------	-----------------	-----

Sahib	y	(y)?	(y)?	(y)?
Sirdar	y	(y)?	(y)?	(y)?
Sahib + Sirdar		y	y	y
Women	z	x	z	x
Guldhari	z	z	z	z

However, in Ram Sundar Maharaj's narration in Chapter 8, the construction of positions has the effect of non-assignment of blame to anyone with regards to how she became a Girmitya. Moreover, her careful avoidance of blame positions her and her husband agentively in becoming Girmityas:

	Went on a pilgrimage to Banaras during <i>Makar Sankranti</i>	Wanted to return home	Couldn't find any transport going towards their village	Were in a dilemma as to what to do	Came to Fiji
People	y				
Arkhati					
Ram Sundar Maharaj + Husband	y	y	y	y	y

Finally, in Jasoda Ramdin's narration in Chapter 9, there is ambiguity in her own positioning, which is exemplified here through two clauses:

m-e-tin baje uthā ↑ we <i>three clock get.up.IP</i>	(they) woke (1 st /3 rd P) up at three o'clock
>teṛi ↑ me kharā kare< <i>swamp LOC stand do.IP</i>	(they) made (1 st /3 rd P) stand in the swamp

This ambiguity in her positioning allows her, as a narrator, to distance her character from the incidents being described, which she finds too painful to associate with herself:

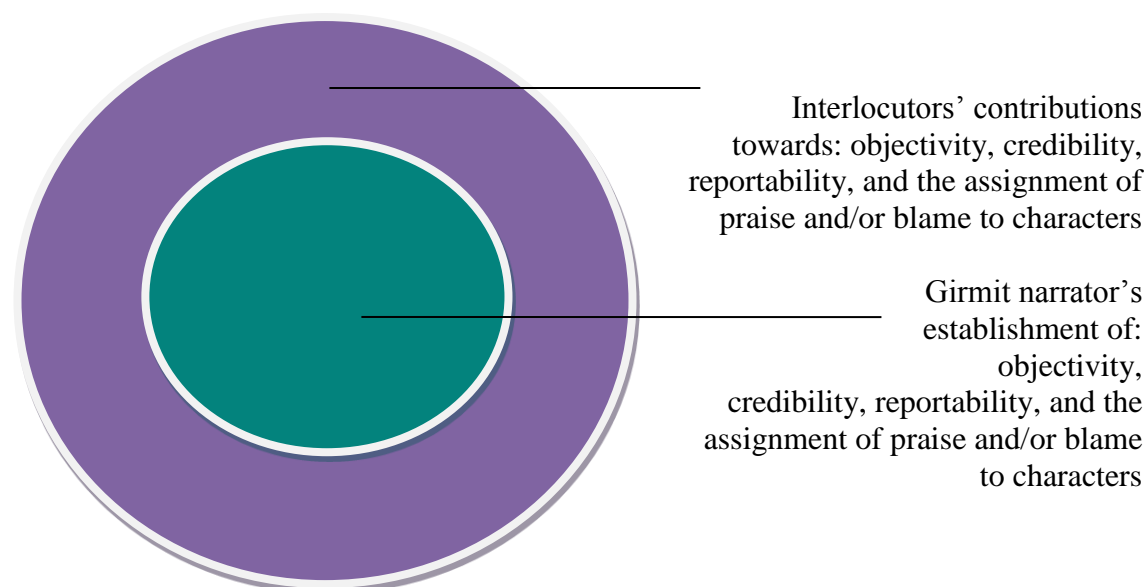
	Woken at 3.30 am	Stood in the swamp	Cut peat	Throw peat	Carry peat on head	Watch	Feel like crying	Lived there in this manner
Jasoda						y	y	
Shipmates+Jasoda	(x)?	(x)?						y
Shipmates-Jasoda	(x)?	(x)?	y	y	y			
Plantation Authorities	y	y	(z)?	(z)?	(z)?			

As illustrated in Figure 3, the intersection between Labov’s and Bamberg’s analysis at level 2 is seen in the manner in which the life narrative is constructed by the Girit narrator. Based on Labov’s (2001; 2004) analysis, the narration is constructed to balance between reportability and credibility, and also to justify the assignment of praise and/or blame to characters within the storyworld, while at the same time, maintaining the other interlocutors’ support for the narrator-as-character. Although Labov’s (2001; 2004) focus has moved from the structural to incorporate the relationship between narrator and interviewer, the analysis only takes into account the input of the narrator. On the other hand, Bamberg’s analytical process at level 2 takes into consideration not only the evaluations of the Girit narrator, but also that of the other interlocutor(s), in the shaping of the life narrative. The interviewer’s input is evaluative, as it presents his/her point of view, through questions asked and not asked, prosodic features, and even silences. Hence, at level 2, the analysis can discuss how the presence of the interviewer’s input, or lack of, affects the unfolding narration, as illustrated in Ghori Gosai’s eleventh event narrative in Chapter 11.

The emphasis on all the interlocutors present at the telling, moves the analysis further into the social realm, and emphasizes the situated nature of the narrative’s construction. Because the interlocutors have such an immense impact on the construction of the life narrative, I have chosen not to follow Bamberg in referring to them as *audience* as the

term implies a rather passive function and belies their role in co-constructing the life narrative so that it is the one it is.

Figure 3: Merging of frameworks at Level 2



 *Labov's Analysis*

 *Bamberg's Analysis*

Level 3

As illustrated in Figure 4, Labov's causal chain, and the assignment of praise and blame, can be further expanded upon in level 3, to discuss the agency attributed to characters. The purpose of the attribution of responsibility is to enhance the narrator's self-aggrandizement, which can be integrated with Bamberg's discussion on identity constructions negotiated through the telling of the life narrative. However, because we are moving further outside the storyworld and into the social realm, at level 3, positioning analysis has greater influence than high point analysis.

At level 3, the analysis is on the agency of the character, in relation to the other characters and the complicating action. From Ram Rattan Mishar's participant action chart, presented at level 2 of the analytical process, Ram Rattan Mishar can be seen as having taken an agentive position against the Manager, despite the Manager's attempts to position him as a victim.

At this level of analysis, we need to consider not only the situated context of the narration, but also the broader cultural context in which the telling and hearing of the narration is done (Bamberg, 2004: 249). The analysis is now extended to include the influence of the Girit master narratives present in the community on the narrative performativity. The analysis can, therefore, incorporate discussions about the characters' acts of resistance and/or accommodation in relation to the other characters, the narrated incidents, and the shared knowledge of Girit.

When reading Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative, we do so with the knowledge of the Girit master narrative presented in Chapter 2. From the chapter we know about the hierarchy and workings of the indenture system. We also have knowledge of the typical alignment of the indenture officials with each other, and, therefore, against the Giritiyas. It is with this background knowledge that Ram Rattan Mishar's act of leaving the plantation, without the Manager's permission, and travelling by boat to see the Inspector of Immigrants can be seen as being highly resistant. It is by taking into account the storyworld, and the master narratives that Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative can be seen as a counter narrative.

Moreover, we need to consider the influence of the cultural ideology of the community. The cultural ideology encompasses the master narratives of Girit. I have used 'cultural ideology' in the same frame as Spivak's 'culture', which she defines as:

a package of largely unacknowledged assumptions, loosely held by a loosely outlined group of people, mapping negotiations between the sacred and the profane, and the relationship between the sexes (Spivak, 2006: 359).

Cultural ideologies, therefore, encompass norms, beliefs, and assumptions of how things 'should be'. Cultural ideologies are the generalizations, and stereotypes that exist within the community, which differentiate 'us' from 'them', which both the primary and secondary interlocutors can draw upon:

On the level of these loosely held assumptions and presuppositions, change is incessant. But, as they change, these unwitting *pre*-suppositions become belief systems, organized suppositions. Rituals coalesce to match, support, and advance beliefs and suppositions (Spivak, 2006: 359).

Hence, while cultural ideologies are located at level 3 of the analysis, they influence both what is narrated, at level 1, and the performativity of the narration, at level 2. The influence of cultural ideologies can be seen in overt references on the part of the Girit narrator to emphasize the ‘us/them’ divide, through stereotyped comments, and generalizations. Such an example is seen in Ram Rattan Mishar’s comment:

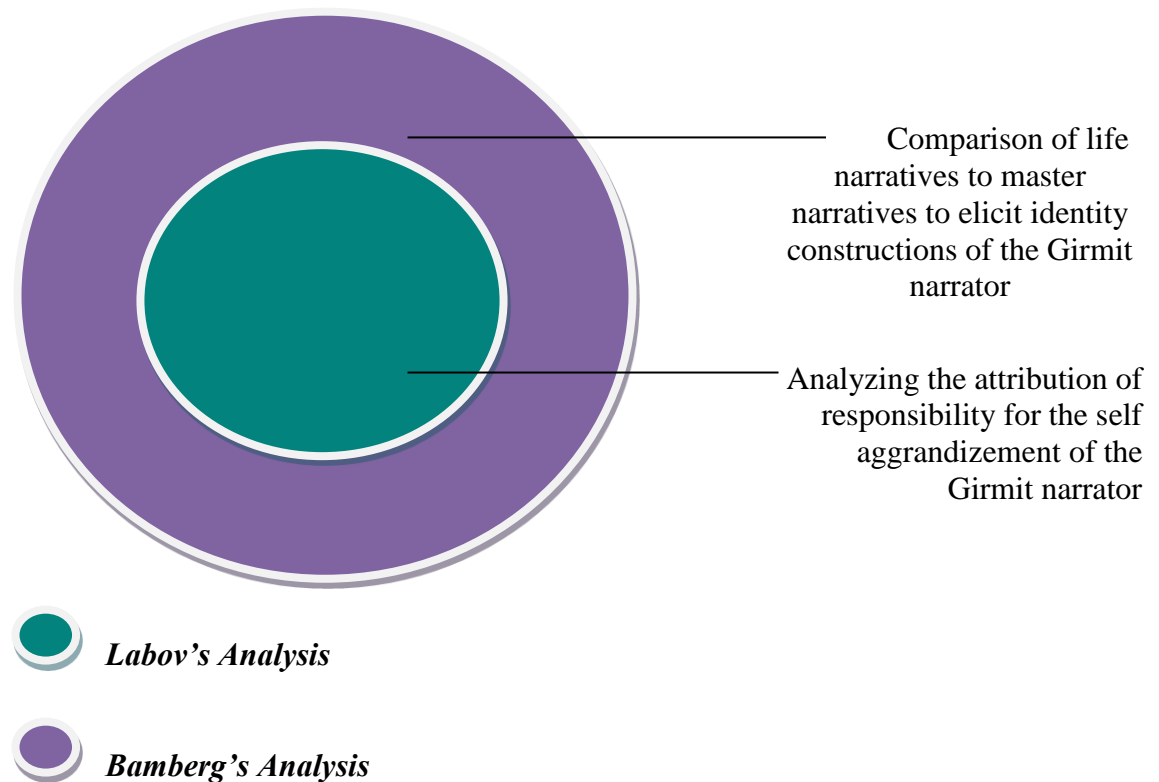
<p>R:</p> <p>ghora =↑ ha:m =↑se ↑khou =↑howe</p> <p><i>White.man 1.SG LOC greedy happen.IP</i></p>	<p><i>R:</i></p> <p><i>White men are greedier than us</i></p>
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The alignment with the interviewer, at level 2, integrates well with Labov’s participant action chart, to justify attribution of responsibility at level 3.

Cultural ideologies are particularly important for these life narratives, which were produced for public broadcast. The impact of the interviewer’s input is seen at level 2 of the narration. However, the presence of cultural ideologies is worth keeping in mind when we consider what the Girit narrator and the interviewer make explicit, what is hinted at, and what is left unsaid. I am interested in what is left unsaid. The incident that remains un-narrated may be because it is assumed to be common knowledge through the master narratives; on the other hand, the incident may remain unspoken because its utterance would transgress the norms of public conduct. Moreover, while these cultural ideologies are existent, they are not fixed entities, and as such, maintain a mutually influencing relationship with narrative performativity, as will be discussed further in Chapter 13.

At this final level, the analysis, therefore, portrays the situated agency and identity of the Girit narrator that is constructed through the surface structure of the narrative, in relation to the interlocutors, present and imagined, as well as in relation to the shared knowledge of Girit master narratives and the cultural ideologies present in the community.

Figure 4: Merging of frameworks at Level 3



6.4 Summary and Discussion

The focus of Bamberg's Positioning Analysis is on the situated production of the life narratives, as presented in this chapter through the continued analysis of Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative. Bamberg's positioning analysis explores the impact of the interlocutors on the telling, the cultural norms and expectations, as well as the master narratives of Girit. These contextualized aspects of narration help explain why the life narrative is told in this manner. As illustrated through this chapter, Bamberg's positioning analysis complements Labov's structural high-point analysis by putting the social dimension into narrative analysis. A further element, the shared cultural knowledge, is incorporated at the final level of analysis. This weaving of frameworks is

implemented to analyze the situated negotiation of identities and agencies in the life narratives that come next.

Restorying Girit

Lekin āp ki zubān se sune

But let us hear in your own words

(Ambika Maharaj)

In addition to the life narratives of Gabriel Aiyappa, and Ram Rattan Mishar, there are five other Girit life narratives in this study. These life narratives are presented here in order of increasing agency of the narrator-as-character.

All the Giritiyas, save Ghorī Gosai, had an hour to recollect their life experiences. Ghorī Gosai's life narrative spans over two separate hour-long sessions on *Girit Gāthā*. In their life narratives, the Giritiyas re-order and re-construct their chain of events that led to them becoming Giritiyas, experiencing Girit, and building their life after Girit. I have chosen, from the twenty audio recordings, the seven Giritiyas, whose narration best fits the demarcation of the Girit life narrative. These are narratives that place emphasis on experiences leading up to, and during Girit, as opposed to post-Girit life, which is excluded from the focus of the research. The Giritiyas spent varying amounts of time narrating these experiences, as reflected in the presentation, and analysis of the life narratives.

In the following five chapters, individual life narratives are given space as individual chapters. Using the Narrativization Framework, the process of analysis is as follows: Each life narrative is analyzed as an entity in itself, at levels 1 and 2. The analysis at level 1 is an attempt to engage in the underlying structural and character representations within the storyworld. The analysis at level 2 moves outside the storyworld. The analysis now takes into account the situated nature of the telling of the life narrative, the presence of the primary interlocutor, and the future secondary interlocutors. At level 3, the analysis moves beyond the situated context of the telling of the life narrative. The life narrative is now contrasted with other life narratives, at levels 1 and 2, to emphasize the uniqueness of each Girit re-construct. The life narrative is then analyzed in relation to the positionings within the current master narratives of Girit, while also keeping in mind the presence of other shared cultural ideologies. Ultimately, at level 3,

the study attempts to analyze what aspects of ‘Who am I?’ and ‘Who do I want to be?’ are emphasized through the telling of each life narrative.

In the discussion of the remaining five life narratives, the analysis is presented as an incorporated representation of the three levels. The presentation illustrates how the levels work concurrently to produce each life narrative. In using such a presentation, I am keeping in mind Bruner’s (1991: 8) counsel. Bruner states that in order to understand a narrative, we need to understand the parts, and in order to understand the parts, they need to be considered in relation to the whole:

The act of constructing a narrative, moreover, is considerably more than “selecting” events either from real life, from memory, or from fantasy and then placing them in an appropriate order. The events themselves need to be constituted in the light of the overall narrative...

Bruner’s thoughts are echoed by Patterson (2008: 35) in her caution against decontextualizing narratives in analysis. This research takes these critiques a step further. The study maintains the presence of both the interlocutors’ contributions to the life narrative. In addition, the study analyzes the sub-narratives and narratives in their sequential position within the Girit life narrative. Moreover, the study explores how the interviewer’s contributions and the sequencing act as evaluative devices in furthering the narrators’ viewpoints, in relation to the master narratives and cultural ideologies. Hence, my analysis of the elements of narrativization weaves through the Girit life narrative, rather than vice versa, as I explore the negotiation of identities and agencies in the remaining five life narratives.

7

Guldhari Maharaj

Descriptive Abstract: How it was

Structure

Descriptive complicating action Part 1: In the lines

 In the morning

 The bell tolls

 The whip

 Dai's care

 In the evening

Descriptive complicating action Part 2: On the plantation

Descriptive resolution: Pay day

Descriptive Coda: But they survived

Summary and Discussion

Guldhari’s narration is unique in this collection. She is describing Girmit as seen through the eyes of her childhood (*And (I) was small*) at level 1. However, the evaluations that we hear, at level 2, are not of a child but of a woman, who now better understands the hardships of the plantation environment, and is able to empathize with the women Girmityas. In this analysis of Guldhari’s life narrative, the chapter discusses how the narration is structured at level 1, in the positioning of characters within the storyworld, and how Guldhari-as-narrator’s evaluations function at level 2. Also at level 2 is her woman interviewer’s silence, which plays a significant part in the gendered identity that emerges through this narration. The conclusion to this analysis discusses Guldhari’s life narrative in relation to the master narratives of indenture at level 3, and her negotiated identity construction.

7.1 Descriptive abstract: How it was

Guldhari’s narration begins within the first six months of her and her parents’ arrival on the plantation (*(we) used to receive ration*). Her focus is on the experiences that she witnessed, of her mother, and other women on the plantation (*and (my) mother used to go to the field to work*):

G: mātā pitā= k sāt me ai†yā <i>mother father.INV together LOC come.PFV</i>	G: <i>(I) came with my mother and father</i>
our chhotā rah†ā <i>and small AUX.PST</i>	<i>and (I) was small</i>
<u>reis</u> milat rah (.) <i>ration receive.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>(we) received rations</i>
ahu mai jae khe-huwe fil me <i>and mother go.IP there field LOC</i>	<i>and (my) mother used to go there to the field</i>
<u>kām</u> †kare <i>work do.IP</i>	<i>to work</i>

7.2 Structure

Guldhari Maharaj’s chronicle consists entirely of habitual narratives, beginning with the descriptive abstract (*How it was*), above. I have divided the descriptive complicating action into sections. Each section is demarcated by Guldhari-as-character’s spatial and temporal frames, as she is the focalizer through whose eyes we witness the events

unfold (cf. section 5.1). The first division is by the spatial frame. The events in Part 1 take place in the lines, and Part 2 is situated on the plantation. I have further divided the events in Part 1 by their temporal frame of morning, and evening. Life on the plantation in Part 2 takes place during the day. The descriptive resolution (*Pay day*), which is the receiving of wages, takes place on Saturday. The narration ends on a coda (*But they survived*), in which Guldhari provides her thoughts on how women survived the harsh Girit environment.

I read Guldhari's narration of the routine of a day, as epitomizing an entire week of work for the women, the result of which is the pay they receive on Saturdays. By extension, the routine of the week is the routine of five years of Girit for the women.

7.3 Descriptive complicating action Part 1: In the lines

In the morning

The bell tolls

It is at the sound of the bell that Guldhari awakes, and, in turn, wakes her mother. Guldhari positions her mother in an agentive role, preparing for work, but this agency is mitigated by the many references to *time*, which gives a sense of urgency to all the activities of the morning. The verb *quickly* is used and *it would be time* is mentioned twice, giving the impression that her mother is compelled to complete her preparations quickly. I, therefore, take this positioning to imply inductive causation (Talmy, 2003: 79-81):

ghanti lage <i>bell sound.IP</i>	<i>when the bell sounded</i>
to jag jai ha↓mei (sniff) <i>TOP awake go 1.SG.RFL</i>	<i>I myself woke up</i>
hamei jag jai <i>1.SG.RFL awake go</i>	<i>myself woke up</i>
tab batai °oun ↑ke° (.) <i>then tell.IP 3.REM ACC</i>	<i>then (I) used to tell her</i>
hwa- bhojan=ojan- banāwe <i>there food MOD make.IP</i>	<i>then (she) used to make food</i>

↑ bāsī ↑ sanjhā=k ↑ khānā ↑ banai=k <i>stale evening.ACCDUR food make.IP.COMP</i>	<i>the food (she) used to make in the evening</i>
↑ dhare ↑ rahe (.h) <i>put.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>(she) used to keep some aside</i>
sis ↑ pān ↑ me ↑ bhar le (.) <i>billy.can LOC pack take</i>	<i>(she) would pack (it) in a billy can</i>
aur bhar ↑ ke <i>and pack COMP</i>	<i>and after packing</i>
>chā wa banai=k <i>tea MOD make.IP.COMP</i>	<i>(she) made some tea</i>
tanya=k pī ke < (.h) <i>quickly.INV drink COMP</i>	<i>quickly had a sip</i>
>tab tak ↑ <u>tem</u> ↑ ho ↑ jae< (.) <i>then until time happen go.IP</i>	<i>by then it would be time</i>
>mur pe tel wel hamre dhare< (.h) <i>head LOC oil MOD 1.SG.GEN put.IP</i>	<i>(she) would massage oil into my hair</i>
huwa bas <u>tem</u> ho ↑ jae <i>there enough time happen go.IP</i>	<i>and then it would be time</i>

The whip

Guldhari introduces the Sirdar and Coolambar here. These are the only men present in the storyworld and Guldhari collectively positions them as antagonists, who embody authoritarian male violence. These are the individuals who hold the most authority, and, by extension, agency on the plantation. It is in their hands that the whip lies, and it is on their decision that the whip falls on the women. Guldhari drops the pronoun after introducing the two men. For this reason, it is impossible to distinguish who is actually speaking to the women, and who is lashing out at the women with the whip:

ba:s saeb sardār awe <i>enough sahib sirdar come.IP</i>	<i>the sahib and sirdar would come</i>
↑ chābuk ↑ liye ↑ rahe <i>whip carry.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>(they) would be carrying the whip</i>
tanka <i>growl</i>	<i>(he/they) would growl</i>
<u>Slightly heavier voice, indicative of male speaker</u> >niklo jaldi<(.) <i>come.out.IMP quickly</i>	<i>get out quickly</i>

_____	<i>(you) need to work</i>
kām karnā paṛegā <i>work do.IP must.FUT</i>	
_____	<i>then unfurling (the whip)</i>
tab ghumai ke (.) <i>then turn COMP</i>	
_____	<i>(he/they) used to hit</i>
māre <i>hit.IP</i>	
↑ māre <i>hit.IP</i>	<i>(he/they) used to hit</i>
> ↑ī ↑der ↑ke ↑māre <i>3.PROX fright INV because</i>	<i>in fright of this</i>
↑ āurat log<(.) ↑bhāge ↑lage (.h) <i>woman PL run.IP begin.IP</i>	<i>the women would begin to run</i>

This is the beginning of Guldhari’s illustration of the difficulties endured by the women during Girit. The narration so far has moved from Guldhari and her mother, to encompass the other women on the plantation. Her mother’s urgency in performing activities in the morning could be extended to all the women in the lines, as can the dread of being late, and feeling the sting of the whip.

Dai’s care

The final routine of the morning for the women, before they set off for the plantation, was to take their children to the *dai*’s quarters. This is the only occasion throughout the narration that the protagonists are given voice. Furthermore, it would seem that Guldhari has chosen her mother to speak on behalf of other Girit mothers. The words attributed to her mother are the words of a working mother, leaving her child(ren) in the care of another. This person was the *dai*, or ‘nanny’. The *dai*’s qualifications, according to Jasoda Ramdin in Chapter 8, was that she was an old hand on the plantation, generally favoured by the Coolambar, and, therefore, exempt from the hard labour of the plantation:

leijae <i>take.IP</i>	<i>(they) would take</i>
aur leijaek = <i>and take.IP.COMP</i>	<i>and they would take (the children)</i>

=huwā ↑dai ↑ghar ↑me ↑chhoṛe (sniff) <i>there nanny house LOC leave.IP</i>	<i>and drop (them) off there at the nanny's quarters</i>
↑dai ↑ghar ↑me ↑chhoṛe <i>nanny house LOC leave.IP</i>	<i>(they) would drop (the children) off at the nanny's quarters</i>
tab m-maik- liye- chilai (.h) <i>then mother.INV reason scream.IP</i>	<i>then (I) would cry for (my) mother</i>
mai bole <i>mother says</i>	<i>(my) mother would say</i>
↑beti=b hamlog bhe aib <i>daughter.now 1.PL happen.PST come.INF</i>	<i>daughter, now we will go</i>
ganā le ai (.h) <i>sugarcane bring come.FUT</i>	<i>bring the sugarcane</i>
bas ab phuslae <i>enough now comfort.IP</i>	<i>in that manner (she) used to comfort (me)</i>

Guldhari extends the actions of her mother and herself to all the mothers and children. In pausing to console their children, the women risked the anger of the Sirdar and Coolumbar. Hence, the emphasis of this dialogue, and its attribution to all the mothers, serves as a reminder that the women never ceased to be caring mothers, despite the harsh nature of the Girit plantation.

Part of the theme of Guldhari's narration is to illustrate the difficult life the women endured under Girit. In this, and the previous excerpts, this difficulty is largely attributed to the cruelty of the Sirdar and Coolumbar. With the emphasis on time in the previous sections in getting the women to the plantation to work, it is unlikely that the Sirdar and Coolumbar would have left the women alone with the children.

Guldhari, again, positions the women with inductive causation (Talmy, 2003: 79-81). They leave the children in the lines with the *dai*, and walk away to the plantation, because they are compelled to do so. She emphasizes, through repetition, that the mothers would *walk away crying*. Guldhari places as much emphasis on the characters, as on the action. The nouns *children* and *mothers* are repeated, as are the actions of the characters. The verb *cry* is present in six of the thirteen clauses, in relation to both the children and the mothers. Guldhari emphasizes their unwillingness to be separated. So, the women shed tears, their only means of articulating their grief:

tab <i>then</i>	<i>then</i>
()	Gap on tape
<mai row↑ at ↑chali ↑jae> <i>mother cry.IP walk go.IP</i>	<i>(my) mother would walk away crying</i>
↑mai ↑rote ↑chali ↑jae <i>mother cry.IP walk go.IP</i>	<i>(my) mother would walk away crying</i>
↓hamlog roi <i>1.PL cry.IP</i>	<i>we would cry</i>
<u>sab</u> (.h) <i>all</i>	<i>all</i>
<u>sab</u> <u>larke</u> ↑roe <i>all child.PL cry.IP</i>	<i>all the children would cry</i>
mai log rote jae (.h) <i>mother PL cry.IP go.IP</i>	<i>the mothers would walk on crying</i>

Guldhari does not use this opportunity to expand on the children's life with the *dai*. Moreover, the children are ungendered, and this is their only presence in the life narrative. The children's presence serves as a means of providing Guldhari an opportunity to highlight the women's character as caring mothers. Simultaneously, she uses this positioning to (re)emphasize, and justify the positioning of the Sirdar and Coolambar, collectively, as antagonists of the Girit storyworld.

In the evening

Guldhari flattens the narrative time, by resuming her narration at the point when the women reappear in the lines, in the evening. From here onwards, she maintains her I-as-witness position. The verbs used in the positioning of the women put them in positions of agency in the narration. But, as before, this is inductive causation (Talmy, 2003: 79-81), although Guldhari relies on the knowledge of the interlocutors to see that this is so. The women could only return from the plantation with the permission of the plantation authorities. The women would be allowed to leave either because it was too dark for them to continue their work, or upon completion of their task for the day. This orientation section, within the descriptive complicating action, is important for two reasons. It, first of all, provides details on the temporal frame of the next section of the narration. At the same time, it also touches on the theme of the narration, by

emphasizing the long hours the women worked on the plantation. This emphasis is further enhanced by the dropping of the pronoun referring to the women:

huwā jae <i>there go.IP</i>	<i>(they) went there</i>
kabi - san -jaldī āwe <i>sometimes quickly come.IP</i>	<i>sometimes (they) came quickly</i>
kabhī rāt hoe jāwe <i>sometimes night happen go.IP</i>	<i>sometimes it would be nightfall</i>
>ganā jaiyā kātin <i>sugarcane go.IP cut.PFV</i>	<i>when (they used to cut sugarcane,</i>
to hia nou baje rāt ke ai< = <i>TOP here nine o'clock night ACCDUR come</i>	<i>it would be nine o'clock at night when (they) returned</i>

The final action in the line, again, has the focus on time, but now, it is so the Girmityas can have as much rest as possible. The women, on returning to the lines, would be very hungry. However, they had to prepare their own meals. Hence, the food that they ate at the end of a long day was one that was both economical and time saving.

Guldhari uses the modal ‘have to’, seen in the excerpt above in the form *-in*, as a marker of necessity, in order to emphasize that there is no action here that is performed through volition. The women had to cook, because there was no one else to cook for them; they had to eat, because they were hungry, and needed the strength to work another day; and after eating, they had to sleep, because they were exhausted by the long working day, and had to recover for the routine of the next day.

Guldhari mentions that the women had to make *khichri*, which is dhal and rice cooked together. As this is narration that focuses on the routine of Girmityas, this indicates that the women routinely ate *khichri*. This monotony of food that the women eat at the end of their working day, accentuates the monotony of the daily routine of the Girmityas environment:

=ghare >mājin dhoin banain< <i>home scrub.PFV wash.PFV make.PFV</i>	<i>at home (they) had to scrub (the dishes) wash, cook</i>
>khichri=wichri banain <i>kedgerie MOD make.PFV</i>	<i>(they) had to make khichri</i>

jaldī=k māre< <i>quick.INV reason</i>	<i>because it was quick</i>
tab – khain <i>then eat.PFV</i>	<i>then (they) had to eat</i>
>khae=k <i>eat.COMP</i>	<i>after (they) ate</i>
jae=k sutin <i>go.COMP sleep.PFV</i>	<i>(they) had to slept</i>

To emphasize that the routine she has outlined is typical of the women’s life during Girit, Guldhari returns to the beginning of the morning routine with the words *then again*. However, she does not repeat the sequence of events. Guldhari expects the interlocutors to have understood that the routine of the line she described in Part 1 is repeated for another day. Guldhari juxtaposes the long hours the women have worked, with a description of the ringing of the bell the following morning. She indicates her viewpoint by emphasizing the early hour that the women are expected to awake. In her narration, the emphasis is attached to *tin* or ‘three’ as the suffix *-e*, which, in this context, translates as “only”:

<u>fin</u> tīne baje ghanti ↓lago (.) <i>again three.EMPH o'clock bell sound-IMP</i>	<i>then again at only three o'clock the bell would sound</i>
↑ <u>fin</u> ut ke ↑bhagin(.h) <i>again get.up COMP run.PFV</i>	<i>then again (they) would get up and run</i>

7.4 Descriptive complicating action Part 2: On the plantation

Guldhari’s perspective now moves onto the plantation. Although Guldhari does not explain her presence on the plantation, children were taken to the plantation if mothers did not wish to leave them behind in the lines. In this second half of the descriptive complicating action, through her presence at level 1 of the analysis, she uses this experience to fill the gaps in Part 1 (cf. Lanser’s rule in Jahn, 2005, N 1.13). She is thereby able to provide her viewpoint, at level 2 of the analysis, on life outside the lines.

In Part 1, Guldhari mentions that her mother would pack the food that she had kept aside the night before in a billy can to take to the plantation. In this section, she expands on what happens to this food on the plantation. Her expansion begins with a reiteration of the theme mentioned above: the taking of stale food from the night before,

rather than fresh food cooked in the morning, to the plantation, by the women, for their lunch:

khānā lei jae bās↑ī(.) <i>food take go.IP stale</i>	<i>(they) used to take the stale food</i>
apne bārā baje khai ke(.) <i>1.SG.RFLX twelve o'clock eat COMP</i>	<i>for their lunch</i>

Guldhari is, again, reiterating part of the theme of her narration, which is the difficulty of the conditions under which the women worked. The women carried the food to the plantation. However, there was no refrigeration system and there would be days when the heat of the tropical sun would spoil the food. When this happened, the women had to work on an empty stomach for the entire day:

u kabhi <u>khae</u> <i>3.REM sometimes eat.IP</i>	<i>sometimes (they) would eat it</i>
kabhi garam se bas↑yai↑jai <i>sometimes heat INS spoil go.IP</i>	<i>sometimes, (the food) would spoil because of the heat</i>
↓bahai↓de (.hh) <i>throw do.IP</i>	<i>(they) would throw (it) away</i>
<u>bukhe</u> re ↓jae (.hh) <i>hungry AUX.IP go.IP</i>	<i>and (they) would go hungry</i>

The final aspect of life during Girit was the work the women were expected to perform on the plantation. Guldhari mentioned, in Part 1, that the hours the women were expected to work varied. This was according to season, as well as the work that needed to be carried out. In the excerpt below, she provides an example of a task that the women were expected to perform: the cutting of Para grass³, used for cattle fodder, but otherwise an aggressive weed, which grows around sugarcane crops, and in wet areas such as drains:

aur nārā me pārā eise gajā rahe <i>and drain LOC Para.grass this.way pile AUX.IP</i>	<i>and in the drain Para grass would be piled high, like this</i>
beit jae °batal° <i>sit go.IP riverbank</i>	<i>(they) would sit on the bank</i>

³ Land Protection (Invasive Plants and Animals), Department of Primary Industries & Fisheries, Queensland Government, 2007.

Background sound of gesturing par= LOC	
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In the excerpt below, the verb form of ‘give’ (*deis*) is for the third person, although the performer of the action could be either the Sirdar or the Coolambar:

A: =ha: AFM	A: <i>yes</i>
G: aur chhuṛi deis ↑kāte ↑ke <i>and knife give.PFV cut.IP COMP</i>	G: <i>and (he) gives (them) knives to cut</i>
aur <u>nei</u> <u>kāt</u> pāwe (.) <i>and NEG cut.IP ability.IP</i>	<i>and (they) can't cut</i>
↑chhurī ↑°badbe° ↑nā ↑kare (.) <i>knife cut.through.INF NEG do.IP</i>	<i>the knife wouldn't go through (the grass)</i>
baṛa baṛa <u>roe</u> huweim=me ya (.hh) <i>big big cry.IP there LOC here</i>	<i>(they) would cry so much there</i>
aur ↑bohut ↑bhārī ↑duk ↓kāte <i>and plenty big hardship cut.IP</i>	<i>and (they) suffer so much hardship</i>

Hence, at level 3, the women are victims of Girmīt, and victims of the Sirdar and Coolambar. The women are unable to perform their tasks, not through lack of diligence, but because of the impossibility of the task. In the above excerpt, at level 2 of the analysis, the Sirdar and Coolambar are not given voices. But their lack of voice gives the impression of a lack of empathy for the women. This is particularly emphasized as Guldhari goes on to describe the actions, and emotions of the women. The women are, again, crying, but, as before, they are not given a voice to lament or complain. Guldhari-as-narrator speaks on their behalf, at level 2 of the analysis: *(They) suffer so much hardship.*

7.5 Descriptive resolution: Pay day

The final description of the women’s life is in Guldhari’s descriptive resolution. In the descriptive complicating action, Guldhari detailed the harsh routine the women endured each week: the long hours of work, the separation from their children, the monotony of

eating the same food, and, sometimes, even going hungry for the whole day. Now, she culminates her narration, by describing what the outcome is for enduring this hardship. Until 1893, pay was given for tasks completed, not tasks attempted. Guldhari indicates, through the unfolding actions, that the hardship the women endured, and the reason they cried was, partly, because they knew that if they could not complete their allotted task, they would forfeit their full pay for the day:

jab āwe sanichar ke <i>when come.IP Saturday ACCDUR</i>	<i>when Saturday came</i>
talab ke (.) <i>wage INV</i>	<i>pay day</i>
↓ to ↓ koi=k ↓ dwī ↓ siliṅ ↓ mile <i>TOP some.DAT two shilling get.IP</i>	<i>some received two shillings</i>
↓ koi=k ↓ bīs ↓ ānā <i>some.DAT ten pence</i>	<i>some ten pence</i>
↓ koi=k ↓ tīn ↓ siliṅ (.h) <i>some.DAT three shilling</i>	<i>some three shillings</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(they/he) said</i>
tum kām tās nei lagaiyā (.h) <i>2.SG.INFOM work task NEG complete.PFV</i>	<i>you didn't complete your full task</i>
tās nei lagaiyā <i>task NEG complete.PFV</i>	<i>(you) didn't complete you full task</i>
to: ↑ peisou ↑ kā:t ↑ lei <i>TOP money.REFL cut.IP take</i>	<i>even the wages (they/he) would take away</i>
↑ ethnī ↑ tabhai ↑ bhei: ↑ gīrmīt ↑ me (.h) <i>this.much trouble happen.PST Girmīt LOC</i>	<i>there was so much hardship during Girmīt</i>

Those women, who were fortunate enough to complete a fair amount of their allotted task, received two or three shillings. The others would only receive a few pennies at the end of the week.

At level 1 of the analysis, Guldhari positions the women at the mercy of the Sirdar and Coolumbar. Both the men are, again, collectively depicted as harsh, and uncaring, although this time it is through the words that they utter. This attitude is stressed in the repetition of their attributed dialogue to the women at level 1 “*you didn't complete your*

full task”, and through Guldhari’s evaluation of them, at level 2 of the analysis, *even the wages (they) would take away*. Again, the women are not given a voice to complain.

7.6 Descriptive Coda: But they survived

Guldhari’s theme, however, does not end with the women positioned as victims of the Gimit system, and authoritarian male brutality. Their hands cut, clean, and cook, and their eyes silently well with tears on an unnamed sugarcane plantation, sometime during the Gimit era. By describing the routine of their lives, Guldhari has described the life of other women Girmityas on other plantations:

kī admī loṅ khalī rahā <i>that man PL only AUX.PST</i>	<i>that the people were only able to survive</i>
↑ kā(.h) ↑ sou ↓ da ↓ sastā ↓ rah <i>that grocery cheap AUX.PST</i>	<i>because the grocery was cheap</i>
A: hā= hā <i>AFM AFM</i>	A: <i>yes, yes</i>
G: to waihi=m thhorā thhorā thhorā thhorā <i>TOP in.that.LOC little little little litte</i> chalawe (.h) <i>make.do.IP</i>	G: <i>they made do by rationing (everything)</i> <i>into small small small small amounts</i>
>dwī=ānā=k= bārā= dibā < māchis <i>two pence.ACC twelve packet matches</i> rahā <i>AUX.PST</i>	<i>twelve packets of matches were for two pence</i>
>nou siliṅ bāstā< ātā rahā <i>nine shilling sack flour AUX.PST</i>	<i>nine shillings was the price of one sack of flour</i>
i sab rahā (.h) <i>3.PROX all AUX.PST</i>	<i>this is how it was</i>
to wahi=m thorā thorā chalāwe <i>TOP in.that.LOC little little make.do.IP</i>	<i>they made do by rationing (everything)</i> <i>into small small amounts</i>

While Guldhari has detailed the hardships endured by the women at the hands of the Sirdar and the Coolumbar, at level 3, she does this not to position the women as victims, but as survivors. She has situated these women in the early days of Gimit, fourteen years after its introduction to Fiji. This was before the room sizes were increased, and before the CSR Company sent out a circular, condemning the use of overtasking,

prevalent on many of its sugar plantations. In this narration, Guldhari acknowledges the tenacity, and resolve of women in adapting to the plantation environment, and, thereby, surviving Girit.

7.7 Summary and Discussion

Guldhari emphasizes the pain, anguish and fear of the Giritiyas in the storyworld. But there is no attempt at resistance on the part of the Giritiyas, and their suffering is sustained, monotonously, throughout the chronicle. The rhythm of their suffering can be likened to the Giritiyas' actions on the plantation of waking, eating, working, and sleeping. Guldhari also describes how the Giritiyas accommodated to this harsh environment, and in doing so, survived Girit. This discussion of adaptation is in contrast to the climax of Gabriel's narration.

Guldhari presents her narration as a series of events. It is like watching scenes unfolding before us, as though we are witnesses to a slice of the women's lives, with Guldhari providing a commentary on the unfolding actions. At no time are we privy to the women's thoughts (Labov, 1997); rather, we infer their feeling of despair through their tears. Nor, at level 1, are we privy to Guldhari's thoughts as Experiencing-I (Friedman, 1955, cited in Jahn, 2005: 3.3.3; Lanser, 1981: 161, cited in Jahn, 2005: 3.3.3; Nieragden, 2002: 686). The evaluations that Guldhari-as-narrator provides, at level 2, are built on these factual actions, and appeal to the interlocutor's sense of right and wrong.

At level 1, Guldhari begins as I-as-co-protagonist, but moves into I-as-witness position, which she maintains for the most part of her narration. Guldhari's movement, across the scale of the Experiencing-I, from most involved in the events of the storyworld, establishing herself as having been there as the events unfolded, to less involved, bearing a witness account, also adds credibility to her narration, at level 2. At no point does she describe events that she did not witness first hand. This aspect of Guldhari's narration can be contrasted with that of the master narrators, who rely on the information of others, either Giritiyas, or other academics who have themselves received their information from other sources.

Combined with this shift in the role of the Experiencing-I, at level 1, is Guldhari's use of habitual narratives. For Guldhari, this increasing distance between herself-as-character from the events of the storyworld, and the use of habitual narratives, allow her to encapsulate a wider range of protagonists and antagonists at level 1 of the analysis. This leads the analysis to Guldhari's performativity of identity, at level 3, through her movement in her role as the focalizing character at level 1.

What is intriguing is that Guldhari's entire narration is tied to the life of the women, and their experiences of Girmitya. At no point does she describe events that do not concentrate on these Girmityas. She is either a co-protagonist with the women Girmityas (*Time and Dai's Care*), or, as in the most part of her narration, she is a witness to the women Girmityas' experiences. Does this then indicate that she does not see herself as a Girmitya despite having experienced Girmitya? By extension, this would imply that, for Guldhari, only those who signed the *Agreement*, and laboured on the plantations are Girmityas. This implication could explain her use of I-as-witness position through most of her narration.

In seeking to analyze Ghuldari's narration at level 3, I also need to consider Ghuldari's choice of protagonists, as compared to those typically seen in the master narratives. Ghuldari's awareness of her own agency as a narrator is seen in her movement across the dimensions of first person narration, from I-as-co-protagonist to I-as-witness. For this reason, I consider it appropriate to contrast her as a narrator with the master narrator(s) of the 1970s and early 1980s, the time of the production and first broadcast of Ghuldari's narration. This master narrator was usually a biologically male academic, who spoke of a typical Girmitya with the pronoun 'he', a mindset also reflected in the indenture passes the academic inserted into his work. In Guldhari's narration, what is, effectively, the minority group in master narratives is given prominence. Hence, Guldhari is subverting this image of men's Girmitya.

When contrasted with the master narratives at level 3, Guldhari's narration, therefore, reads as a critique on the treatment of *women* during Girmitya. However, I believe that it is the very situated nature of the interaction, at level 2, that brings about a narration on women Girmityas (Butler, 1999). While she may not have premeditated to produce this

chronicle, the presence of a woman interlocutor may have had an impact on her choice of protagonists.

At level 2, consideration also needs to be given to the hearing of this chronicle, in a still biologically male oriented society. Would the interlocutors have noticed the significance of the all-women plantation? Her interviewer, who is the perceived voice of the secondary interlocutors, and who has interviewed other men and women Girmityas, does not question the absence of the typical. However, it is the woman interviewer's lack of verbal articulations until the coda that contribute to the construction of Guldhari's, and her own identity, at level 3 of the analysis. Through her silence, we hear the interviewer indicating her acceptance, and encouragement, of the structure and focus of the chronicle, the assignment of praise to the women for their endurance and survival of the harsh Girit climate, and the assignment of blame to the Sirdar and Coolambar for their abuse of their positions of authority on the plantation.

I foresee some readers argue that Guldhari would, naturally, be talking about her mother's Girit. However, I counteract this argument with my own realization: If this chronicle were my introduction to Girit, would I not believe that this is a women's only plantation? In the master narratives, gender has been reduced to a binary opposition, proscribed at birth. I propose, that it is by manipulating this binary opposition (females versus males) of the master narratives, that Guldhari, and her woman interviewer, produce a chronicle on Girit that decries the injustices endured by their women, and, in doing so, the site of the construction of the chronicle becomes a site for gender performativity, in answering 'Who am I?'

8

Ram Sundar Maharaj

Structure

Part 1

Abstract of life narrative

Event narrative: The reason we came to Fiji

Orientation

Complicating action and Resolution

Orientation 1: We served Girmit for five years

Habitual narrative 1: The work we had to do

Descriptive Abstract

Descriptive Complicating action

Orientation 2: Where is Bachkanya?

Part 2

Habitual narrative 2: There was a sense of community

Descriptive Abstract

Descriptive Complicating action

Descriptive Resolution

Descriptive coda

Summary and Discussion

Ram Sundar Maharaj’s narrative is carefully worded. The life narrative and forms a counter narrative through her positioning of characters. In terms of her telling, there are no antagonists in the storyworld. At level 2, there is an emphasis on the *sumat*, or ‘unity’ of the Girmityas, as was seen in Ram Rattan Mishar’s life narrative. However, there is an absence of conflict between the Girmityas and the plantation authorities. Rather, the plantation authorities are positioned as thoughtful, and caring, taking an interest in the welfare of the children on the plantation, while the plantation environment is depicted as a nurturing home for the Girmity children.

8.1 Structure

As the focus of this study is on recollections of Girmity, this chapter shall not be analysing those parts of Ram Sundar Maharaj’s interview that focus on her life post-indenture. For this reason, the interview is divided into two parts. Part 1, is the beginning of the interview. Ram Sundar Maharaj describes the circumstances that led to her becoming a Girmitya. She then presents her recollections of the routine of the plantation work, and the length of time she spent as a Girmitya. The remainder of her interview is put in ellipsis until her next mention of Girmity (Part 2), which is towards the end of her interview, where she focuses on the living conditions of the Girmityas and their children.

Part 1

8.2 Abstract of life narrative

The theme of Ram Sundar Maharaj’s life narrative is summarized in the interviewer’s contribution to the abstract: a frank and honest recollection of her Girmity experience, from its initial stages until the end. The interviewer’s questions are organized sequentially, asking for a chronological account of her life during and after indenture:

=achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
āp gīrmīt ke bāre me <i>2.SG.FOM Girmity ACC about LOC</i>	<i>about (your) girmity</i>
mātājī <i>mother</i>	<i>mother</i>
kuch šuru se batai ye <i>some beginning LOC tell.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>tell (us) something from (its) present</i>

āp kon sī jahāz par †ai †thī: <i>2.SG.FOM which LOC ship LOC come AUX.PST</i>	<i>which ship did you come on</i>
kahā par āp ka gīrmīt †rahā: <i>where LOC 2.SG.FOM GEN Gimit AUX.PST</i>	<i>where were you based during your Gimit</i>
ketnā sāl gīrmīt †kamai: <i>how.much year Gimit earn.IP</i>	<i>how many years did (you) serve gimit</i>
phir kya kya kā:m kiyā (.h) <i>after what what work do.PFV</i>	<i>and then what work did (you) do after Gimit</i>
eise sab khulā se ho kar batai ye <i>this.way all open LOC happen do tell.IP be.PROG</i> sab [bāte] <i>all talk.IP</i>	<i>in this manner could (you) frankly tell us everything</i>

At level 2, from the interviewer’s contribution, Ram Sundar Maharaj chooses what to foreground, and what to flatten in her telling. She chooses to flatten her recruitment process, and, even more so, her journey to Fiji. She answers the interviewer’s first two questions in her own contribution to the abstract. This provides a summary of her transition from Banaras in India to Bachkanya Plantation in Fiji:

R: [cough]	<i>COUGH</i>
R: hamlogan terā ke sāl †me <i>1.PL thirteen ACCDUR year LOC</i> bhārat se ↓āwā ↓he (.h) <i>India LOC come.PFV be.PROG</i>	<i>we came in the year 1913 from India</i>
aur terā ke sāl me <i>and thirteen ACCDUR year LOC</i> āwā he <i>come.PFV be.PROG</i>	<i>and (we) came in 1913</i>
pāch nambar ganjīs jahāz †rahā <i>five number Ganghis ship AUX.PST</i>	<i>the ship was Ganghis V</i>
aur utrā he bachkanyā ham †log (.) <i>and disembark.PFV be.PROG Bachkanya 1.PL</i>	<i>and we disembarked in Bachkanya</i>

This summary forms the second half of the co-constructed abstract. Throughout her narration, and as seen in the excerpt above, Ram Sundar Maharaj makes use of the evaluative devices of repetition, in addition to the rising intonation at the end of clauses,

and the use of pauses, all of which constitute level 2 of the analysis. The repetitions in the abstract act as a link between information mentioned, and information to be added (Tannen, 2007: 60).

She provides this summary, before pausing, and then admitting that she has forgotten one detail of her Girit experience, that of the month in which she arrived in Fiji:

aur bachkanyā ↑utrā ↑he (.) <i>and Bachkanya disembark be.PROG</i>	<i>and (we) disembarked in Bachkanya</i>
bas etne nā yād he <i>enough this.much.IP NEG remember be.PROG</i>	<i>the only thing (I) cannot remember is</i>
kī kon mahinā ↑rahā <i>that which month AUX.PST</i>	<i>which month it was</i>

The use of the pause, combined with the admission that there is a small detail of her Girit that she cannot remember, is highly evaluative at level 2. This pause occurs after she has provided evidence of her ability to provide a credible narration of indenture through ‘facts’. She has mentioned the year she began her indenture, the ship that she boarded to Fiji, and the plantation on which she served her Girit. The mention that she cannot remember the month in which she arrived in Fiji is, therefore, of small consequence when compared to the details that she can remember. The interviewer, on behalf of all the interlocutors, in turn, indicates that despite this lack, Ram Sundar Maharaj remains a credible narrator, and asks her to continue with her narration:

A: hā <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>yes</i>
koi bāt nahī <i>some talk NEG</i>	<i>that is ok</i>

8.3 Event narrative: The reason we came to Fiji

Ram Sundar Maharaj continues with her narration, which will take the shape of an event narrative, as she explains her reason for coming to Fiji, beginning with the words:

baki etnā hame khyāl ↑he <i>but this.much 1.SG.IP remember be.PROG</i>	<i>but this much I do remember</i>
---	------------------------------------

She is, again, signalling her credibility. The sequence of events, as she describes them, is:

kī jeise †ham (.h) sakrāt hindustān me <i>that similar 1.SG Sakrat India LOC</i>	<i>that just as we (have) the festival of Sakrat in Hindustan</i>
jeise bhārat me †lage †he <i>similar India LOC happen.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>just as (it) takes place in India</i>
banāras nahae jāne †he (.h) <i>Banaras bathe go.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>(during the festival people) go to Banaras to bathe</i>
to u: hamke gāī reil <i>TOP 3.SG.REM.1.DAT vehicle vehicle rail</i> nei †mile <i>NEG receive.IP</i>	<i>we couldn't get any vehicle or train</i>
†lalā <i>child</i>	<i>child</i>
to okre wāste <i>TOP 3.REM reason</i>	<i>for that reason</i>
hamlog thorā: (.) deṛā hoi ge rahā <i>1.PL little quandary happen go AUX.PST</i>	<i>we were put in a little quandary</i>
to okre wāste <i>TOP 3.REM reason</i>	<i>for that reason</i>
hamlog jeise phīī chalā †aiyā <i>1.PL similar Fiji walk.PFV come.PFV</i>	<i>we came over to Fiji</i>

Orientation

The use of a large amount of spatial orientation material makes Ram Sundar Maharaj's life narrative highly descriptive in nature. In this first narrative, which explains the circumstances which led to her becoming a Girmitya, we can see this heavy use of spatial frames. The narrative is situated in India, and, more specifically, in Banaras.

While there are no actual dates and time mentioned, as to when the complicating action took place, Ram Sundar Maharaj does indicate the temporal frame in her narrative. The complicating action takes place during the festival, which she refers to as *Sakrat*. *Sakrat*, or *Makar Sankranti*, is a winter-solstice festival of North India, and is celebrated on the fourteenth of January. In her contribution to the co-constructed abstract above, Ram Sundar Maharaj informs us that she came to Fiji in 1913.

At level 1 the analysis is situated within the storyworld. While there are no characters mentioned in the complicating action, other than Ram Sundar Maharaj and her husband, she does indicate that the complicating action took place against a backdrop of people going to Banaras, to bathe in the Ganghis River. This creates an imagery of Ram Sundar Maharaj and her husband surrounded by a sea of unidentified individuals, and amongst them, the unmentioned Arkhati.

Complicating action and Resolution

The complicating action of the event narrative explains the reason why she came to Fiji. At level 2, the use of repetition provides a rhythm to the narration. The repetition is found in the final two clauses of the event narrative, indicating the causal chain of incidents:

to u: hamke gāṛī reil TOP 3.SG.REM 1.DAT vehicle rail nei ↑mile NEG receive.IP	<i>we couldn't get any vehicle or train</i>	<i>Complicating Action</i>
↑lalā <i>child</i>	<i>child</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>
to okre wāste TOP 3.REM reason	<i>for that reason</i>	<i>Resolution</i>
hamlog thorā: (.) deṛā hoi ge rahā 1.PL little quandary happen go AUX.PST	<i>we were put in a little quandary</i>	
to okre wāste TOP 3.REM reason	<i>for that reason</i>	<i>Resolution</i>
hamlog jeise phījī chalā ↑aiyā 1.PL similar Fiji walk.PFV come.PFV	<i>we came over to Fiji</i>	

The narrative is quite descriptive. This is because although she is narrating the singular incident by which she came to Fiji, the details are not made explicit, as illustrated below through the participant action charts (Labov, 2004). The participant action charts illustrate level 2 of the positioning of the participants in the narrative. The agent of an action is marked *y*, the recipient of the action is marked *x*, and any participant not directly involved in the action, but a witness to the action, is marked *z*. Initial mentions (as opposed to repetitions) are taken as the main incident. Those incidents not mentioned, but inferred from the narration, are marked as (*?*).

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Went on a pilgrimage to Banaras during <i>Makar Sankranti</i>	Wanted to return home	Couldn't find any transport towards their village	Were in a dilemma as to what to do	Came to Fiji
People	y				
Arkhati					
Ram Sundar Maharaj + Husband	y	y	y	y	y

The participant action chart above analyzed only what Ram Sundar Maharaj says, not the interpretation that I, as an interlocutor, am left with, at level 2. From the sequencing of incidents mentioned in the life narrative, it would appear that the difficulty in finding transportation to get back home led Ram Sundar Maharaj and her husband to immigrate to Fiji. However, what the interlocutors, who have a prior knowledge of indenture, would understand from her narrative is:

	Went on a pilgrimage to Banaras during <i>Makar Sankranti</i>	Wanted to return home	Couldn't find any transport towards their village	Were in a dilemma as to what to do	Were seen	Offered transport	Accept offer	Locked in sub-depot	Came to Fiji
People	y								
Arkhati					(z)?	(y)?	(z)?	(y)?	(y)?
Ram Sundar Maharaj + Husband	y	y	y	y	(x)?	(x)?	(y)?	(x)?	(x)?

As illustrated above, it is by reading between the lines of her event narrative, that the interlocutors realize that it was the deception of the Arkhati, which resulted in her and her husband serving Girit in Fiji. Hence, she is relying on her listeners having prior

knowledge about the various means by which people were recruited as Girmityas, and, in particular, the treachery that was, at times, practiced by the recruiters. This is evident in the strategic pause that she makes in her final clause in the complicating action, before using the word *deṛā* or ‘quandary’.

There is, therefore, a difference between what Ram Sundar Maharaj says, and what she expects her interlocutors to understand. A possible reason for this is that she can only be held responsible for what she utters, not what the interlocutors understand her words to imply. Moreover, at level 2, by not assigning blame to anyone in the narrative, such as the Arkhati, nor positioning herself and her husband as recipients of someone else’s duplicity, she is not positioning herself as a victim at level 3 (cf. Van De Mieroop & Clifton, forthcoming).

8.4 Orientation 1: We served Girmit for five years

The event narrative above is now followed by a repetition of the theme of one of the interviewer’s questions in the co-constructed abstract:

<p>A: aur pure pāch sāl tak āpko <i>and complete five year until 2.SG.DAT</i> gīrmīt kamānā ↑paṛā <i>Girmit earn.PFV had.to.do.PFV</i></p>	<p>A: <i>and did you have to serve Girmit for the entire five years</i></p>
--	--

In this orientation section, Ram Sundar Maharaj confirms that she and her husband did serve indenture for the entire five years:

<p>R: hame purā pāch baras <i>1.SG complete five years</i> hamlog duno parānī gīrmīt karāyā (.) <i>1.PL both couple Girmit do.PFV</i></p>	<p>R: <i>we both served Girmit for five years</i></p>
--	--

She reiterates this in the form of anadiplosis, where the end of the previous clause is repeated at the beginning of the following (Tannen, 2007: 36), allowing Ram Sundar Maharaj to maintain linkage, and coherence, in her narration:

pāch baras ke bād hamā gīrmīt ↑katā <i>five years LOC after 1.GEN Girmīt cut.PFV</i>	<i>after five years our Girmīt was over</i>
---	---

Following these clauses, there is the beginning of another clause:

tab hamlogan gīrmīt jab katā <i>then 1.PL Girmīt when cut.PFV</i>	<i>then when our Girmīt was over</i>
--	--------------------------------------

However, the clause is left incomplete. It is as if Ram Sundar Maharaj realizes that she is progressing too quickly in her narration. She returns to her Girmīt experience to describe the routine of the plantation.

8.5 Habitual narrative 1: The work we had to do

Ram Sundar Maharaj reverts to the plantation environment. She situates the habitual narrative in her first clause:

tab hamlog °bachkanyā° (.) <i>then 1.PL Bachkanya</i>	<i>then we (were in) Bachkanya</i>
--	------------------------------------

Descriptive Abstract

Ram Sundar Maharaj provides an overview of the routine of the sugarcane plantation that she is going to describe in more detail in this section:

tab hamlog °bachkanyā° (.) <i>then 1.PL Bachkanya</i>	<i>then we (were in) Bachkanya</i>
tab kām yehī kare parat rahā <i>then work this do.IP had.to.do.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>then the work that (we) had to do used to be</i>
kī ganā kama↑o: <i>that sugarcane earn.IMP</i>	<i>to look after the sugarcane</i>
ganā ↑bo: <i>sugarcane plant.IMP</i>	<i>plant sugarcane</i>
aur ganā ka biyā <i>and sugarcane GEN seed</i>	<i>and the sugarcane seeds</i>
jetnā dur phīl hoe <i>as.much far field happen</i>	<i>as far as the field went</i>
otnā dur bastā me d-bhar↑o (.h) <i>that.much far sack LOC pack.IMP</i>	<i>that far (we) had to pack in sacks</i>

aur dh↑o: <i>and carry.IMP</i>	<i>and to carry (the sacks of seeds)</i>
aur le ↓jao (.h) <i>and take go.IMP</i>	<i>and to take (the sacks of seeds)</i>
[.....]	...

Descriptive Complicating action

The remainder of the section is composed of a descriptive complicating action. It begins in response to the interviewer's question below, which seeks clarification on the amount of work Ram Sundar Maharaj, and the other Girmityas, had to perform:

A: [ketnā] <i>how.much</i>	<i>how</i>
ketnā dur <i>how.much far</i>	<i>how far</i>
ketnā chein ka kām karnā partā <i>how.much chain ACCLOC work do.PFV had.to.do.IP</i> thā <i>AUX.INF</i>	<i>how many chains of work did (you) have to do</i>
kuch khyāl ↑he= <i>some remember be.PROG</i>	<i>do you remember</i>

The work she mentions is that of the women carrying sacks of sugarcane seeds, on their heads, for up to ten or twenty five chains. The sacks would have been quite heavy, and the interviewer reacts with astonishment, marked by the high intonation in her contribution:

R: =kām to <i>work TOP</i>	<i>R: the work</i>
k-kām to bohut dur dur karek paṛat <i>work TOP plenty far far do.IP.INV have.to.do.IP</i> ra↑hā (.h) <i>AUX.PST</i>	<i>the work that (we) had to do would be for long distances</i>
aur bīyā bhī dur dur se <i>and seed too far far LOC</i>	<i>and even the seeds had to be carried from far and wide</i>

kabi kabi b-bīs chein se le jao <i>sometime sometime twenty chain LOC take go.IMP</i>	<i>sometimes (we had to) take from twenty chain</i>
pachis chein tak lei jao <i>twenty.five chain until take go.IMP</i>	<i>(we had to) take (from) up to twenty five chains</i>
bīyā mu↑re par dhai↑k <i>seed head.EMPH LOC put.COMP</i>	<i>carrying the seeds on (our) heads</i>
A: ↑ha AFM	A: yes

Ram Sundar Maharaj next describes in detail what the routine of the plantation was:

R: ha AFM	R: yes
mu↑re par bastā bhar↑o: (.h) <i>head.EMPH LOC sack pack.IMP</i>	<i>(we had to) pack (the seeds) in sacks on (our) heads</i>
saṛak par bīyā kat↑e <i>path LOC seed cut.IP</i>	<i>the seeds used to be cut on the paths</i>
kachi saṛak rahe <i>unripe path AUX.IP</i>	<i>the paths used to be newly dug furrows</i>
bīyā huwā ka↑te <i>seed there cut.IP</i>	<i>the seeds used to be cut there</i>
to huwā se jeise gāṛī me girāwe <i>TOP there LOC similar vehicle LOC drop.IP</i>	<i>from there just as they used to be dropped from the vehicle</i>
leijai kate (.h) <i>take cut.IP</i>	<i>(they) used to take to cut</i>
tab huwe se dhoi dhoi le ↑jao <i>then there LOC carry carry take go.IMP</i>	<i>then from there (we) had to carry and take it</i>
to dhārī dhārī gir↑ao <i>TOP row row drop.IMP</i>	<i>then (we) had to drop it in rows</i>
tab phir bo nihur↑ke <i>then after plant.IMP bend COMP</i>	<i>then after that we had to plant by kneeling down</i>
tab phir uske ↑matī ↓chaṛhao (.) <i>then after 3 REM.ACC soil pile.IMP</i>	<i>then after that (we) had to cover it with soil</i>

Ram Sundar Maharaj uses the imperative form with the imperfective aspect when describing the routine, indicating that these were regular tasks that they were given orders to perform. However, at level 1, there is no mention as to who gave these orders.

This leaves an impression of the Girmityas working as a united body, able to carry out their tasks without the need for supervision by the plantation authorities. Hence, while at level 2, there is an understanding of the Girmityas being recipients of the plantation authorities' orders, the omission of the mention of the plantation authorities allows Ram Sundar Maharaj to portray the Girmityas, at level 3, not as victims of the system, but as labourers performing the day's work.

8.6 Orientation 2: Where is Bachkanya?

This section does not take the form of a narrative. Rather, it is a section which seeks to provide clarification of the spatial orientation of the plantation. The section arises in response to the interviewer's questions:

<p>A: ye bachkanyā kon jhagā ↑ he <i>3.SG Bachkanya which place be.PROG</i></p>	<p>A: <i>where is this place Bachkanya</i></p>
---	--

Ram Sundar Maharaj's narration follows from this question:

<p>R: bachkanya: navuā ke <i>Bachkanya Navua ACCLOC</i> u bagal ↑ he (.) <i>3.SG.REM side be.PROG</i></p>	<p>R: <i>Bachkanya is on the other side of Navua</i></p>
---	--

The interviewer's following question would indicate that Ram Sundar Maharaj's entire Girmit was not served at Bachknaya; rather, it was the first plantation on which Ram Sundar Maharaj's Girmit began, after which she was transferred elsewhere:

<p>A: to āp pahile huwā par ↑ thī <i>TOP 2.SG.FOM before there LOC AUX.PST</i></p>	<p>A: <i>so you were there at first</i></p>
--	---

However, Ram Sundar Maharaj tells her interlocutors that this is the plantation on which she served her entire Girmit, and she provides background information on the bungalow, which is where the Girmityas received their pay, every Sunday. This is

where the Sirdar lived. The interlocutors learn that the plantation was owned by the C.S.R. Company, which had bought the bungalow for the Sirdar's accomodation:

R: gīrmīt huwe ra= <i>Girmit there.EMPH AUX.PST</i>	R: <i>(my) girmit was there</i>
abhei jon baṅalā pe hamlog ka <i>right.now which bungalow LOC 1.PL DAT</i> peisā milat ↑rahā (.h) <i>money get.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>at that time the bungalow at which we received our pay</i>
u ↑kām: (.h) pārsal kampanī kharīd le <i>3.REM CSR company buy take</i> ↑rahā (.h) <i>COP.PFV</i>	<i>it was bought by the (CSR) Company</i>
to uske wāste <i>TOP 3 REM.INV reason</i>	<i>for that reason</i>
sardhār logan ke rahe=k khātin (.) <i>Sirdar PL ACC live.IP.ACCLLOC reason.PFV</i>	<i>for the plantation authorities to live in</i>
lāl bahādur dher <u>din</u> rahin he <i>Lal Bahadur plenty day COP.PFV be.PROG</i> huw↑a (.h) <i>there</i>	<i>Lal Bahadur remained there for a long time</i>
to sardhār rah↑in <i>TOP Sirdar COP.PFV</i>	<i>he was the sirdar</i>

She realizes that this description is not enough for the interlocutors to recognize Bachkanya, and she provides a detailed account of the plantation, as it stands today:

tab u: abhi baṅalā he <i>then 3.SG.REM now bungalow be.PROG</i>	<i>that bungalow is still there</i>
tantī rahā pānī walā u he= <i>tanti AUX.PST water MOD 3.SG.REM be-PROG</i>	<i>the well for water is still there</i>
=jeise sab rahā <i>similar all AUX.PST</i>	<i>as it was then</i>
weise sab he ab↑hei (.h) <i>that.way all be.PROG now</i>	<i>in that same way it is today</i>
abhei he huwā bachkanyā m↑e (.h) <i>now be.PROG there Bachkanya LOC</i>	<i>it is there today in Bachkanya</i>

aur bachkanyā: he dhat ka dahānī bag ↑ al <i>and Bachkanya be.PROG body ACCLOC right side</i>	<i>and Bachkanya is on the right hand side</i>
our baṅalā he bahānī bag ↑ al <i>and bungalow be.PROG left side</i>	<i>and the bungalow is on the left hand side</i>

She concludes her description by stating:

sab chij ra ↑ hā <i>all thing AUX.PST</i>	<i>everything was there</i>
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To fully understand what she means by this concluding remark to her spatial orientation, we need to view it in light of her final comments on her Girmīt experience.

Part 2

8.7 Habitual narrative 2: There was a sense of community

In this final section of Ram Sundar Maharaj’s description of her life during Girmīt, she is asked by the interviewer if she would like to say anything else?

Descriptive Abstract

Ram Sundar Maharaj replies that she has described everything about her Girmīt, and, at level 2 of the analysis, she indicates the viewpoint that she wants her interlocutors to have about her Girmīt: that it was not the terrible ordeal of the master narratives of indenture, filled with hardship, and sorrow. Instead, she describes Girmīt as a time of *sumat*, or ‘unity’ amongst the Girmityas, a time to build bonds:

R: <i>er</i>	<i>er</i>
gīrmīt ke to sab batai diyā <i>Girmīt ACC TOP all tell.IP give.PFV</i>	<i>(I) have told (you) everything about Girmīt</i>
kī sab thīk ↓ raha <i>that all good AUX.PST</i>	<i>that all was well</i>
kuch hamlogan ke (.h) otnā taklif ↑ na <i>some 1.PL DAT that.much trouble NEG ↑</i> rahā (.h) <i>AUX.PST</i>	<i>we didn’t have that much hardship</i>

duk †nā †rahā <i>trouble NEG AUX.PST</i>	<i>(we) didn't have sorrow</i>
--	--------------------------------

The final clause of her descriptive abstract summarizes what the focus of this final section of her narration will be: that of the life of the children on the plantation:

aur yā laṅkan ke: <u>achhā</u> : rahā <i>and 3.PROX children DAT good AUX.PST</i> khele ke= <i>play.IP COMP</i>	<i>and it was good for these children for playing</i>
---	---

Descriptive Complicating action

Ram Sundar Maharaj provides evidence of the considerable degree of care that was given to the children of the plantation, while the parents were working. At level 3, the care that Ram Sundar Maharaj describes here counters the description in the master narratives. Lal (2000: 54-55), for instance, describes the living conditions in the lines as having:

appalling sanitary conditions on the plantations, inadequate supply of clean water, the absence of nursery facilities in the lines, and the requirements of daily field labour for women with infants.

Also at level 3 of the analysis, Ram Sundar Maharaj stresses that she herself witnessed this care, in her identity as a mother:

=jeise chār reit rahīn (.h) <i>similar four stay.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>as there were four (dai)</i>
khe †lain chār <u>haptā</u> <i>play.PFV four week</i>	<i>they looked after (the children) for four weeks</i>
ham rahe ke bhī dek liyā <i>1.SG stay.IP COMP too watch take.PFV</i>	<i>I stayed (with them) and saw</i>
†nā <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>
ki keise uloṅ khelāwe he <i>that how 3.REM.PL play.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>as to how they looked after the children</i>
keise nā (.h) <i>how NEG</i>	<i>how (they) didn't</i>

Descriptive Resolution

Ram Sundar Maharaj emphasizes that it was only after she had satisfied herself that the children were well looked after, that she sent her daughter to the *dai*:

to: ek laṛki jab bhejā <i>TOP one daughter when send.PFV</i>	<i>when I sent one daughter</i>
to dekhā <i>TOP watch.PFV</i>	<i>(I) saw</i>
keise khilāwe † he <i>how play.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>how (they) played with (the children)</i>
keise † nei khilāwe he <i>how NEG play.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>and how (they) didn't play</i>
† nā (.h) <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>

Ram Sundar Maharaj describes the regular visits to the plantation by the Inspector. He ensured the children were being cared for in sanitary conditions:

phir haptā me daidar āwat † rahā <i>after week LOC daidar come.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>then during the week the daidar would come</i>
khānā ke huwā dai baṅalā ke <i>food ACC there nanny bungalow ACCLOC</i> † minhāi † raha <i>prohibition AUX.PST</i>	<i>there were some prohibitions at the nanny's bungalow in terms of food</i>
† nā <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>
kī kuch chīj nahi bhejo <i>that some thing NEG send.IMP</i>	<i>there were some foods that were prohibited</i>
makhi=wakhi āwe he <i>fly MOD come.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>flies come</i>
aur <u>meilā hoe</u> he <i>and dirty happen be.PROG</i>	<i>and it becomes dirty</i>

Throughout the excerpts in this section, Ram Sundar Maharaj tags her descriptions of the care of the children repeatedly with *nā* or *no*. The negations, when combined with the rising intonation, take the form of a question. The tag plays a number of functions at level 2. It allows her to ensure that the interviewer is following her narration. It also allows her to ensure that the interviewer is sympathetic to her point of view, that she

was a good mother, who made certain that her new-born child would receive adequate care while she was at work.

Descriptive coda

Ram Sundar Maharaj underlines her point of view, at level 2 of the analysis, with an overt evaluative comment in her final two clauses:

to: larkan ke thik rahā <i>TOP children DAT good AUX.PST</i>	<i>it was good for the children</i>
samitā †rahā <i>unity AUX.PST</i>	<i>there was a sense of community</i>

8.8 Summary and Discussion

At the final level of analysis, the impression we are left with of Ram Sundar Maharaj's Girit is that it was not the Girit experience of the master narratives. Hence, her narration lacks the brutality, hardship, and sorrow for the Giritiyas, that was present in Guldhari Maharaj's chronicle. Instead, Ram Sundar Maharaj describes Girit as a time for building bonds with other Giritiyas. Like Ram Rattan Mishar, Ram Sundar Maharaj emphasizes the *sumat*, or 'unity' of the Giritiyas. Unlike Ram Rattan Mishar, however, she does not use this *sumat* as a tool for resisting the plantation authorities. Instead, the Giritiyas are portrayed as living in *sumat* both with each other, and with the plantation authorities.

In her emphasis on *sumat*, Ram Sundar Maharaj's life narrative represents an almost idealic beginning of the Fiji Indian society on the Girit plantation. This hybrid identity represented in the Girit children, was through the amalgamation of the different Indian cultures on the plantation, which brought with it a fusion of norms and expectations. This new identity also manifested itself in the Girit children's first language, which was also a fusion of languages and dialects from around India that underwent accommodation and change. This new Fiji Hindi is today the first language of the Fiji Indian community in Fiji. It is also the language the Giritiyas use to reconstruct their Girit experiences.

9

Jasoda Ramdin

Structure

Event Narrative 1: The first day

Abstract

Orientation

Event Sub-narrative 1a: In the lines

Event Sub-narrative 1b: On the plantation

Event Sub-narrative 1c: Back in the lines

Coda

Event Narrative 2: I was hit

Abstract

Complicating action

Resolution

Coda

Event Narrative 3: She was beaten

Abstract

Complicating action

Habitual Narrative: The consequences of a failed resistance

Descriptive Abstract

Descriptive Orientation

Descriptive Complicating action

Habitual sub-narrative a: The swamp in Papalagi

Habitual sub-narrative b: The railway lines in Papalagi

Habitual sub-narrative c: The plantation in Daku

Coda

Summary and Discussion

Jasoda's emphasis lies in depicting Girit as a brutal experience for all the Giritas, and even the children. At level 2 of the analysis, she illustrates the punishment of disobedience, ignorance, and of resistance. In constructing this theme, at level 3, Jasoda constructs the *narak*, or hell, of the master narratives. Her storyworld is filled with the plantation authorities' violence, and the Giritas' pain, fear, and bewilderment, as everything they hold sacred is obliterated by the whip. It is against this background that Jasoda's resistance, at level 3, stands out.

9.1 Structure

While the life narrative provides an overview of Jasoda's entire Girit in terms of temporal and spatial frames, within these frames Jasoda places emphasis on certain incidents. The narration is, therefore, ordered by the "linear passage of time" and is also held together by the "nonlinear distribution and recurrence of themes" (Schiffrin, 2002).

At level 2 of the analysis, Jasoda's life narrative is influenced by the interviewer's questions, which provide a definite framework for the progression of the life narrative, and the themes around which the life narrative is centred. The interviewer's first set of questions, which form *The Arrival*, is largely for orientation purposes, and has been discussed in Chapter 3. The subsequent questions of the interviewer function either as abstracts for each section, thereby constituting level 1 of the analysis, or as questions seeking further clarification on Jasoda's description of events, and therefore, constituting level 2 of the analysis. As presented at the beginning of this analysis, I have segmented Jasoda's interview into five sections, each of which is headed by the interviewer's question.

9.2 Event Narrative 1: The First Day

The First Day sets the tone of the life narrative. This is established through the interviewer's question and Jasoda's reply. Their joint construction forms the abstract of event narrative 1.

Abstract

A: achha <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>okay</i>
girmit ke same <i>Girmit ACCDUR time</i>	<i>during Girmit</i>
āploᅇ ko bohut <i>2.PL.FOM DAT plenty</i>	<i>did you all have plenty</i>
er	<i>er</i>
kaᅇā kām karna partā [↑thā] <i>hard work do.INF compulsion.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>hard work that (you) had to do</i>
J: [hā:] <i>AFM</i>	J: <i>yes</i>
hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>
bo↑ut ↑kaᅇā <i>very hard</i>	<i>very hard</i>
↑bach↓ā (.h) <i>child</i>	<i>child</i>
bout ↓kaᅇā <i>very hard</i>	<i>very hard</i>
↑ha (.h) <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>
ham to (.) kahe jhut bolī <i>1.SG TOP why lie say.FUT</i>	<i>why should I lie</i>

Jasoda, at level 2 of the analysis, emphasizes that the work was extremely hard, through her repetitions of affirmation, as well as the repetition of the words ‘*very hard*’. The repetition, which is shaded in the transcript above, forms an almost mirror image of her first statement (Tannen, 2007: 36):

Yes
Very hard
——— Child ———
Very hard
Yes

In addition to the repetition, is Jasoda's intonation pattern when describing the difficulty of the work. Her first affirmation is drawn out, indicating that, indeed, the work was extremely difficult. This is underlined by the repetition of the words 'very hard', and the rising and falling intonation pattern, in succession, when uttering the words. This 'very hard work' will form one of the two themes of the narrative.

In her contribution to the abstract, Jasoda introduces the Sirdar, at level 1 of the analysis. Through his introduction, she puts forth the second theme of her life narrative, which is at level 2 of the analysis. This theme, as seen in the extract below, is the brutality of the plantation authorities, and in particular, the Sirdar, towards the Girmityas:

<i>Tears in her voice</i> bohut māre sardār ↑sa↓heb <i>plenty beat.IP sirdar sir</i>	<i>the sirdar used to beat (the Girmityas) a lot</i>
bohut māre <i>plenty beat.IP</i>	<i>(he) used to beat (the Girmityas) a lot</i>

Again, at level 2, Jasoda combines prosodic features with repetitions to emphasize the violent behaviour of the Sirdar towards the Girmityas. Jasoda sounds as though she is crying, when recollecting the Sirdar's brutality towards the Girmityas. Her use of the word *mār*, or beat, occurs throughout the narrative, beginning from this abstract, underlying the prevalence of violence on the plantation.

Both the evaluations above, while describing the themes, simultaneously outline Jasoda's positioning of the characters. On the one hand, the Girmityas are the victims of a harsh plantation system, and victims of the Sirdar's brutality. At the same time, the Sirdar is a brutal man, who enjoyed abusing his power over the other Girmityas.

The remainder of Jasoda's abstract is significant for level 3 of the analysis. She begins with 'but', and she contrasts herself with the other Girmityas she has just mentioned:

baki bheiya <i>but brother</i>	<i>but brother</i>
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ham āwā rā: (.h) 1 SG come.PFV AUX.PST	<i>(when) I came</i>
jeise abhei patrei se ↑rahe (.h) like now.IP thin.IP LOC AUX.IP	<i>(I was) as thin as (I am) now</i>
to ham bohot ↑darai (.h) TOP 1.SG plenty frightened	<i>I was very frightened</i>
to ham dar ke ↑māre: TOP 1.SG fright INV reason.IP	<i>because I was very frightened</i>
..... kari ↑kām do.IP work	<i>...(I) worked</i>

Reading between the lines is her claim that because she worked, she was not one of the Girmityas subjected to the Sirdar's brutality. This final aspect of her abstract will be picked up by the interviewer, and will form the onset of event narrative 2.

Orientation

Following her highly evaluated abstract, Jasoda provides an orientation section, at level 1 of the analysis. The orientation provides further details on the lines in which the first and final sets of complicating actions in this narrative take place:

jab ↑ae <i>when come</i>	<i>when (I) came</i>
tab sab↑ere (.h) <i>then morning</i>	<i>then (it was) morning</i>
ou ↑dis he <i>and give.PFV be.PROG</i>	<i>and (he) gave us</i>
↑etna <i>this.much</i>	<i>this much (living quarters)</i>
↑eise khu↑lā ↑lein <i>this.way open.PFV line</i>	<i>the line was open like this</i>
↑kutā āo ↑jāo <i>dog come.IMP go.IMP</i>	<i>with dogs coming and going</i>
hm	<i>hmm</i>
nawā banae rā [(h)] <i>new make.IP AUX.PFV</i>	<i>it was newly made</i>
A: [achhā] AFM	A: <i>okay</i>

In her final clauses, she provides more precise temporal and spatial information. These settings will have implications for the first set of complicating actions, which directly follow this orientation:

J: wei me <i>same LOC</i>	J: <i>in there</i>
bheiya <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>
kar †dīs <i>do PST.PFV</i>	<i>(he) had put us</i>
ham jāno chār baje <i>1.SG know.IMP four clock</i>	<i>I think at four am</i>
our †huwa khānā pāni †kā <i>and there food water where</i>	<i>and over there where (was the) food or water</i>
†kuch †nahi <i>some NEG</i>	<i>nothing</i>
weise so †we †rahe (.h) <i>that.same sleep.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>in that manner (the other Girmityas) were sleeping</i>

As illustrated at the onset of the life narrative, I have divided the remainder of the narrative into sub-narratives, by the spatial frame in which the events take place.

Event Sub-narrative 1a: In the lines

At level 1, because the seasoned Girmityas on the plantation had been asleep on their arrival, the new Girmityas were uninformed of the routine of the plantation. At level 2, Jasoda recollects her bewilderment when the Sirdar bellows for them to “*Get out*”, half an hour after their arrival in the lines. That he is yelling is apparent from the intonation pattern, which rises on the word *jāo*, or ‘go’:

sab †ere bole <i>morning say.IP</i>	<i>in the morning (he) said</i>
nikar †jāo <i>out go.IMP</i>	<i>get out</i>
nikar †jāo (.h) <i>out go.IMP</i>	<i>get out</i>

Jasoda's own thoughts, spoken aloud, express her incredulity, and bewilderment at the situation. Her intonation pattern rises on her exclamation: *e:* ↑*mālik* with a drawn out 'e'. She uses high intonation to indicate her incredulity, and consternation at the Sirdar's words:

to ham boli <i>TOP 1.SG say.FUT</i>	<i>I say</i>
↑e: ↑mālik <i>EXCLM God</i>	<i>EXCLAMATION God</i>
ab huwā se lewā <i>now there LOC bring.PFV</i>	<i>(he) has brought (us) from there</i>
ab ka↑hā ↑ni↓kāre ke bole <i>now where remove.IP INV say.IP</i>	<i>now where is (he) saying to go</i>

That the new Girmitiyas were unaware of the plantation routine, and were surprised to be woken up at half past four at night, is reflected in Jasoda's statement, at level 2 of the analysis. She places emphasis on the time, then pauses, before emphasizing that it was still dark:

A: our <u>kitnā</u> baje ↑sabere <i>and how.much clock morning</i>	A: <i>and what time in the morning</i>
J: sabere <i>morning</i>	J: <i>(in the) morning</i>
ham jāno <i>1.SG know.IMP</i>	<i>I think</i>
sāre <u>chār</u> ↑baje (.) <i>half four clock</i>	<i>half past four</i>
<u>rā:t</u> k <i>night ACCDUR</i>	<i>at night</i>
↑hā (.h) <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>
to ham ↑boli <i>TOP 1.SG say.FUT</i>	<i>I say</i>
↑ab i ↑kā ↑lei ↑jai (.h) <i>now 3.SG.PROX where take.IP go.IP</i>	<i>now where is he taking us</i>
tab <i>then</i>	<i>then</i>
er	<i>er</i>

ab <u>phin</u> jai hamlog <i>now again go.IP 1.PL</i>	<i>now (where do) we go again</i>
mare dar ke (.h) <i>reason.IP fright INV</i>	<i>in fear</i>
<u>chupe</u> †khare wei kotori me <i>quiet.IP stand.IP same container LOC</i>	<i>(we) stood quietly in the room</i>

Jasoda suspends the unfolding narration through a delayed orientation. The orientation is placed at a point between her and her husband's confusion, and the realization of why the Sirdar was ordering them to get out. The orientation foreshadows the final complicating action of the narrative. This delayed orientation emphasizes not only the lack of privacy and cramped living conditions, but, more importantly in this context, the Girmityas' vulnerability:

ou wā nā koi talā <i>and there NEG any lock</i>	<i>and there was no lock</i>
nā:=kuch <i>NEG some</i>	<i>or anything</i>
kuch †nei (.h) <i>some NEG</i>	<i>nothing</i>
eise † <u>pare</u> † <u>re</u> †nī†che (.h) <i>this.way lie.IP AUX.PFV down</i>	<i>and (we) had to lie like this on the floor</i>
e-etne baṛā <i>this.much big</i>	<i>this big</i>
etne baṛā †ghar (.h) <i>this.much big house</i>	<i>the house was this big</i>
wahi me †so: <i>that.same LOC sleep.IMP</i>	<i>and in that (we) had to sleep</i>
upar paṛā rā <i>LOC beam AUX.PFV</i>	<i>(there) were beams on top</i>
wei=m †khānā †banāo (.) <i>that.same.LOC food cook.IMP</i>	<i>in that (room we) had to cook</i>

Following the delayed orientation, Jasoda resumes the theme of the unfolding narration. She adds to the image of the new Girmityas' ignorance of the plantation routine, through a repetition of the Sirdar's orders. However, this time she elaborates on why he was ordering them to get out. Jasoda then expresses her own reaction on hearing the

Sirdar ordering them to work in the dark, half an hour after their arrival, without having had any food, drink or rest:

to bole <i>TOP say.IP</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
nikal jāo <i>out go.IMP</i>	<i>get out</i>
↑kām ↑kare <i>work do.IP</i>	<i>(you) have to work</i>
↑kām ↑kare <i>work do.IP</i>	<i>(you) have to work</i>
to ham boli <i>TOP 1.SG say.FUT</i>	<i>I say</i>
↑are (.h) <i>EXCLM</i>	<i>EXCLAMATION</i>

The confusion of the new Girmityas as the Sirdar yells outside their rooms, and their lack of awareness of the routine of the plantation, culminates in one of them getting beaten:

↓to ↓bhaiya <i>TOP brother</i>	<i>brother</i>
↓ka ↓kare ī <i>what do.IP 3.SG.PROX</i>	<i>what this one does</i>
u rah mandrā↑ji (.h) <i>3.SG.PROX AUX.PST South.Indian</i>	<i>there was a South Indian</i>
to u nei nikle <i>TOP 3.SG.REM NEG get.out.IP</i>	<i>he wasn't coming out</i>
↑pūja kar↑e <i>pray do.IP</i>	<i>(he) was praying</i>
>pūja kare <i>pray do.IP</i>	<i>(he) was praying</i>
to oke ↑māris< sardarwā (.) <i>TOP 3.SG.ACC beat.PFV sirdar.MOD</i>	<i>the sirdar beat him</i>

It is through the above excerpt that Jasoda begins her narration of the Girmityas' victimization on the plantation, at level 3 of the analysis. There is a pause in the narrative at the height of the complicating action, as Jasoda steps out of the narrative, at level 2, to remind the interviewer that this is what she witnessed on her first day:

↑ nei <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>
e <u>imān</u> se bolit <i>3.PROX faith LOC say.IP</i>	<i>this (I) am telling you honestly</i>
↑ betā [(h)] <i>son</i>	<i>son</i>
A: [sach bāt] <i>true talk</i>	A: <i>that's true</i>

Jasoda then re-enters the narrative at the point at which it was paused, and repeats the Sirdar's reaction:

J: māris <i>beat.PFV</i>	J: <i>(he) beat (the man)</i>
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At level 2 of the analysis, the incident is highly evaluated. Jasoda uses repetitions of both the Girmitya's act of praying, and the Sirdar's reaction to the Girmitya's praying:

(he) was praying
(he) was praying
the sirdar beat him...
(he) beat (the man)

In addition to repetition, Jasoda allows the interlocutors to follow her stance on the incident through the use of pro-drop and anaphoric prominence, combined with the use of prosodic markers. Jasoda emphasizes the *act* of praying through pro-drop, as well as emphasis on the last syllable of 'pray', and a rising intonation as she describes the action:

↑ pūjā kar↑e <i>pray do.IP</i>	<i>(he) was praying</i>
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This is followed by acceleration in speech, as she describes the outcome:

>pūja kare pray do.IP	(he) was praying
to oke ↑ <u>māris</u> < sardarwā (.) TOP 3.SG.ACC beat.PFV sirdar.MOD	the sirdar beat him

Jasoda also emphasizes the act of beating, through rising intonation, and stress:

↑ māris

beat.PFV

In addition, she emphasizes that it is the Sirdar, who is the agent of this act of beating a man praying: ‘the sirdar beat him’.

The repetitions, the use of pro-drop to emphasize the act, and the use of anaphoric prominence to emphasize the Sirdar’s action, as well as the rising intonation, and stress on the acts of praying, and beating, indicate that, from Jasoda’s point of view, the Sirdar’s actions were extremely barbaric and unjustifiable. His actions epitomize the breakdown of Jasoda’s moral world view, at level 2. At the end of her description of the Sirdar’s action, she pauses, to allow the interlocutors’ to realize her disapproval of the Sirdar’s behaviour, before describing the outcome of the beating:

bichārā puja kā bas unfortunate.man pray ACC enough eise peine rā this.way wear.IP AUX.PST	the unfortunate (man) was only wearing like this (a loincloth) for prayer
> ↑ <u>bhagā</u> < (.) run.PFV	(he) ran (out)
ou hamoulōᅇ and 1.RFLX.PL	and we
bheiya brother	brother
nikal ke (.h) got.out COMP	got out

From the narrative, it is difficult to ascertain the motives behind the Sirdar’s actions. That is, was the Sirdar a North Indian man showing contempt for a South Indian man, or was the Sirdar using the man as a scapegoat, to warn the new Girmityas of the

repercussions for not obeying his orders? What Jasoda does establish, through the narrative up to this point, is the violence of the Sirdar, which she had mentioned in her abstract.

Event Sub-narrative 1b: On the plantation

After the confusion in the lines, the women are taken to the plantation by the Sirdar:

tab ↑kā kāre: <i>then what do.IP</i>	<i>then what (he) does</i>
kh- ↓chole g↑anāk tab gei (.h) <i>cut.IP sugarcane.ACC then go.IP</i>	<i>then (3rd P) went to cut sugarcane</i>
<↑gei <i>go.IP</i>	<i>(3rd P) went</i>
↑ab <i>now</i>	<i>now</i>
↑bheiya <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>
↑dhā:ri ↑pakrāis> (.) <i>sugarcane.clump hold.PFV</i>	<i>(he) made (us) hold the clump of sugarcane</i>
↑samjho ↑dhā:ri [(.)] <i>understand.IMP sugarcane.clump</i>	<i>do (you) understand dhari</i>
A: [jī] <i>AFM</i>	<i>A: yes</i>
J: pakrāis <i>hold.PFV</i>	<i>J: (he made us) hold</i>

The lack of understanding of what Girmityas holds for the new Girmityas, and their lack of experience in the tasks meted out to them is, again, apparent in the description of the women's plight:

to bole <i>TOP say</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
ab ↑cholo <i>now cut.IMP</i>	<i>now begin</i>
↑cholo <i>cut.IMP</i>	<i>begin</i>

↓sardhār bole <i>sirdar say</i>	<i>sirdar said</i>
↑chalo <i>go.IMP</i>	<i>go</i>

In describing the scene, at level 2 of the analysis, Jasoda uses the Sirdar's speech, and then repeats it in the form of reported speech. In this manner, she emphasizes that it was the Sirdar's orders that they cut the cane, and because of their fear of him, the women attempted to do so:

to weise āurat ↑pakare <i>TOP that.way woman hold.IP</i>	<i>in that way the women would hold (the cane)</i>
to ab kabi ↓chole ↓nei <i>TOP now ever cut.IP NEG</i>	<i>now (they) had never cut (cane)</i>
↓hā:t ↑kat ↑jae (.h) <i>hand cut happen.IP</i>	<i>(they) cut (their) hand</i>
↑our ↑chilā:ni sab āurat <i>and scream.PFV all woman</i>	<i>and all the women screamed</i>
<↑are ↑māi <i>EXCLM mother</i>	<i>EXCLAMATION mother</i>
↑are ↑dādā> (.h) <i>EXCLM father</i>	<i>EXCLAMATION father</i>

Jasoda incorporates intonation in her description of the women's plight. She begins with a fall in intonation, which gradually rises, as she describes the women's inability to cut cane, cutting their hands instead. Jasoda holds the image of the women cutting their hands, and screaming in pain, by continuing with the high intonation pattern. The women's cries of pain are marked with a slowing down of speech, again, with high intonation. The women's cries become cries of lamentation, as they realize what Girmīt holds for them.

Jasoda suspends the narration to speak directly to the interviewer, at level 2. She evaluates the Sirdar through the pain and suffering he brings to the women:

eise kare <i>this.way do.IP</i>	<i>this is how (he) did</i>
bheiya (.h) <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>

At level 2, the use of choral dialogue (Tannen, 2007: 114-115) for the women crying, contributes to the positioning of the Sirdar as the antagonist. He is positioned as a man who shows no mercy to the women, who are unskilled, and ill prepared for the tasks that he orders them to perform. This image is further strengthened by the choral dialogue, in the form of reported speech by the more experienced Girmityas. Their words warn the women to continue with the task at hand, or receive beatings. Jasoda pauses, after explaining that the women had to continue cutting the cane, or be beaten by the Sirdar, to allow the interlocutors to understand their hardship:

bole cholo ↓nei <i>say.IP cut.IMP NEG</i>	<i>(they) said (if you) don't cut</i>
↑māri (.) <i>beat.FUT</i>	<i>(he) will beat (you)</i>

The warning is repeated, again in the form of choral dialogue, by the experienced Girmityas, that the women must continue with the work, or the Overseer would also beat them. For both warnings, Jasoda emphasizes ↑māri (.) ‘will beat’ and ↑bout ↑māri (.) ‘beat you a lot’ through the placement of high intonation on these words, followed by a pause. The combination of high intonation and pause is in contrast to the surrounding utterance, and, hence, has greater impact:

bole cholo ↓nei <i>say.IP cut.IMP NEG</i>	<i>(they) said (if you) don't cut</i>
↑māri (.) <i>beat.FUT</i>	<i>(he) will beat (you)</i>
↑āi ↑gorā <i>come.FUT Englishman</i>	<i>the overseer will come</i>
gorā āt baje āwe <i>Englishman eight clock come.IP</i>	<i>the overseer would come (at) eight o'clock</i>
pāni wala ↑pakre [(h)] <i>water MOD catch.IP</i>	<i>with the waterman</i>

A: [hm]	A: <i>hmm</i>
J: tab u jāi ↑huwā <i>then 3 REM go.PFV there</i>	J: <i>then he would go there</i>
↑fild ↑me <i>field LOC</i>	<i>into the field</i>
to dekhe <i>TOP see.IP</i>	<i>to inspect</i>
to bole āi=k <i>TOP say come.FUT.COMP</i>	<i>(they) said when (he) comes</i>
↑bout ↑māri (.h) <i>plenty beat.FUT</i>	<i>(he) will beat (you) a lot</i>

Jasoda suspends her narration. This is again to appeal directly to the interviewer, at level 2, to sympathize with the women, to whose plight she is bearing witness:

<bheyā: <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>
ab kahā chole <i>now where cut</i>	<i>now how can (they) cut</i>
u ↑pakar ↑ke eise> (.) <i>3.REM hold COMP this.way</i>	<i>(they) hold it like this</i>
>pakar ka thān< <i>hold COMP bunch</i>	<i>(they) hold the bunch (of sugarcane)</i>
↑rowe āurate <i>cry.IP woman.PL</i>	<i>(and) the women cry</i>
↑hā (.h) <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>

In addition to the positioning of the Girmityas, and the Sirdar, Jasoda indicates her own positioning as character, through repetitions of her response to the harsh plantation climate. In describing her emotions on the first day, she repeats the word *dar* or ‘fear’, usually in conjunction with *māre* or ‘beat’. For Jasoda, this fear is the motivating factor behind her actions as a new Girmitya:

ham to māre dar ke bout darai <i>1.SG TOP beat.IP fright INV plenty frightened.IP</i>	<i>I was very frightened of being beaten</i>
betā (.h) <i>son</i>	<i>son</i>
i otne dur lei gawa (.) <i>3.PROX only.that.much far take went.PFV</i>	<i>(I) only took (it) this far</i>
dwi deg <i>two yard</i>	<i>two yards</i>
māre dar ke māre <i>reason.IP fright INV reason.IP</i>	<i>in fear of being beaten</i>
↑ hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>

The Overseer is now introduced to the scene, at level 1. The arrival of the Overseer at eight am, with his whip, adds to the complicating action. There is an increase in the fear, and consternation of the new Girmityas that they will be beaten:

phin āwā <i>after come.PFV</i>	<i>then (he) had come</i>
sāheb āwā (.h) <i>sahib come.PFV</i>	<i>the sahib had come</i>
↑ are ↑ bheiya <i>EXCLM brother</i>	<i>EXCLAMATION brother</i>
chābuk hilāwe (.h) <i>whip shake.IP</i>	<i>(he) shakes the whip</i>
hilāwe <i>shake.IP</i>	<i>(he) shakes (it)</i>
ha <i>AFM</i>	<i>Yes</i>
māris ↑ neī: (.h) <i>beat.3.SG.PFV NEG</i>	<i>(he) didn't beat (anyone)</i>
baki chābuk hilāwe <i>but whip shake.IP</i>	<i>but (he) kept shaking the whip</i>
↑ ha <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>

The fear, that is now palpable in Jasoda's description, is felt through the combination of the women's tears and cries of pain, with the attestation of the more seasoned Girmityas

of the beatings that the new Girmityas will receive if they do not complete their tasks, as well as Jasoda's admission of her own fear. Having witnessed the Sirdar's brutality towards them, the new Girmityas would have been in greater fear at the arrival of the Overseer with his whip. The result of their fear is seen below:

phir ↑ka ↑kare <i>again what do.IP</i>	<i>then what to do</i>
↑koi ↑roe ↑gāe ↑ke <i>some cry.IP sing.IP COMP</i>	<i>some cried (and completed)</i>
↑koi ↑ek ↑deg <i>some one yard</i>	<i>some one yard</i>
↑dwi ↑deg (.h) <i>two yard</i>	<i>(some) two yards</i>
↑tin ↑deg <i>three yard</i>	<i>three yards</i>
eise <i>this way</i>	<i>this way</i>
achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>okay</i>

Hence, again, there is the image of confusion of the new Girmityas. There is also the shock of their experience of the first day. In addition, there is their fear of the violence of the authorities, who held power over the Girmityas, and were quick to remind the Girmityas of their position, at level 3, on the plantation.

Event Sub-narrative 1c: Back in the lines

The final sub-narrative returns to the spatial frame of the first sub-narrative. There is, again, mention of the clash of the Girmityas' norms and values with the plantation environment, but with a point of difference. In this section of the narrative, the Girmityas are no longer portrayed as confused and ignorant at level 1; rather, in this final sub-narrative, with the Girmityas now initiated in the workings of Gimit on their plantation, the focus, at level 3 of the analysis, is on their adaptation to this harsh environment.

Jasoda emphasizes the length of time they spent working on the plantation. At the end of this description, the final set of complicating actions take place:

to sanjhā log wehi me (.h) <i>TOP evening people that.same LOC</i>	<i>people (spent until) the evening in that place</i>
phin sanjhāk ↓chhuti ↓dis <i>again evening.ACCDUR leave give.3.SG.PFV</i>	<i>then in the evening (he) gave (us) leave</i>
chār baje= <i>four clock</i>	<i>(at) four o'clock</i>
=chār nei <i>four NEG</i>	<i>no not four</i>
pāch baje (.h) <i>five clock</i>	<i>five o'clock</i>

The Girmityas return to the lines, and to the rations they had received that morning:

<ab ↑ae ↑ghare <i>now come house</i>	<i>and now (3rd P) came home</i>
↑huwā ↑kahi ↑kuch ↑nahi> (.h) <i>there somewhere some NEG</i>	<i>there was nothing there</i>
wei jab ↑utāre ↑rahe <i>that.same when.IP take.off.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>only that when (they) had taken (us) off the boat</i>
to etna etna baṛa <i>TOP this.much this.much big</i> theli diye re ātā ke (.h) <i>bag give.IP AUX.IP flour ACC</i>	<i>(they) had given this size bag of flour</i>
↑dhā:l ↑chī:ni ↑chāu:r (.h) <i>dhal sugar rice</i>	<i>dhal, sugar, rice</i>
our ek ek e poun <i>and one one pound</i>	<i>and one pound</i>
i kānā: <i>3.PROX what's.this</i>	<i>what's this</i>
>ghiu< <i>ghee</i>	<i>ghee</i>
hm	<i>hmm</i>

At level 2, Jasoda indicates her sympathy for the Girmityas through the term *bichāre* or 'unfortunate people'. She describes the Girmityas' digging of cooking holes in their rooms at the end of a long and hard working day:

tab bi↑chāre ↑phin ↑kā ↑kare ↑ab <i>then unfortunate.people again what do.IP now</i>	<i>then these unfortunate people now what do (they) do</i>
ab huwā ↑kāhā ↑banawe (.h) <i>now there where make.IP</i>	<i>now where do (they) make (food)</i>
to ↑kuch ↑rahbe ↑na ↑kein (.h) <i>TOP some AUX.PST.INF NEG do.IP</i>	<i>there was nothing</i>
tab kā kare <i>then what do.IP</i>	<i>then what do (they) do</i>
kei ↑khod ↑khād ↑dei <i>somewhere dig MOD PST</i>	<i>somewhere (they) dug a hole</i>
ei gharwā=m <i>that.same house.MOD.LOC</i>	<i>inside that room</i>
↑khod ↑khād <i>dig MOD</i>	<i>dug (a hole)</i>
↑ek ↑tharyā ↑rei our lotā <i>one dish AUX.PST and jug</i>	<i>there was one bowl and one jug</i>
muluk=m rahā hamār <i>country.LOC AUX.PST 1.GEN</i>	<i>we had in India</i>
[hm]	<i>hmm</i>
A: [(.h)]	A: (.h)

Jasoda suspends her narration, again through the use of delayed orientation. This time she provides further information on her motivation to become a Girmitya:

J: hamlog ↓rāji ↑se ↑āwā ↑rāh <i>1.PL willingly INS come.PFV AUX.PST</i>	J: <i>we had come of our own accord</i>
jhut kāi boli (.h) <i>lie why say.FUT</i>	<i>why (should I) lie</i>
u laṛkā gawā lagāi ↑larkan ↑bāp <i>3.REM boy went put children father</i>	<i>the children's father met an arkhati</i>
↑e bole <i>3.PROX say.IP</i>	<i>who said</i>
huwā bohut peisā <i>there plenty money</i>	<i>(there was) plenty money there</i>
↑hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>
to wei pati= m par ↑ge <i>TOP that.same deceive.LOC fall go.IP</i>	<i>(the children's father) fell for that same trick</i>

to wei <i>TOP that.same</i> sarcasm ↑bout ↑peisā ↑kamāe ↑āe ↑rahe <i>plenty money earn.IP come.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>(he) came to earn that same plenty money</i>
↑hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>

In her explanation, Jasoda absents herself from the meeting, which led to her, and her husband, becoming Girmityas. In her identity construction, at level 3, she constructs the ‘obedient wife’ through her silence, which is considered a positive identity in the cultural narratives (Holland, Lachichote, Skinner & Cain, 1998: 214-232). In the context of this narration, her affirmation that she and her husband had come willingly holds implications for their expectations of Girmityas. These expectations were, most probably, in stark contrast to the reality of the plantation environment, for which, as Jasoda has illustrated through this narrative, they were unprepared, and to which, as she illustrates in the following excerpt, they attempted to adapt.

Jasoda returns to the present time of the narrative. At level 3, in addition to adapting their cooking methods, the Girmityas adapted their customs and traditions to fit their new environment. Those values that did not fit the plantation environment were either modified or replaced with a new set of norms, that were more attuned to the Girmityas environment:

to muluk me to barā ↑dhonj ↑he <i>TOP country LOC TOP big proclamation be.PRS</i>	<i>in India there is a strong custom</i>
banāwā khāe nahi āurat <i>make.PFV eat.IP NEG woman</i>	<i>that (the man) doesn't eat the food the wife has cooked</i>
jale ↓nahāw ↓nahi <i>until shower NEG</i>	<i>until (he has) had a shower</i>
↓dho ↓nahi <i>wash NEG</i>	<i>(until he has) washed</i>
jale ↓dhoti ↓nei ↓pehino <i>until dhoti NEG wear.IMP</i>	<i>until (he has) worn (new) dhoti</i>
tab inke bāp apne ba ↑nāe <i>and 3.PROX.GEN father 2.SG.FOM.RFLX make.IP</i>	<i>then his father himself cooked</i>

o apne ham↑ou=k ↑diye <i>and 2.SG.FOM.RFLX 1.SG.RFLX.DAT give.IP</i>	<i>and himself gave me (some)</i>
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The final section of the sub-narrative becomes a description of routine. This is emphasized through the use of *phin* or ‘again’:

bheyā <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>
thorā bohut ↑khāe ↑wāe (.h) <i>little plenty eat.IP MOD</i>	<i>(1st P) ate a little bit</i>
wei jhu:ri↑↑roti <i>that.same dry roti</i>	<i>that same dry roti</i>
eise ↑bā:nd ke <i>this.way tie COMP</i>	<i>(1st P) tied in this way</i>
hiā <i>here</i>	<i>here</i>
rumā:l me <i>handkerchief LOC</i>	<i>in a handkerchief</i>
our le ge ↑phin <i>and take.IP go.IP again</i>	<i>and (the sirdar) took (us) again</i>
↑phin ↑wahi ↑kām <i>again that.same work</i>	<i>again that same work</i>
↑hm	<i>hmm</i>

Coda

The above description of routine ends on the coda for *The First Day*, which repeats the theme in the abstract of the violence of the Sirdar. Hence, the coda, combined with the final clauses of the sub-narrative above, function, at level 2, as a summary, and re-emphasis of the main themes of the first event narrative. In addition, Jasoda’s use of the imperfective form (IP) underlines that this also will be the routine of their life on the plantation:

ou jon kām nahi kare <i>and the.one work NEG do.IP</i>	<i>and the one who didn’t work</i>
oke bohut māre <i>3.SG.REM.DAT plenty beat.IP</i>	<i>(he) used to beat that person a lot</i>

The theme expressed in the coda, of the violence on the plantation, is picked up by the interviewer in his next question. This becomes the of the abstract of the second event narrative:

A: āp ko kabi mār lagā thā 2.SG.FOM DAT ever beat PST.PFV AUX.PST	A: <i>did you ever get beaten</i>
mā ↑ji <i>mother</i>	<i>mother</i>

In this way, a central theme of event narrative 1 flows into event narrative 2, thereby maintaining coherence and linkage between the narratives, at level 2 of the analysis.

9.3 Event Narrative 2: I was hit

Abstract

At level 2 of the analysis, while the theme is maintained in the interviewer's question, there is a slight modification. The interviewer is now asking Jasoda about her own experience of these beatings that she has just mentioned. This sets off a new narrative, beginning with Jasoda's adamant denial of ever being beaten:

J: ↑are ↑rājā EXCLM Raja	J: EXCLAMATION son
ham jut nahi bolit 1.SG lie NEG say.IP	<i>I am not lying</i>
↑pa:nche ↑ham ↑kabur ↑me ↑gor ↑latkā:e almost 1.SG grave LOC leg hang.IP	<i>(I) swear as I am almost in my grave</i>
ham nei māre 1.SG NEG beat.IP	<i>I never got beaten</i>
kabhi nei ever NEG	<i>never</i>
ham ↑derāi bohut (.h) 1.SG frightened.IP plenty	<i>I was too frightened</i>

The question arises as to why immediately after this emphatic denial she then describes an incident that culminates in the Overseer hitting her. The answer becomes apparent

when comparing event narratives 2 and 3. Jasoda is indicating, through the illustration in event narrative 2, that the only time that she suffered at the hands of the plantation authorities, it was no more than a slap. Moreover, the slap was unjustified. This slap, in her opinion, was not severe enough to constitute a beating, particularly when juxtaposed on the actions in event narrative 3.

At the end of the above extract, Jasoda mentions her fear. This fear is salient in event narrative 1, particularly in the first two sub-narratives. However, in event narrative 2, the fear that Jasoda feels as a Girmitya, and her position of subservience, and obedience so as not to attract the wrath of the plantation authorities, is replaced with anger and indignation on behalf of her child.

In this narrative, therefore, Jasoda presents two aspects of identity construction at level 3, one as a mother, and the other as a Girmitya, who was not beaten. Both these positions become apparent when the narrative is seen in its context within the life narrative.

Complicating action

At level 1, Jasoda outlines the complicating action of this narrative:

hamā 1.SG.GEN	<i>I had</i>
>e<	<i>er</i>
ī: hamār ek laṭkā rahā 3 PROX 1.SG.GEN one boy AUX.PST	<i>I had a son</i>
n↑ei (.h) NEG	<i>no</i>
to dāi.k ghar me de ↑āe TOP nanny.GEN house LOC give come.IP	<i>(I) left (him) at the nanny's house</i>
tab uskā dāi <u>māris</u> then 3.REM nanny beat.PFV	<i>then the nanny beat him</i>

At level 2, Jasoda pauses the unfolding narration, to provide a character evaluation of the Nanny:

māris <i>beat.PFV</i>	<i>(she) beat (him)</i>
āur dhamrāi pur †āni †rahi (.h) <i>and worker.F old.F AUX.PST</i>	<i>and (she) was an old hand</i>
u anrezi †bāt †jānat †rahi (.h) <i>3.SG English talk know.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>she knew the English language</i>

Jasoda resumes her narrative, but maintains the narration at level 2 of the analysis. She gives credibility to her claim that the Nanny had hit her son, through the use of another Girmitya. This woman Girmitya is a witness to the event:

u laṛkā hamār rowe <i>3.REM boy 1.SG.GEN cry.IP</i>	<i>my son was crying</i>
to hamse ek āurat †batāis (.h) <i>TOP 1.SG.LOC one woman tell.PFV</i>	<i>another woman had told me</i>

Jasoda, with the evidence of the eye witness, confronts the Nanny:

to ose hamse thorā tantā <i>TOP 3.SG.LOC 1^SSG.LOC small argument</i>	<i>(between) she and I a small argument</i>
āuratyā se <i>woman.MOD LOC</i>	<i>with the woman</i>
dāis <i>nanny.LOC</i>	<i>with the nanny</i>
hoe lagā (.h) <i>happen PST.PFV</i>	<i>began to happen</i>

Jasoda again pauses the unfolding narration. She does so to repeat her character evaluation of the Nanny, which in her opinion has a bearing on the outcome of the complicating action. At level 2, the Nanny's lack of Indianness is also emphasized, to position her as part of the 'other' with the Overseer:

to u <i>TOP 3.REM</i>	<i>she</i>
ab <i>now</i>	<i>now</i>
u to anreji †parhi †rahi <i>3.REM TOP English read.PFV AUX.PST</i>	<i>she could read English</i>

> <u>damrāi</u> purāni rahi < worker.F old.F AUX.PST	<i>she was an old hand</i>
>netāl ke< (.h) Natal ACCLOC	<i>from Natal</i>

Resolution

The result of the argument is situated at level 2 of the analysis: the Nanny tells the Overseer, and the Overseer accuses Jasoda, rather than the Nanny, of being the perpetrator of the argument. From her voice, it is clear that Jasoda feels the Overseer has acted unjustly towards her. She indicates disbelief at the outcome:

<u>Incredulity in voice</u> to u TOP 3.REM	<i>he</i>
_____	<i>EXPLETIVE</i>
sār EXP	
_____	<i>really</i>
jarur really	
_____	<i>had hit me like this</i>
hamre eise mār dhis 1.SG this.way hit give.PFV	
bole say.IP	<i>(he) said</i>
↑jāo go.IMP	<i>go</i>
aspatāl lei jāo hospital take go.IMP	<i>take him to the hospital</i>

At level 2, in addition to Jasoda's intonation pattern, revealing her outrage at the Overseer's action, Jasoda also changes her referential term for the Overseer. In *The First Day*, she referred to him as *Sahib* on his arrival onto the plantation. This is a term of respect. Now she calls him *Gorwa*.

In terms of a politeness hierarchy of referential terms for the Overseer there is:

<i>Sahib</i>	translates as	Sir
<i>Gora</i>	translates as	the Englishman
<i>Gorwa</i>	translates as	that Englishman

Jasoda has, therefore, used the least respectful referential term for the Overseer in this narrative. This reflects her opinion, at level 2, of the Overseer as a man who has been placed in a position of authority, but is unable to provide an impartial judgement:

A: kisne mārā thā āp †ko <i>who hit.PFV AUX.PST 2.SG.FOM DAT</i>	A: <i>who hit you</i>
J: u gorwā <i>3.REM Englishman.MOD</i>	J: <i>that overseer</i>
†ha <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>

Still at level 2 of the analysis, Jasoda's excerpt, below, illustrates the order in which the Overseer responds to the conflict between Jasoda and the Nanny. The Overseer first hits Jasoda, and then asks her for her side of the story:

<u>Sounds indignant</u> bole <i>say.IP</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
_____	<i>why do (you) argue with the nanny</i>
†kāe †jhagrā †karo dāis <i>why argue do.IMP nanny.LOC</i>	
_____	<i>why do (you) argue</i>
↓kāi ↓jhagrā ↓karo (.h) <i>why argue do.IMP</i>	

Jasoda tries to make the Overseer see the injustice of her punishment. She emphasizes that the nanny was beating her son. She again stresses the word †*māre* or 'beat', and she uses rising intonation to express the Nanny's atrocity, and the reasons for Jasoda's own reaction. However, her protestations are to no avail:

ham bolā 1.SG say.PFV	<i>I said</i>
↑māre ↑hamre ↑laṛkā beat.IP 1.SG.GEN boy	<i>she is beating my son</i>

In the Overseer's eyes, Jasoda is the perpetrator of the conflict. This positioning, as Jasoda indicates, does not coincide with the construction of events. The emphasis on the facts that the Nanny was an old hand on the plantation, and that she could speak English, the language of the Overseer, are, therefore, important at level 2, in illustrating Jasoda's point of view on the result of the conflict. This is evident from the placement of these evaluations:

What started it all:

Nanny hits her son

Remember:

Nanny hits her son

But:

Nanny is an old hand

Nanny can speak English

Witness:

Another Girmitya witnesses the incident and informs Jasoda

Therefore:

Jasoda and the Nanny have an argument because of this

But remember:

Nanny is an old hand

Nanny can speak English

Nanny is not Indian

Therefore:

Overseer accuses Jasoda of being the perpetrator of the argument and hits Jasoda

Jasoda's complaint that the nanny had beaten her son is, therefore, dismissed by the Overseer. When Jasoda's demeanour in event narrative 1 is contrasted with her demeanour in this event narrative, there is a lot more agency in Jasoda's actions in this

second narrative. She is not cowed by the Overseer, despite being slapped by him. This is in stark contrast to the second sub-narrative in *The first day*, when Jasoda is in complete fear of being whipped by the Overseer.

Coda

In the coda, Jasoda uses deictic expressions to indicate the end of the narrative. It is through the coda that Jasoda also provides an explanation for her agency. In event narrative 1, her identity was that of a Girmitya, but in this narrative, it is of a mother-and-Girmitya:

wei pahile laṛkā bhe rā (.h) <i>that.same first boy happen.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>that was my first child</i>
ham jano <i>1.SG know.IMP</i>	<i>I think</i>
koi: †athārā lage nagich <i>some eighteen close near</i>	<i>(I) was close to eighteen</i>
tab bhe rā <i>then happen.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>then (I) had my first child</i>
†phiji=m <i>Fiji.LOC</i>	<i>in Fiji</i>
u †lāutokā <i>3.REM Lautoka</i>	<i>in Lautoka</i>

9.4 Event Narrative 3: She was beaten

Jasoda reinforces her opinion that she was never beaten by contrasting the violence in event narrative 3 with the violence that she experienced in event narrative 2.

Abstract

The interviewer's question forms part of the abstract of the narrative:

A: achhā <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>okay</i>
ou logo ko āp <i>more people DAT 2.SG.FOM</i> piṭe hue †dekhā <i>beat.IP happen.IP see.PFV</i>	<i>had you seen any other people being beaten</i>

Jasoda's response to this, at level 2, is an evaluation. It is not a simple affirmative; rather, her response leaves the impression that she had seen many beatings during her Girit:

J: ↑are: <i>EXCLM</i>	J: <i>EXCLAMATION</i>
nā kaho (.h) <i>NEG speak.IMP</i>	<i>don't ask</i>

Complicating action

The complicating action here is highly evaluated, at level 2 of the analysis. From her use of the imperfective form (IP), it would appear that the beating had been happening for a while, before Jasoda witnessed it. Jasoda uses high intonation when describing the woman on the floor, indicating the woman's agony:

ek āurat↑yā ↑lote <i>one woman.MOD roll.IP</i>	<i>one woman was writhing (on the floor)</i>
↑garyāwe (.h) <i>swear.IP</i>	<i>(while he) was swearing</i>

She also uses high intonation when describing the Sirdar's actions, to indicate the severity of his beatings:

↑khu:b ↑māre <i>plenty beat.IP</i>	<i>(he) kept beating (her)</i>
---------------------------------------	--------------------------------

In addition to the high intonation pattern, and use of IP, Jasoda draws out the word ↑*khu:b* 'plenty', followed by a deceleration in speech when repeating the word 'beat' <↑*māre* ↑*māre*>, indicating that the beating, and swearing, went on for a long time:

<↑ <i>māre</i> <i>beat.IP</i>	<i>(and) beating (her)</i>
↑ <i>māre</i> > (.h) <i>beat.IP</i>	<i>(and) beating (her)</i>
ou ↑ <i>khub</i> ↑ <i>gāri</i> ↑ <i>de</i> <i>and plenty swear give</i>	<i>and (he) kept swearing (at her)</i>

khub gāri de <i>plenty swear give</i>	<i>(he) was swearing (at her)</i>
jetnā ose hoe saket <i>as.much 3.SG.REM.LOC happen.PRS can.IP</i>	<i>(he) was swearing as much as (he) could</i>

Through his actions, Jasoda reinforces the position of the Sirdar as the main antagonist of her life narrative.

Through the juxtaposition of this narrative on Jasoda's previous narrative, she is able to justify why it is that she claims to never have been beaten. What this woman is undergoing, in Jasoda's opinion, is a beating, and it is this sort of violence, or beating, that she did not experience on the plantation.

9.5 Habitual Narrative: The consequences of a failed resistance

In her first narrative, Jasoda illustrated the punishment for disobedience, and ignorance. In the final section of her life narrative, Jasoda illustrates the punishment for attempted resistance.

Descriptive Abstract

The abstract is, again, jointly constructed between the interviewer and Jasoda. The interviewer's question forms the first component of the abstract:

A: āpne abhi batāya <i>2.SG.FOM.RFLX now tell.PFV</i>	A: <i>you yourself have just told us</i>
↑ māji <i>mother</i>	<i>mother</i>
āploṅ <i>2.PL.FOM</i>	<i>you</i>
er	<i>er</i>
ganā ke patā <i>sugarcane GEN</i>	<i>sugarcane</i>
er	<i>er</i>
> ganā ke pati nikāl rahe <i>sugarcane GEN leaf take.off AUX.IP</i> the < (.h) <i>AUX.PST</i>	<i>that you were taking the leaves off the sugarcane</i>

iske ilāwā 3PROX.ACC apart.from	other than this
↑our ↑kon ↑kon ↑kām <u>istiryō</u> [ko] more which which work women.PL DAT	what other work did the women
J: [ou] and	J: and
A: >karnā partā ↑tha< do.PFV OBL.IP AUX.PST	A: have to do

Jasoda's reply forms the remainder of the abstract, supplying an overview of the work they did during Girmīt:

J: our ganā ↓bo and sugarcane plant.IMP	J: and plant sugarcane
>↓ganā ↓bo< sugarcane plant.IMP	plant sugarcane
hā AFM	yes
A: [>kudāri chalānā<] hoe walk.PFV	A: hoeing
J: [ganā ↑bo] ou: (.h) sugarcane plant.IMP and	J: planting sugarcane and
ī: bheyā: (.h) 3.PROX brother	this brother
eh	eh
sarak par road LOC	on the road
er	er
ī: ↑sipi se banāo 3.PROX spade INS make.IMP	this had to be made with the spade
u <u>matī</u> bālam karo 3.REM soil tamp do.IMP	and the soil had to be flattened

At level 2 of the analysis, the interviewer’s statement “*you just told us mother that you had to take the leaves off the sugarcane*” helps to tie the theme of this habitual narrative with that of event narrative 1, the theme of hard labour during Girit. This linking is necessary as the theme of the previous event narrative, the violence of Girit, does not flow into this habitual narrative.

Descriptive orientation

Before elaborating on the work that she performed during Girit, Jasoda explains the change in spatial frame that takes place in this final section of her life narrative:

a	<i>er</i>
bheyā <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>
↑hia ↑jab ↑badli ↑bhei (.) <i>here when change happen</i>	<i>when (we) were transferred here</i>
hamār jahāji log thorā garbar kare <i>1.SG.GEN ship people small mistake do.IP</i>	<i>my shipmates were making some trouble</i>
↑nei <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>
to hīā aei <i>TOP here come</i>	<i>(we) came here</i>

Jasoda flattens this section of her narration, which is at level 2 of the analysis. She does not provide details as to what the trouble was that her shipmates caused, and her positioning here is unclear. Nor is it clear as to why Jasoda, and presumably her husband, was transferred with her shipmates:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Created trouble	Transferred to Papalagi for two years
Jasoda	(z)?	
Shipmates+Jasoda		x
Shipmates-Jasoda	y	
Plantation Authorities		y

This positioning appears to mean that the Girmityas had attempted to put up some form of resistance, but this resistance failed. As punishment, the Girmityas were sent to Papalagi, to work in the swamps for almost two years.

Descriptive complicating action

The complicating action is in two parts. It is divided by the spatial frame of Papalagi and Daku. Moreover, in Papalagi, the narration is further divided by the tasks the Girmityas performed.

Habitual sub-narrative a: The swamp in Papalagi

It would appear, from her description, that the work here was more excessive than in her previous place of Girit. While they were woken at half-past four in Lautoka, here, in Papalagi, they were woken at half-past three. In addition, now, they were expected to work in the swamp, while in Lautoka they worked on dry land:

m-e-tin baje uthā ↑ we <i>three clock get.up.IP</i>	<i>(they) woke (1st/3rd P) up at three o'clock</i>
>teri ↑ me khaṛā kare< <i>swamp LOC stand do.IP</i>	<i>(they) made (1st/3rd P) stand in the swamp</i>

Jasoda distances herself from the work that was done in the swamp. At level 1, as seen in the excerpt, it is difficult to know if Jasoda classifies herself as part of the Girmityas, who are carrying out the work:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Woken at 3.30 am	Stood in the swamp	Cut peat	Throw	Put on head	Hit	Watch	Feel like crying	Built road to Labasa
Jasoda							z	z	
Shipmates+Jasoda	x	(x)?							y
Shipmates-Jasoda		(x)?	y	y	y	y			
Plantation Authorities	y	y	(z)?	(z)?	(z)?	(z)?			

This ambiguity is because she drops the referential pronoun in the two clauses above. The structure, with the use of the IP suffix (-e), positions the actions as being carried out by 3rd Person Exclusive agents. But whether Jasoda is positioning herself as part of the recipients of this action is unclear. I have indicated this ambiguity by marking the recipients as 1st/3rd P, and not marking for inclusiveness.

For the remainder of the section, the IP suffix (-e) clearly indicates that the action is carried out by 3rd Person Exclusive agents, that is, the other Girmityas. Jasoda uses repetitions of deictic expressions, as she describes the work that the Girmityas had to do. The use of the deictic expressions *etnā* ‘this much’, and *eise* ‘this way’, would have been accompanied by gestures, unseen by the secondary interlocutors. Nevertheless, they add to the theme that there was a lot of work done, under harsh conditions:

>↑jo↓wār jab utar jāe< <i>tide when get.off go.IP</i>	<i>once the tide went down</i>
to etnā etnā ↓chi↑pā ↑kate <i>TOP this.much this.much peat cut.IP</i>	<i>(they) cut this much this much peat</i>
to ↑mur par dharo <i>TOP head LOC put.IMP</i>	<i>put it on the head</i>
↑bachā <i>child</i>	<i>child</i>
eise eise bahāe <i>this.way this.way throw.IP</i>	<i>this way this way (they) throw</i>
<u>Tears in her voice</u> eise bahāek māre <i>this.way throw.COMP hit.IP</i>	<i>this way (they) would throw and hit</i>
=====	
jāno <i>know.IMP</i>	<i>(you) know</i>

That their living and working conditions were extremely harsh, even compared to Lautoka, her previous place of Girmitya, is summed up in Jasoda’s following statement. She makes her position clear as I-as-witness, disassociating herself from the work being carried out. Instead, she sees the Girmityas from a distance carrying out this hard labour, the recollection of which brings tears to her eyes:

=====	<i>when (I) watch this</i>
eise dekho <i>this.way watch.IMP</i>	
=====	<i>I feel like crying</i>
rowāi lag jāe hame <i>tears PST.PFV go.IP 1.SG</i>	
=====	<i>yes</i>
hā (.h) <i>AFM</i>	
↑eise ↑eise ↑huwā ↑gujar ↑bhawā (.h) <i>this.way this.way there daily.life happen.PFV</i>	<i>in this way this way (we) lived (our) life there</i>
achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>okay</i>
dwi <i>two</i>	<i>two</i>
dwi <i>two</i>	<i>two</i>
dwi ↑sā:l ↑nagich (.h) <i>two year near</i>	<i>almost two years</i>

Habitual sub-narrative b: The railway lines in Papalagi

There is a marked contrast in Jasoda's description of the work, and her own positioning, as she moves on to describe the work the Girmityas did in building the railway lines. At level 1, Jasoda indicates pride in the work that they did in Papalagi, on the railway lines. She uses the reflexive pronoun, and associates herself with the work that was done. In addition, her rising intonation places emphasis on the words 'we made it ourselves':

=>hīā sarak nahi rahis <i>here road NEG COP.PFV</i>	<i>there was no road here</i>
su-lambāsā jaik< (.h) <i>Labasa go.DIR</i>	<i>to go to Labasa</i>
↑hamei ↑log ↑banāwā (.h) <i>1.RFLX PL make.PFV</i>	<i>we made it ourselves</i>

In her further description of the work in Papalagi, at level 2, Jasoda uses rising intonation, as well as a drawn out exclamation, thereby, emphasizing the amount of work that they had to do:

jab anjan ↑chale ↑lagā <i>when train walk.IP happen.PFV</i>	<i>when the train started to run</i>
↑thorā hā <i>some AFM</i>	<i>some yes</i>
kuti=kuti karo <i>kuti kuti do.IP</i>	<i>(we) had to do kuti kuti</i>
↑sāre: <i>EXCLM</i>	<i>EXCLAMATION</i>
↑bout ↑kām (.h) <i>lot work</i>	<i>there was a lot of work</i>

Jasoda backs up this claim, of having to perform a large number of tasks. She lists the work that the Girmityas did in Papalagi, while building the railway lines. For this listing, Jasoda's sequential utterance holds a rhythmic pattern, with rising intonation on the verbs:

<u>Rhythmic</u> kuti=kuti ↑kare <i>kuti kuti do.IP</i>	<i>kuti kuti was done</i>
_____	<i>stones were placed</i>
pathar ↑dhare <i>rock put.IP</i>	
our u <i>and 3.REM</i>	<i>and that</i>
_____	<i>sand was placed</i>
bālu ↑dhare (.h) <i>sand put.IP</i>	
hāmei log ↑kute <i>1.RFLX PL pound.IP</i>	<i>we ourselves did the pounding</i>
<u>jhampā</u> ↑kare (.) <i>jhampa do.IP</i>	<i>and the jhampa was done</i>

Habitual sub-narrative c: The plantation in Daku

Her final place of Girmityas, Daku, was, again, a sugarcane plantation, and again, Jasoda indicates with pride the work she, and her fellow Girmityas, did there. This is seen in Jasoda's use of reflexive pronouns, thereby, placing emphasis on the actors, while her repetitions emphasize the actual work that was done:

tab huwā=s hīyei †āwā †dāku <i>then there.LOC here come.PFV Daku</i>	<i>then from there (I) came here to Daku</i>
dāku āwā (.h) <i>Daku come.PFV</i>	<i>(I) came to Daku</i>
tab dāku bhe †hīa <i>then Daku happen.IP here</i>	<i>then (I) was transferred to Daku here</i>
er	<i>er</i>
kut †a: †pusi nei chalet rahe <i>dog cat NEG walk.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>(at that time) there weren't (even) dogs or cats here</i>
tab hamai log narku kātā (.h) <i>then 1. RFLX PL reed cut.IP</i>	<i>then we ourselves cut the reed</i>
narkul sab †kā:tā <i>reed all cut.IP</i>	<i>(we) cut all the reed</i>

Further evidence of her pride in the work that she carried out, is in her specific mention of how many fields of sugarcane she must have planted:

kāt ke <i>cut COMP</i>	<i>after cutting</i>
ham jāno <i>1.SG know.IP</i>	<i>I would think</i>
dwi phild tin †bowa ganā <i>two field three plant.PFV sugarcane</i>	<i>(I) had planted, two or three fields of sugarcane</i>

9.6 Coda

Her final statement in the narrative, which functions as the coda, is highly evaluated, constituting level 2 of the analysis. The evaluation is provided through the use of pause, and the emphasis on the word ‘respite’. Through these markers, she reinforces her point of view that Girit was filled with immense hardship, pain and grief, and that it was only after this immense suffering that she was allowed this respite:

tab <i>then</i>	<i>then</i>
†rājā (.) <i>Raja</i>	<i>Raja</i>
tan milā <i>respite receive.PFV</i>	<i>(I) received respite</i>

9.7 Summary and Discussion

At level 3 of the analysis, Jasoda Ramdin's life narrative is almost an antithesis of Ram Sundar Maharaj's life narrative. The dissimilarity begins with the two women's motives in becoming Girmityas. There is also a stark contrast between Jasoda and Ram Sundar Maharaj's depiction, and point of view, on the life of the children in the lines. Where Jasoda describes the violence of the *dai*, and the cries of pain of her son, Ram Sundar Maharaj depicts a time of great happiness for the children, who developed communal bonds on the plantation.

In her focus in the first narrative, on the Girmityas' accommodation to their harsh environment, Jasoda re-echoes Guldhari Maharaj's final words. This accommodation places the agency on survival in the hands of the Girmityas. However, Jasoda's emphasis through most of her life narrative is not on the agency of the Girmityas, but on their victimization. This positioning is, again, in line with Guldhari's narration in its emphasis on the pain, anguish, and fear of the Girmityas. Hence, just as in Guldhari's narration, there is a constant threat of violence throughout Jasoda's life narrative. But unlike Guldhari's narration, the Girmityas do attempt to resist the suffering imposed on them. However, Jasoda distances herself from the resistance, even though she also suffers the consequences of this failed resistance. In addition, the actual attempt at resistance is flattened, while the punishment for this failed resistance is sharpened.

At level 2, the overarching themes of Jasoda's life narrative are the violence and hardship of indenture. These two themes are introduced and illustrated through an emphasis on the actions of the plantation authorities in event narrative 1. It is the interplay of the two themes of hard labour meted out to the Girmityas, and the violence of the plantation authorities, within the temporal frame of the period of Gimit, and the spatial frame of the Gimit environment, that hold the life narrative together. Finally, at level 3 of the analysis, it is against this background of the Girmityas' victimization, that Jasoda as Mother-and-Girmitya, but not as Girmitya, illustrates her resistance.

10

Ram Dulhari

Structure

Event Narrative 1: How I became a Girmitya

Abstract

Sub-Narrative 1a: The Arkhati

Orientation

Complicating action

Resolution

Sub-Narrative 1b: The sub-depot

Orientation

Complicating action

Resolution

Sub-Narrative 1c: From the depot to Fiji

Orientation

Complicating action

Resolution

Sub-Narrative 1d: The quarantine depot

Orientation

Complicating action

Resolution

Event Narrative 2: My first day of Girmit

Abstract

Orientation

Complicating action

Resolution

Habitual narrative 1: Routine of the plantation

Routine of the plantation: Part 1

Descriptive abstract

Descriptive complicating action

Descriptive resolution

Rations: Embedded habitual narrative

Descriptive abstract

Descriptive complicating action

Routine of the Plantation: Part 2

Descriptive complicating action

Descriptive resolution and coda

Habitual narrative 2: Why Girit Ended

Descriptive orientation

Descriptive complicating action

Habitual narrative 3: The big sickness

Descriptive abstract

Descriptive orientation

Descriptive complicating action

Descriptive resolution

Summary and Discussion

Ram Dulhari is from the United Provinces, young, single, and unaware of what agreeing to become a Girmitya entailed. His lack of knowledge is summed up in his reasons for becoming a Girmitya:

>to ham bola <i>TOP 1.SG said</i>	<i>I said (to myself)</i>
sāre=ke <i>EMPH</i>	<i>EMPHATIC</i>
hamre pās †bis †rupaiyā †na †he <i>1.SG.GEN near twenty rupee NEG be.PROG</i>	<i>here I don't have even ten rupees</i>
hia †aurat logan jai maṅe he phīji tāpu <i>here woman PL go want.IP be.PROG Fiji island</i>	<i>and here women want to go to Fiji</i>
to †hamou †chalo †dek †lei †jai= <i>TOP 1.SG walk.IMP look take go</i>	<i>I also should go and take a look</i>
=to akelā he< <i>TOP alone be.PROG</i>	<i>(I) am single</i>

Because of his positionings at level 1, and focus at level 2, at level 3 of the analysis, Ram Dulhari is an example of the typical Girmitya of the master narratives.

10.1 Structure

At level 1, Ram Dulhari's life narrative consists of both event and habitual narratives. There are two event narratives. The first focuses on how, and why, Ram Dulhari became a Girmitya. The second event narrative focuses on his first day on the Girmitya plantation.

The remainder of the life narrative is composed of habitual narratives. The first, *Routine of the Plantation* provides an overview of Girmitya, as it applied to all the Girmityas on the plantation. There are three sections to *Routine of the Plantation*. It begins with the first half of the main descriptive complicating action. This is followed by an embedded habitual narrative, as Ram Dulhari describes the routine of rations being given to new Girmityas. At the end of the embedded habitual narrative, Ram Dulhari reverts to his habitual narrative, and continues from where he had been interrupted. The final two habitual narratives focus on his recollection of the influenza

pandemic, which according to Ram Dulhari, was the reason for the termination of Giritmit.

Hence, while the life narrative is constructed around Ram Dulhari’s Giritmit experience, there is no other overarching theme holding the narration together, at level 2 of the analysis. Instead, at level 2 of the analysis, it is the interviewer, who picks up on Ram Dulhari’s final clauses in each narrative, and uses these as the abstracts for the next, thereby, providing coherence, and flow, to the life narrative. Hence, the interviewer’s input becomes part of the analysis at level 1.

At level 2, Ram Dulhari uses flattening to connect the movement from one spatial frame to the next. The lack of temporal frames through *How I Became a Giritmitya*, such as the length of time he spent in the sub-depot in Bombay, and the depot in Calcutta, gives the impression that these incidents occurred immediately after each other. The only temporal frame that we are given is the time Ram Dulhari spends onboard the ship. This temporal frame helps demarcate the incidents occurring in India from those occurring in Fiji. As in India, once Ram Dulhari is in Fiji, he abandons the temporal frame. We are not told how long Ram Dulhari spends at the quarantine station in Nukulau, before he is transported to the plantation in Navua, giving, once again, the impression of events occurring immediately after each other. Hence, by flattening the time frame, Ram Dulhari manages to present a coherent life narrative, while, at the same time, maintaining reportability through salient events, which are sharpened. Through the emphasis on these events, Ram Dulhari is able to put forward his point of view that Giritmit was a harsh, and, often brutal, experience for the Giritmityas.

10.2 Event narrative 1: How I became a Giritmitya

Abstract

The abstract is constructed through the interviewer’s questions:

<p>A: [↑keise] ana hua <i>how come.PFV happen.PFV</i></p>	<p>A: <i>how did (you) come</i></p>
<p>↑keise āp pohuch ge ↑fiji <i>how 2.SG.FOM arrive go Fiji</i></p>	<p><i>how did you end up in Fiji</i></p>

Ram Dulhari answers the questions through four sequentially constructed sub-narratives. Each of the sub-narratives illustrate the stages, as well as the positionings of Ram Dulhari in his journey to becoming a Girmitya in Fiji. The narrative is sub-divided by the changes in the spatial frame.

Sub-narrative 1a: The Arkhati

Orientation

The first sub-narrative begins with a spatial orientation. In this orientation section, Ram Dulhari introduces the new participants, the Arkhati:

R: ham ae †rā <i>1.SG come AUX.PST</i> apni bhein ke hia kān†pur <i>1.SG.GEN sister ACCLOC place Kanpur</i>	R: <i>I came to my sister's place in Kanpur</i>
A: ha= †ha: <i>AFM AFM</i>	A: <i>yes yes</i>
R: (.h) to jei†se hia nausori=suvā=m- <i>TOP similar here Nausori Suva.LOC</i>	R: <i>like here in Nausori (and) Suva</i>
>ka ka bout ādmi rahe <i>where where many man AUX.IP</i>	<i>there were many men</i>
†na <i>NEG</i>	<i>you know</i>
↓arkhāti< (.h) <i>arkhati</i>	<i>arkhati</i>

The sub-narrative does not mention any temporal frame until towards the end, when we are told that the journey to Bombay, that the Arkhatís took Ram Dulhari on, culminated in his being locked in the sub-depot that night.

Complicating action

At level 1 of the analysis, the complicating action focuses on Ram Dulhari and the Arkhati. We are not told of Ram Dulhari's age upon recruitment, although it would

appear that he was quite young, and alone, when he went to the train station, to buy a ticket, to return to his village:

to ham †aeyā <i>TOP 1.SG come.PFV</i>	<i>I came</i>
to bola <i>TOP said</i>	<i>(I) said (to myself)</i>
tikat katai=k <i>ticket cut.FUT.COMP</i>	<i>(I) will buy (my) ticket and</i>
jai apni †ghare (.h) <i>go 1.SG.GEN home</i>	<i>go back home</i>
to bharti wāle beithai=k <i>TOP recruit MOD sit.IP.COMP</i>	<i>the recruiters sat (me) down</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(and) said</i>
†chalo <i>walk.IMP</i>	<i>come</i>
bombai ghumai †lai (.h) <i>Bombay visit.FUT take.FUT</i>	<i>(we) will take you to Bombay for a ride</i>

At level 2, the use of constructed dialogue is a major evaluative feature in this sub-narrative, and has two functions. It is used, firstly, to indicate Ram Dulhari's thoughts, as in the excerpt above. The second function of this constructed dialogue is to give the impression of credibility and immediacy, as was seen in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative. The use of constructed dialogue also allows Ram Dulhari to heighten the tension at this major point in time in the narrative, and create an unfolding scene in the minds of the interlocutors. The interlocutors are, therefore, given the impression that the manner in which the events are relayed is actually the manner in which they occurred.

Resolution

The outcome of this trip is that Ram Dulhari is hustled into a sub-depot that night in Bombay:

to bombai ghu †main (.h) <i>TOP Bombay visit.PFV</i>	<i>(they) took (me) for a ride to Bombay</i>
---	--

°to rāt ke <i>TOP night ACCDUR</i> kakaj band kar din hiya dipu † ma° <i>kakaj close do PFV here depot LOC</i>	<i>at night they locked (me) in the depot</i>
---	---

At level 2, Ram Dulhari and the interviewer end the sub-narrative with a character evaluation of Ram Dulhari. The interviewer begins the character evaluation by emphasizing Ram Dulhari’s ignorance of the situation he had gotten into:

A: oh: <i>EXCLM</i>	A: <i>EXCLAMATION</i>
āp jānat na ↓ ro <i>2.SG.FOM know.IP NEG AUX.PST</i>	<i>you didn't know</i>

Ram Dulhari explains his naivety by providing background information on himself. From his explanation, we gather that Ram Dulhari was a villager, who had come to Kanpur for the first time:

R: † nei <i>NEG</i>	R: <i>no</i>
ham wei pahile dafā ai rā † pardes $(.)$ <i>1.SG that first time come AUX.PST abroad</i>	<i>that was the first time I had come abroad</i>
au nei ai $[\text{ra}]$ <i>and NEG come AUX.PST</i>	<i>(I) hadn't come before</i>

Hence, at level 3, Ram Dulhari is positioned as a victim of the Arkhati’s treachery. While this situation of individuals being duped into a life of Girit has been emphasized in master narratives, it was not common (Gillion, 1962: 37). Such practices were slightly more rampant during times of slim pickings. These occurred in times of prosperity in the regions, which meant there were fewer people considering work outside their vicinity. This, in turn, meant the arkhati had fewer individuals approaching them for work in the colonies; hence, at times, they resorted to kidnapping, as happened in the case of Ram Dulhari.

Sub-narrative 1b: The sub-depot

The second sub-narrative continues with Ram Dulhari's explanation of how he became a Girmitya.

Orientation

There is no temporal detail provided, but because this sub-narrative occurs immediately at the end of the previous sub-narrative, we are aware that it begins at night. The entire sub-narrative is situated in the sub-depot in Bombay. This is the only spatial information that can be elicited, as Ram Dulhari focuses not on describing the depot, but on his reactions to the other potential Girmityas.

Ram Dulhari mentions that the sub-depot is packed with potential Girmityas. However, at level 1 of the analysis, none of the characters are named:

tab huwa aurat mardānā sab ↑bhare ↑rahe (.h) <i>then there woman man all pack.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>then women (and) men were all packed inside there</i>
--	--

Complicating action

The complicating action of *The sub-depot* focuses on Ram Dulhari's decision to become a Girmitya. He speaks to the women recruits, who, at level 3 of the analysis, are given high agency:

to ham bola <i>TOP 1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
↑ka ↑jai= <i>where go</i>	<i>where (are you) going</i>
=to bole <i>TOP says</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
↑phīji ↑tā↓pu (.h) <i>Fiji islands</i>	<i>Fiji islands</i>

It is clear from this conversation that the potential recruits are not separated by gender. Unbeknown to Ram Dulhari, the women he spoke to may have been stooges, put into the depot by the Arkhati, to entice the potential recruits to register as Girmityas. Ram

Dulhari feels ashamed that as a man, he does not have as much gumption as these women, who appear to be, quite independently, immigrating to Fiji to earn money:

>to ham bola <i>TOP 1.SG said</i>	<i>I said (to myself)</i>
sāre=ke <i>EMPH</i>	<i>EMPHATIC</i>
hamre pās ↑bis ↑rupaiyā ↑na ↑he <i>1.SG.GEN near twenty rupee NEG be.PROG</i>	<i>here I don't have even ten rupees</i>
hia ↑aurat logan jai mañe he phīji tāpu <i>here woman PL go want.IP be.PROG Fiji island</i>	<i>and here women want to go to Fiji</i>
to ↑hamou ↑chalo ↑dek ↑lei ↑jai= <i>TOP 1.SG walk.IMP look take go</i>	<i>I also should go and take a look</i>
=to akelā he< <i>TOP alone be.PROG</i>	<i>(I) am single</i>
[(.)]	
A: [hm hm]	A: <i>hmm hmm</i>

This sub-narrative, again, consists of a dialogue with other characters, as well as a dialogue reflecting Ram Dulhari's own thoughts as character, all of which are at level 2 of the analysis. This dialogue is used in conjunction with prosodic features of accelerated speech, and changes in intonation. There is also a pause marked through inbreath, allowing the interlocutors to understand that this is the end of this particular conversation. In addition to the use of inbreath, Ram Dulhari differentiates his internal dialogue, through acceleration, from dialogue used with other characters.

Resolution

In the previous sub-narrative, Ram Dulhari positioned himself as a victim of the Arkhati's treachery, at level 3 of the analysis. In this sub-narrative, Ram Dulhari takes agency from those around him, and decides to also immigrate to Fiji. This is illustrated in the participant action chart below, which is at level 2 of the analysis. However, the agency of the characters, as seen through their attributed actions, is then analyzed at level 3:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Asks where they are going	Tell him they are going to Fiji to earn money	Amazed that women are going to Fiji to earn money	Thinks that as he does not have money he should go too	Decides to become a Girmitya
Ram Dulhari	y	x	y	y	y
Women Recruits	x	y			
Men Recruits					

What is important is the manner in which he phrases his intentions of going to Fiji:

to †hamou †chalo †dek †lei †jai= <i>TOP 1.SG walk.IMP look take go</i>	<i>I also should go and take a look</i>
=to akelā he< <i>TOP alone be.PROG</i>	<i>(I) am single</i>

Hence, while Ram Dulhari displays more agency in this sub-narrative, this agency is compounded with his ignorance of the consequences of agreeing to become a Girmitya. That he is unaware of the reality of Girmitya, becomes more apparent as narrative 1 progresses, and Ram Dulhari's positioning further fluctuates.

Sub-narrative 1c: From the depot to Fiji

This sub-narrative describes Ram Dulhari's reactions to the realities of Girmitya, as he embarks on his journey to Fiji.

Orientation

R: † aiya: <i>come.PFV</i>	R: <i>(I) came</i>
bhai <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>
kalkatā † ma	<i>to Calcutta</i>

<i>Calcutta LOC</i>	
dīpu me †mār bhare re †ādmi (.h) <i>depot LOC EMPH pack.IP AUX.IP man</i>	<i>men were packed in the depot</i>
sāt sou ādmi †re <i>seven hundred man AUX.IP</i>	<i>seven hundred people were there</i>
aurat mardānā (.h) <i>woman man</i>	<i>women and men</i>

At level 1, the entire sub-narrative consists largely of spatial orientations, which are the Calcutta depot, followed by the ship, *Chenab III*. Temporal orientations are, once again, largely absent from the sub-narrative. Moreover, while this sub-narrative follows the previous sub-narrative, we are not told how long after the incidents in the previous sub-narrative the incidents in this sub-narrative occur. Nor are we told how long he spends in the depot before boarding the ship. What we are told is that Ram Dulhari spent one month on the ship to Fiji. As in the previous sub-narratives, no character is named, although we are told that there were seven hundred people in the Calcutta depot.

Complicating action

Ram Dulhari describes the final moments before he leaves India, which unknown to him at the time, was a permanent departure from his homeland:

jahāz aiyā <i>ship come.PFV</i>	<i>the ship came</i>
beithais <i>sit.PFV</i>	<i>(they) sat (us)</i>
†bhai (.h) <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>

At level 2 of the analysis, Ram Dulhari's description culminates in his reaction to his realization that he is expected to cross this vast ocean. Again, Ram Dulhari's ignorance of the realities of Girit becomes apparent through this incident. The complicating action is highly evaluated, as Ram Dulhari relates his reactions to the reality of travelling across the ocean:

ham s-sam †undar me jab bei †thais <i>1.SG sea LOC when sit.PFV</i>	<i>when (they) sat us on the sea</i>
bāki wālā chīj utār †ke (.h)	<i>after taking the cargo off</i>

<i>remainder MOD thing take.off COMP</i>	
ab ↑chale ↑mai ↑dekhāe (.) <i>now walk.IP mother look.IP</i>	<i>now I got scared</i>

As in the orientation for this sub-narrative, Ram Dulhari, again uses the tag *bhai*, or ‘brother’, to mark the transition in the spatial frames, this time from the Calcutta depot to the ship. This tag, together with the rising intonation, function as an exclamation, and indicate Ram Dulhari-as-character’s intense discomfort, and fright, at that point in time in the narrative, all of which constitute level 2 of the analysis.

Continuing at level 2, Ram Dulhari uses rising intonation throughout the sub-narrative, as he describes his ordeal on having to board the ship. He also draws out the length of time he spent on the ship, by decelerating his speech. In doing so, he indicates that this was an unbearably long journey for him:

<↑ek mahinā> huwe samundare me ↑rahā > <i>one month there sea.EMPH LOC AUX.PST</i>	<i>one month (we) remained (out there) on the sea</i>
---	---

Resolution

The voyage to Fiji finally comes to an end. Ram Dulhari, and his *Jahajibhai*, ‘ship brothers’, and *Jahajibhein*, ‘ship sisters’, are put ashore at the quarantine station in Nukulau, which he refers to as Lucknow:

tab utāre hia raha <i>then take.off.IP here AUX.PST</i> lukhnou dīpu ↑ma (.) <i>Lucknow depot LOC</i>	<i>then (they) took us (off) here at Lucknow depot</i>
--	--

As illustrated in the participant action chart below, which is at level 2 of the analysis, Ram Dulhari’s positioning fluctuates throughout this sub-narrative. He begins the sub-narrative with high agency. It would appear that he went to the Calcutta depot quite voluntarily. This would tie in with his agentive decision to become a Girmitya at the end of the previous sub-narrative. But this is where the agentive positioning ends. He now describes the Girmityas, including himself, as submissively obeying orders. He, and the other Girmityas, are placed on the ship by others in authority, and, following

these orders, remain on the ship for an entire month. At the end of their voyage, they are, again, acting under orders to disembark:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

	Arrives at Calcutta depot	Put on board ship	Frightened	One month on the ship	Taken off at Nukulau
Ram Dulhari	y		y		
Ram Dulhari + Girmityas		x		x	x
Unknown others		y		y	y

Sub-narrative 1d: The quarantine depot

Ram Dulhari describes the final phase of his journey, before his new life begins on the plantation.

Orientation

This sub-narrative is situated in Fiji, at the quarantine station. Once again, at level 1, there are no characters mentioned. The action is directed by unknown others, and the Girmityas, passively, accept their directives.

Complicating action

The sub-narrative consists of two components: a complicating action with embedded spatial orientation, and a resolution. The complicating action is quite descriptive, fitting Linde's (1993: 21) explanation of features of life narratives. Just as in Gabriel Aiyappa's recollection, at Nukulau, the Girmityas are divided into groups, according to the numbers needed by the plantation owners or managers. The Girmityas are then put into the hands of their new employers. The complicating action encompasses all the Girmityas:

lukhnou dīpu=m ↑utārin (.h) <i>Lucknow depot.LOC take.off.PFV</i>	<i>(they) took us off at Lucknow depot</i>
tab huwe ↑se (.h)	<i>then from there</i>

<i>then there LOC</i>	
phīr jeise=jeise gorā māṅat rahe <i>again as as Englishman want.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>then as the Englishmen wanted</i>
dwi chār <i>two four</i>	<i>two, four</i>
eise ↓bātat ↓rah ↓ādmi <i>this.way distribute.IP AUX.PST man</i>	<i>in this way the men were distributed</i>

Ram Dulhari begins the sub-narrative with rising intonation at the end of his first two clauses, indicating that the major complicating action is to follow. At the end of his narration on the distribution of the Girmityas, Ram Dulhari uses falling intonation to indicate the end of the major complicating action.

Resolution

The sub-narrative becomes more specific with the interviewer's question, at level 2 of the analysis:

A: āp kā ↑gei <i>2.SG.FOM where go</i>	A: <i>where did you go</i>
R: ham gei nabuā: <i>1.SG go Navua</i>	R: <i>I went to Navua</i>

This question and answer form the resolution of the complicating action, at level 1, as it clarifies what this distribution meant for Ram Dulhari.

At level 3, Ram Dulhari's positioning, as one without agency, continues in this final sub-narrative:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Taken off at Nukulau	Divided up and	Goes to Navua
--	----------------------	----------------	---------------

	depot	distributed	
Ram Dulhari			x
Ram Dulhari + Girmityas	x	x	
Unknown others	y	y	y

This lack of agency is not only restricted to Ram Dulhari, but extends to all the Girmityas, who are, again, depicted as passively accepting directives from those in authority. This lack of agency is in line with the positioning in Gabriel Aiyappa's narration. From Ram Dulhari's descriptions, it is clear that the Girmityas do not have a choice in the arrangements that are being made for them; arrangements that they could possibly live under for five years.

10.3 Event narrative 2: My first day of Girmit

The movement, between the spatial frame of the previous sub-narrative and this new spatial frame, is flattened into a single clause:

R: ham gei nabuā: <i>1.SG go Navua</i>	R: <i>I went to Navua</i>
--	------------------------------

Abstract

The interviewer's question sets off the second narrative:

A: tab nāvuā me ↑kyā ↑karte ↑rahe <i>then Navua LOC what do.IP AUX.IP</i> šuru= šuru ↑me <i>beginning beginning LOC</i>	A: <i>so in Navua what did you do in the early days</i>
---	--

Ram Dulhari describes his first two days of Girmit. The complicating action that occurs, epitomizes his initiation to Girmit on the plantation:

Orientation

The temporal frame of the narrative begins on the night Ram Dulhari arrives on the plantation, and continues into the next day, the first day of his Girmit on the plantation:

R:	R:
----	----

nabūā me ge↑yā: (.) <i>Navua LOC go.PFV</i>	<i>(I) went to Navua</i>
um	<i>um</i>
rāt bhar ↑rahā <i>night full remain.PST</i>	<i>(I) was there all night</i>
↑ha <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>

At level 1 of the analysis, the entire narrative is situated in Navua, beginning in the lines, and progressing on to the plantation. Ram Dulhari mentions that he arrived in Navua, and spent the entire night there, and that rooms were allocated to the Girmityas in the morning. What he does not mention is where the Girmityas spent the night, if rooms were not allocated until the following morning.

The narrative begins in general terms, describing the living arrangements for all the Girmityas. On Ram Dulhari's plantation, more unmarried men were expected to share a room than on Gabriel Aiyappa's plantation:

sabere ek maleisiā āadmin <i>night one unmarried man</i> tīn ek ghar me ↓rahā= <i>three one house LOC remain.PST</i>	<i>in the morning three single men were put in one house</i>
= >aur jon ī bālbachā rahā <i>and which 3.PROX children AUX.PST</i>	<i>and those who had children</i>
u <i>3.REM</i>	<i>they</i>
e-	<i>er</i>
-aurat ↑ek mardānā ↑rahā< (.h) <i>woman one man AUX.PST</i>	<i>woman and man (who were married) lived (in one house)</i>
>our maleisiā ↑tin ↑ek ↑ghar ↑ma ↑rahā (.h) <i>and unmarried three one house LOC AUX.PST</i>	<i>and (those who were) single three lived in one house</i>

Ram Dulhari indicates that he understands the living arrangements in the lines:

ham bolā <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
↑achhā	<i>ok</i>

Complicating action

At level 1 of the analysis, unlike *How I became a Girmitya*, there are characters individualized in the complicating action sections. The entire narrative focuses on Ram Dulhari and his altercations with these characters.

There are three complicating actions in this narrative, which are enchainned (Cohan & Shires, 1988: 57). The first complicating action is the catalyst that leads to the next two complicating actions, and is situated on the plantation. Hence, subsequent complicating actions can be classified as either, the result of the previous complicating action, or, as another complicating action.

This is Ram Dulhari's first day on the plantation. He is given a directive, presumably by the Sirdar, to take the horses, and plough the field. Unlike the previous narratives, at level 2 of the analysis, this narrative is highly evaluated through constructed dialogue, and repetitions. The constructed dialogue is attributed to the plantation authorities, and to Ram Dulhari-as-character:

tab bas kā † bha (.) <i>then enough what happen</i>	<i>and then what happened</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
bīhān bhī kām dis (.) <i>tomorrow too work give.PFV</i>	<i>the next day too (he) gave (us) work</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
jao <i>go.IMP</i>	<i>go</i>
ghoṛā joto † jaik (.h) <i>horse plough.IMP go.COMP</i>	<i>go with the horse (and) plough</i>

The unfolding action is paused, as Ram Dulhari-as-narrator gives information from outside the temporal frame of the current incident:

°our ghoṛak †kām ham †kīyā <i>and horse.ACC work 1.SG do.PFV</i> na †rahā° <i>NEG AUX.PST</i>	<i>and I had never worked with horses before</i>
ghoṛak kām kīyā na †rahe <i>horse.ACC work do.PFV NEG AUX.IP</i>	<i>(I) had never worked with horses before</i>

His first mention of this backshadowing (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 5) is not uttered directly into the microphone, and comes across quite softly. Realising this, he reiterates the background information, speaking clearly into the microphone. The backshadowing serves two purposes, at level 2. Because of this information, the interlocutors will see Ram Dulhari's point of view, that he was treated unfairly by the plantation authorities on his first day of Girit. Furthermore, the interlocutors' expectations are raised as to the outcome of Ram Dulhari carrying out the directive.

Ram Dulhari obviously felt he could not refuse, or admit that he has never worked with horses before. The outcome of the first complicating action is seen in the second complicating action:

sārā <i>EXP</i>	<i>EXPLETIVE</i>
ghoṛā gana me †chalā (.) <i>horse sugarcane LOC walk.PFV</i>	<i>the horse ran into the cane field</i>
to ganā ukhār †gei (.) <i>TOP sugarcane break go</i>	<i>the sugarcane broke</i>
A: laughs	A: <i>laughs</i>
R: tin dāri chār (.h) <i>three row four</i>	R: <i>three or four rows</i>

While this incident is the result of the first complicating action, it is also a complicating action in itself. This action further leads to the next complicating action, and the climax of the narrative: the reaction of the plantation authorities to the horse breaking the sugarcane.

At level 1, it is the Sirdar who appears first on the scene. His actions are then presented, at level 2 of the analysis:

to ais <i>TOP come.PFV</i>	<i>(he) came</i>
bhai <i>brother</i>	<i>brother</i>
sardarwā <i>sirdar.MOD</i>	<i>(the) sirdar</i>
goṛ pite <i>leg hit.IP</i>	<i>(he) hit (my) leg</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
tum to ganā tur †dio= <i>2.SG.FAM TOP sugarcane break do.PFV</i>	<i>you have broken the sugarcane</i>
A: =†ha: = <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>yes</i>

Ram Dulhari protests that he should not be blamed for the horse's actions:

R: =ham bola <i>1.SG said</i>	R: <i>I said</i>
†ham kā †jāni= <i>1.SG what know.FUT</i>	<i>how was I to know</i>
A: =ha: <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>yes</i>
R: hamlog ka muluk me †nā †he= <i>1.PL GEN country LOC NEG be.PROG</i>	R: <i>(it) isn't in our country</i>
A: =†hm:	A: <i>hmm</i>

The Manager is introduced next. He also accuses Ram Dulhari of breaking the sugarcane, and whips Ram Dulhari on the leg:

goṛ oṛ pakṛīs kulambarwa <i>leg MOD hold.PFV coolambar.MOD</i>	<i>the coolambar held (my) leg</i>
---	------------------------------------

eise <i>this.way</i>	<i>this way</i>
ek chabuk †mārīs <i>one whip hit.PFV</i>	<i>he gave me one whip</i>
ham bole <i>1.SG says</i>	<i>(he) said (to) me</i>
†tum †ganā †tur †diyo <i>2.SG.FAM sugarcane break do.PFV</i>	<i>you've broken the sugarcane</i>

That the Sirdar and the Manager hit Ram Dulhari on the leg, would indicate that he is still on the horse. It is for this reason that the Sirdar and Manager blame Ram Dulhari for the horse's actions.

Once again, Ram Dulhari protests that he should not be held responsible:

ham bola <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
hamlog ke muluk me ganā †heiyē †nei <i>1.PL GEN country LOC sugarcane remain.IP NEG</i>	<i>in our country there isn't any sugarcane</i>
A: hm	A: <i>hmm</i>

At level 2, knowledge of Ram Dulhari's background allows the interlocutors to see the incident from Ram Dulhari's point of view that he is being unjustly blamed for the actions of the horse by the plantation authorities. The authorities did not firstly ensure that Ram Dulhari had experience in working with horses. Hence, from Ram Dulhari's point of view, the blame for the outcome of the first complicating action, that is, the running of the horse into the cane field, should be placed on the plantation authorities.

The reaction of the plantation authorities is both physical and verbal, at level 2 of the analysis. The Sirdar first hits Ram Dulhari on the leg, and cries out "You have broken the sugarcane!" The Manager then whips Ram Dulhari on the leg, and cries out "You have broken the sugarcane!" The same dialogue is, therefore, attributed to both the Sirdar and the Manager, and the only significant difference between their actions is that one uses his hand, and the other a whip to inflict physical pain on Ram Dulhari. This attributed action forms an evaluation of the Sirdar and Manager. They first hit Ram

Dulhari then speak to him. This is similar to the Manager’s reaction to Jasoda Ramdin’s altercations with the Nanny.

Ram Dulhari’s reaction to both is a verbal protest, as he attempts to justify his position. The dialogue attributed to him, as character, is a repetition of the theme that he did not know that this was the crop he had been brought to the plantation to plant and harvest “*There isn’t any sugarcane in our country*”.

Resolution

Unlike Jasoda Ramdin’s protest, which is treated in a dismissive manner by the Manager, Ram Dulhari’s protests are heard by the Manager, who orders him to cut grass for the rest of the day:

R: to bole <i>TOP says</i>	R: <i>(he) said</i>
achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
jao tum gir↑ās ↑kāto= <i>go.IMP 2.SG.FAM grass cut.IMP</i>	<i>you go and cut grass</i>
A: achhā <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>ok</i>

Throughout this narrative, Ram Dulhari’s positioning, at level 3, is largely that of recipient. He begins by following the directives of unknown others, as to living arrangements in the lines. He then is the recipient of a directive to plough the field with the horse. Finally, he is the recipient of the anger of the Sirdar and the Manager. The only time that he claims agency is when he protests at the blame that is directed towards him, which through the use of backshadowing, he has indicated to the interlocutors is unjustified.

10.4 Habitual narrative 1: Routine of the plantation

Up until now, Ram Dulhari’s life narrative has been composed of the chain of incidents that brought him to Fiji, and to his introduction to the Girit environment. The

remainder of the life narrative is composed of habitual narratives. This first habitual narrative describes the routine of the plantation.

At level 2, Ram Dulhari's theme in this habitual narrative, is the use of overtasking, and the meagre wage that the Girmityas received at the end of the day. These wages were a poor compensation for the long hours the labourers had to work. The interviewer's question, which sets off a mini-habitual narrative, is asking for the consequences of this meagre wage on the Girmityas. Moreover, the question is asking for its effect on a specific aspect of their lives, that of obtaining an adequate meal. The theme of the main habitual narrative is, therefore, suspended as Ram Dulhari focuses on the theme of rationing on the plantation. Once this theme has been dealt with, to the satisfaction of both Ram Dulhari and the interviewer, Ram Dulhari then reverts to the theme of the main descriptive complicating action, and begins from where he had left off.

10.4.1 Routine of the plantation: Part 1

Descriptive Abstract

Unlike the other abstracts of the narratives, at level 1, this descriptive abstract is composed by Ram Dulhari, and not the interviewer:

R: tab ganā rā <i>then sugarcane AUX.PST</i>	R: <i>then there was sugarcane</i>
to wei me kām ↑kari (.h) <i>TOP in.that LOC work do.FUT</i>	<i>in that (I) worked</i>

Descriptive complicating action

At level 2 of the analysis, this descriptive complicating action is highly evaluated, as is the descriptive resolution. The evaluations are found in both the interviewer's contributions as well as in Ram Dulhari's own evaluative devices of repetitions, prosodic features of stress, rising intonation, and pauses. These evaluations are used effectively to convey his point of view that indenture was fraught with hardship for the Girmityas.

Ram Dulhari describes the amount of work the Girmityas received on a regular basis. The work quota would have been difficult to complete by all but the most able bodied men. We are made aware of Ram Dulhari's point of view on this system of overtasking through his combined use of repetition, emphatic stress, rising intonation, and pause. The interviewer indicates her understanding, and her sympathy, for Ram Dulhari's point of view:

to ↑sāt chein <i>TOP seven chain</i> satar chein <i>seventy chain</i> tā:s ↑mīle = <i>task get.IP</i>	<i>(we) got seven chain, seventy chains of task</i>
A: =↑oh ↓ho <i>EXCLM</i>	A: <i>EXCLAMATION</i>

Ram Dulhari extends his viewpoint through emphatic stress, and repetition, that all this work was for only one shilling. Ram Dulhari emphasises *ek* or 'one'. He pauses after making this comment, then repeats it, again with emphatic stress placed on *ek*, and this time, combining it with a rising intonation on the second syllable of *shilling*:

R: <u>ek</u> šīlīŋ (.) <i>one shilling</i>	R: <i>(for) one shilling</i>
<u>ek</u> šī↑līŋ <i>one shilling</i>	<i>(for) one shilling</i>

Descriptive resolution

The interviewer asks Ram Dulhari if he was able to complete his tasks. However, instead of indicating affirmation or negation, Ram Dulhari tells the interviewer what the unwritten law of the plantation was for all the Girmityas:

A: ↑kā:t leit ro ↑otnā āp= <i>cut.IP take.IP AUX.PST that.much 2.SG.FOM</i>	A: <i>you managed to cut that much</i>
---	---

R: =lage to mile nahi he <i>feel.IP TOP get.IP NEG be.PROG</i>	R: <i>if (you) got beaten then (you) didn't get (the one shilling)</i>
lage to chār ānā †mile (.) <i>feel.IP TOP four anna get.IP</i>	<i>if (you) got beaten then (you) got four anna</i>
†hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>

Ram Dulhari, therefore, avoids giving a direct response to the interviewer's question about his own ability to complete his task during Girit. He explains the system of overtasking in two steps: If you were unable to complete your task you got beaten, and you forfeited your shilling for the day. Therefore, if you were beaten, you received only four pennies for the day's work, regardless of how close you came to completing your task. The law of the plantation, that is, the system of overtasking, is described in a matter-of-fact manner. There is no change in intonation pattern, or pace of delivery, until the end when he uses rising intonation, and a pause, to allow the interlocutors to realize how harsh the system was. He underlines his point of view with *hā* or 'yes'.

10.4.2 Rations: Embedded habitual narrative

At level 1, within the main habitual narrative, is an embedded habitual narrative, which focuses on a specific routine of the plantation, that of the rations received by the new Giritiyas, for the first six months of their indenture.

Descriptive abstract

Ram Dulhari's narration is interrupted by the interviewer, who seeks clarification on how the Giritiyas could have managed to live on four pennies a day. The interviewer's question is therefore indicating the interviewer's appreciation of Ram Dulhari's viewpoint, that this was a meagre amount to slave over for an entire day:

A: tab †keise khānā pā †nī <i>then how food water</i>	A: <i>then how (did you manage) for food</i>
---	---

The remainder of this habitual narrative is the descriptive complicating action, which seeks to answer this question.

Descriptive complicating action

This is a clarification on the rationing system put in place during indenture. For the first six months the new Girmityas received rations from the plantation authorities. There was also a reduction of wage by four pence, to compensate for this rationing:

R: to: chhe mahīna tak <i>TOP six month until</i> to khānā ↑det ↑rahā <i>TOP food give.IP AUX.PST</i>	R: <i>for six months (they) were giving food</i>
A: ↑oh= <i>EXCLM</i>	A: <i>EXCLAMATION</i>
R: =kam ↑pani <i>Company</i>	R: <i>Company</i>
A: hm=hm	A: <i>hmm hmm</i>

After their six months, the rations ended, and their potential wage increased by four pence. So, in theory, the Girmityas could now earn up to two shillings per day:

R: tab chhe mahīnā ↑khalās (.h) <i>then six month finish</i>	R: <i>then (when) the six months were over</i>
tab dwi sīlīṅ ↓de ↓lagā (.) <i>then two shilling give start.PFV</i>	R: <i>then (they) started giving two shillings</i>

But, Ram Dulhari mentions, as the wage increased, so did the tasks. Hence, for many, attaining these two shillings at the end of the day, remained an illusion:

to wei māfit kām ↑rahe <i>TOP that manner work AUX.IP</i>	<i>the work was in that manner</i>
--	------------------------------------

Throughout the narration, Ram Dulhari aligns himself with the other new Girmityas. The embedded habitual narrative ends here, and Ram Dulhari reverts to the theme of the main habitual narrative, that of overtasking.

10.4.3 Routine of the plantation: Part 2

Ram Dulhari continues with the main habitual narrative. In this half, he continues with the descriptive complicating action, and provides the descriptive resolution, and coda.

Descriptive complicating action

Ram Dulhari provides more details of the routine of the plantation. He emphasizes, at level 2, through repetition, the early hours the Girmityas were expected to be at the plantation. He also emphasizes, again through repetition, the heavy tasks the Girmityas received. In addition to the use of repetition, Ram Dulhari uses silence, which takes the form of inbreath (.h), or pause (.). The placement of silence, at the end of each clause, is used to emphasize his point of view, that the plantation routine was quite harsh for the Girmityas:

↑pāche ↑baje uthai ↑de (.h) <i>five.EMPH time wake do</i>	<i>(they) would wake (us) at 5 o'clock</i>
pāch baje khet me jao (.) ↑gīrmīt ↑mā (.) <i>five.EMPH time field LOC go.IMP Girmit LOC</i>	<i>(we) had to go to the plantation at 5 o'clock during Girmit</i>
wei sāt chein satar chein tā:s ↑mīle <i>that seven chain seventy chain task get.IP</i>	<i>(we) received that seven chain, seventy chain task</i>

Ram Dulhari describes the routine of the plantation, as it applies to all the Girmityas.

The actions of the characters are illustrated in the participant action chart below, at level 2. The chart also illustrates that the lack of agency at level 3 is not attributed just to him, but to all Girmityas:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Woken up at 5 am	Taken to the plantation at 5 am	Received seven chains, seventy chains of task	Got beaten and received four pennies	Spent day performing task
Ram Dulhari					x
Ram Dulhari + Girmityas	x	x	x	x	
Unknown others	y	y	y	y	y

Descriptive resolution and coda

Ram Dulhari does personalize his description of events at the end of his narration:

to wei me ↑dīn ↑kātā <i>TOP that LOC day cut.IP</i>	<i>(My) days were spent performing that (task)</i>
--	--

At level 3, while this clause in isolation appears to encode agency, when seen in conjunction with the previous clauses, it is apparent that this is not an agentive positioning.

Ram Dulhari indicates that this is the end of his narration of the routine of the plantation by switching from an imperfective aspect to a perfective aspect, indicating that these routines occurred in the past, and reached their end.

10.5 Habitual narrative 2: Why Girit ended

This penultimate section of his narration discusses the final years of his Girit. It also provides Ram Dulhari's reason for the termination of Girit.

Descriptive orientation

The habitual narrative begins with the interviewer's question about the temporal frame of Ram Dulhari's Girit experience:

A: achhā <i>AFM</i>	A: <i>ok</i>
ketnā sāl tak kām kiye āp ↑wahā <i>how.much year until work do.IP 2.SG.FOM there</i>	<i>how many years did you work there</i>

Ram Dulhari does not say how many years he spent working on the plantation. Instead, he tells the interviewer that he spent until the termination of the indenture system, in 1920 working on the plantation:

R: >ham ↑gīrmīt ↑bhar ↑hoi ↑kām ↑kīyā <i>1.SG Girit full there work do.PFV</i>	R: <i>I worked there for the entire Girit</i>
--	--

As Ram Dulhari began his indentured life on the plantation in 1916, he would have spent approximately four years working on the plantation.

Descriptive complicating action

Ram Dulhari goes on to explain why he was a Girmitya for four years, rather than the five years specified in his contract:

wei bīmārī ke †chha †yā: (.h) <i>that sickness GEN shadow</i>	<i>under the shadow of the sickness</i>
chhutī bhe (.h) <i>leave.from.work happen</i>	<i>(our) Girmitya was terminated</i>

Ram Dulhari reiterates the reason for the termination of Girmitya, and ends on a question:

>thora bīmāri bout ae nei †rahi< = <i>small sickness plenty come NEG AUX.PST</i>	<i>a sickness had come</i>
A: =ha=ha <i>AFM AFM</i>	A: <i>yes yes</i>
baṛi bīmāri <i>big sickness</i>	<i>the big sickness</i>
R: † baṛi † bīmāri (.h) <i>big sickness</i>	R: <i>big sickness</i>
wei tai: salek hoe ge <i>that time slack happen go</i>	<i>because of that Girmitya collapsed</i>
† nā <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>

The purpose of the tag is to seek clarification as to the interviewer's knowledge (at level 3) about events that he has just mentioned. These events were crucial, in his opinion, in marking the end of indenture. Therefore, another reason for the tag is to gauge, at level 2, whether the interviewer is in agreement with his reasoning as to how and why Girmitya ended.

10.6 Habitual narrative 3: The big sickness

Descriptive abstract

At the end of the previous habitual narrative, Ram Dulhari states that the outbreak of the ‘big sickness’ was the major cause for the collapse of Girit in Fiji. In this final habitual narrative, the interviewer picks up on the mention of the ‘big sickness’ in the evaluation section above, and uses it as an abstract for the final component of Ram Dulhari’s life narrative on his Girit experience:

<p>A: āp ke baṛi bīmāri <i>2 SG.FOM ACC big sickness</i> ke bāre=m kuch malum <i>INV about.LOC some knowledge</i></p>	<p>A: <i>do you know anything about the big sickness</i></p>
<p>↑ bābā <i>father</i></p>	<p><i>father</i></p>

Descriptive Orientation

The ‘big sickness’ that Ram Dulhari refers to, he explains here to be *Haija*, an influenza pandemic that struck Fiji, resulting in a great loss of lives. Ram Dulhari assimilates the *Haija* pandemic into his Girit narrative, to become part of his “biographical gestalt” (Fischer & Goblirsch, 2007: 40), to explain the end of Girit. It is possible to see the rationale behind Ram Dulhari’s reasoning that this pandemic contributed to the collapse of the indenture system in Fiji. With the pandemic rampant throughout Fiji, including the plantations, it would have meant that many Giritiyas would have been unable to work. Therefore, from Ram Dulhari’s perspective, the plantation authorities would have agreed to terminate all indenture contracts:

<p>R: (.) parbhi bīmāri ↑rahi <i>Parbhi sickness AUX.PST</i></p>	<p>R: <i>it was Parbhi sickness</i></p>
<p>A: ↑ ha: <i>AFM</i></p>	<p>A: <i>yes</i></p>
<p>R: to ↑usmā aijak bīmāri ↑rahi <i>TOP in.that Haija.GEN sickness AUX.PST</i></p>	<p>R: <i>in that there was Haija sickness</i></p>
<p>A:</p>	<p>A:</p>

↑ach:hā AFM	ok
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Descriptive complicating action

Ram Dulhari then describes the routine of getting rid of the dead. His position is of witness throughout this habitual narrative:

R: (.h) ↑murda ↑bhar ↑bhar ↑jāwe <i>corpse full full go.IP</i>	R: <i>corpses were piled and carried away</i>
trektā se ↑khod ↑ke <i>tractor LOC dig COMP</i>	<i>with the tractor (they) dug</i>
>our trektā se kar ke <i>and tractor LOC do COMP</i>	<i>and with the tractor (they) did it</i>
kerosīn chhor ke <i>kerosene put COMP</i>	<i>(they) put kerosene</i>
phuk de < <i>blow do</i>	<i>(and) burnt (the corpses)</i>
A: oh: <i>EXCLM</i>	A: <i>EXCLAMATION</i>
R: our mati koi dene wālā ↓nei <i>and funeral anyone give.IP MOD NEG</i>	R: <i>and there was no one to perform the funeral rites</i>

The outbreak of these pandemics meant the abandonment of last rites, as people tried to cope with the large number of corpses, and their fear of being in close proximity to the corpses, and, thereby, also becoming victims.

Descriptive resolution

At level 2, the interviewer's input is structured, syntactically, as a statement, but when the intonation at the end is taken into account, it takes the form of a question:

A: tab fir dhire thik hoe gei ye ↑bīmāri <i>then again gradually improve happen go this sickness</i>	A: <i>then gradually this sickness went away</i>
--	---

Ram Dulhari indicates affirmation, by repeating the interviewer’s words. But he stresses, through the use of a degree adverb, that the abating of the influenza pandemic was not just ‘gradual’ but ‘*very gradual*’:

R: <u>tab</u> dhire dhire fir thīkān bīmāri <i>then gradually gradually again improve.PFV sickness</i>	R: <i>then very gradually the sickness went away</i>
--	---

10.7 Summary and Discussion

Ram Dulhari arrived as a Girmitya in the final year of all indenture recruitments, on the penultimate indenture ship to Fiji. Ram Sundar Maharaj went to Fiji as a Girmitya only three years before Ram Dulhari. Moreover, both were recruited in the same manner, and both served Gimit in Navua. Nevertheless, at level 3, when their narrations are compared, there is stark contrast in their emphases, and the positionings that they adopt in their narrations.

Ram Dulhari is explicit about the treachery involved in his recruitment, and emphasizes his position of a victim, at level 3. This emphasis is in contrast to Ram Sundar Maharaj’s flattening of her recruitment. We need to consider the circumstances under which both Ram Sundar Maharaj and Ram Dulhari arrived in Fiji. While both were tricked by the Arkhati, Ram Sundar Maharaj was recruited with her husband. Hence, she was not alone, bewildered by the turn of events, when she was recruited. Ram Dulhari, on the other hand, appears to have been quite young, and naïve, having never ventured out of his village before this occasion. Most importantly, he was alone. When seen in this light, he, rather than Ram Sundar Maharaj, is more likely of the two to take up a victim position.

What is apparent from both their life narratives is that Ram Dulhari found Gimit quite difficult, filled with hardship, and misery, which is in contrast to the impression that we receive from Ram Sundar Maharaj’s life narrative. In addition, his incentive for becoming a Girmitya receives a rude awakening on the plantation. He realizes that he has to complete seven to seventy chains of task per day, and all this, as he puts it, for only one shilling. Moreover, failure to complete the tasks resulted in the Girmitya forfeiting the shilling for beatings, and a reduction of the shilling to four pence. His description of the routine of overtasking, and loss of wages is in line with Guldhari

Maharaj's narration. Ram Dulhari emphasizes his despondency of spending four years of his life carrying out this routine:

to wei me ↑dīn ↑kāṭā <i>TOP that LOC day cut.PFV</i>	<i>(My) days were spent (performing) that (task)</i>
---	--

At level 3, Ram Dulhari's conclusion is that it was the outbreak of the *Haija Pandemic* that ended Girit. This was because the pandemic killed a large number of individuals, and brought disruption to the plantation routine, through the increasing scarcity of labourers, and the resultant chaos. Ram Dulhair's conclusion underlines how removed the Girmityas were from the overall mechanisms that controlled Girit, and the growing resistance to Indian indenture by the British, and Indian population (Gillion, 1962: 164-189), in spite of their lives being so profoundly affected by the mechanisms of the indenture system.

11

Ghori Gosai Part 1

Structure

Event narrative 2: No ordinary Girmitya

Abstract

Orientation 1

Complicating action and Resolution A

Orientation 2

Complicating action and Resolution B

Complicating action and Resolution C

Complicating action and Resolution D

Coda

Event narrative 3: I recruited myself

Event narrative 4: The train journey

Complicating action A

Complicating action B

Complicating action C

Event narrative 5: I bathed in the Ganges

Complicating action A

Complicating action B and Resolution

Event narrative 6: I am Gowali

Event narrative 7: Why I couldn't leave right away

Orientation

Complicating actions and Resolutions

Complicating action and Resolution A

Complicating action and Resolution B

Complicating action and Resolution C

Event narrative 8: On Board *Sangola I*

Orientation

Complicating actions

Complicating action A

Complicating action B

Complicating action C

Complicating action D

Resolution

Coda

Event narrative 9 The hurricane

Event narrative 10: I could have been killed

Event narrative 11: How I tricked the Englishmen

Orientation

Complicating Action

Complicating action A and Resolution

Complicating action B and Resolution

Complicating action C and Resolution

Complicating action D and Resolution

Complicating action E and Resolution

Complicating action F and Resolution

Complicating action G and Resolution

Complicating action H and Resolution

Complicating action I and Resolution

Complicating action J and Resolution

Event narrative 12: My role in the dispatching of Girmityas

Abstract

Orientation

Complicating Action

Resolution and Coda

Event narrative 13: At the Lautoka hospital

Event narrative 14: The journey to the plantation

Event narrative 15: The plantation

Event narrative 16: The first drama

Orientation

Complicating Action

Resolution

Coda

Event narrative 17: My message to the Girmityas

Orientation

Complicating action and Resolution

Complicating action A and Resolution

Complicating action B and Resolution

Complicating action C and Resolution

Complicating action D and Resolution

Complicating action E and Resolution

Summary and Discussion

Ghori's life narrative begins at level 2 of the analysis. The announcer opens the program, *Girmit Gatha*, by telling the secondary interlocutors that they are about to listen to a Girmit recollection quite unlike any they have yet heard on the program. Ghori Gosai fulfils this claim. From the start, Ghori Gosai's life narrative challenges the interlocutors' norms of what is 'correct'. He begins this challenge with his claim of being 143 years old, which he then attempts to support through his first four sub-narratives.

Ghori's life narrative is also of interest at level 3. Through his positionings, Ghori challenges the master narratives' claims. Ghori subverts the stereotyped positionings that the Girmityas were illiterate, that they were tricked into immigrating, and that they did not know what Girmit held for them. He also challenges the master narratives' claims of the Girmityas being victims of the Indian indenture system. Moreover, at level 3, Ghori's life narrative counters all the other life narratives in this collection. Ghori places emphasis on religion as resistance. In addition, he negates the authority of the Girmit officials, and performs his own authority over the Girmityas.

This chapter will provide more summaries of the complicating actions than in the other life narratives. This is because, in this session, Ghori, more than any other Girmitya in the *Girmit Gāthā* series, relies heavily on shared knowledge between the interlocutors and himself. The use of shared cultural knowledge, which is located at level 3 of the analysis, in turn, ties in with his overt positioning of 'us' and 'them' at level 2.

Following the re-presentation of Ghori's life narrative, the chapter moves on to discuss how Ghori's life narrative is a counter-narrative, not only to the master narratives of Girmit, but to different degrees, a counter-narrative to all the other life narratives in this study.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, while all the other Girmit narrators were heard only once on the *Girmit Gāthā* program, Ghori's life narrative took place over two episodes. Other Girmityas spent some proportion of their hour talking about their Girmit, and the remainder on life post-Girmit. Ghori, however, devotes his entire first episode on firstly, establishing his age, followed by the re-tracing of his stages in becoming a Girmitya, hence, the length of this chapter.

11.1 Structure

Part 1 of Ghori's life narrative can be categorized into seventeen narratives. The first narrative, discussed in Chapter 5, consists of four sub-narratives, whose purpose is to convince the interlocutors of the credibility of Ghori's claims of being 143 years old. Once Ghori feels he has accomplished this purpose, he begins the life narrative proper about his journey from Kanpur in India (Map 2) to *Lapat Kothi* plantation in Ba, Fiji (Map 3). There are sixteen narratives that discuss this transition. The narratives are organized thematically, and the life narrative progresses in a linear fashion.

Narratives 2 to 7 are situated in India. Narrative 2 provides the background information as to why Ghori became a Girmitya. Narrative 3 describes his preparations for the journey. Narratives 4 to 6 are about his journey from Kanpur to Calcutta, while simultaneously providing the interlocutors with different facets of Ghori's character: his patronage over the Girmityas, his strong religious convictions, and his free will in becoming a Girmitya. Narrative 7 focuses on Ghori's stay in the Calcutta depot. The next two narratives, 8 and 9, describe Ghori's journey from Calcutta to Nukulau.

The remaining narratives are situated in Fiji. Narratives 11 and 12, are situated in Nukulau, where the Girmityas were placed for quarantine before being dispatched to plantations around Fiji. Narrative 13 is situated in Lautoka, where Ghori and his other shipmates, all of whom are being transported to Ba, are placed, once again, in isolation. Following their quarantine, the Girmityas begin the last leg of their journey to their plantation in Narrative 14. The final set of narratives are situated at *Lapat Kothi*. The narratives progress from descriptions of the initial orientation of the Girmityas to their new environment, to Ghori's attained position as a religious leader of the Girmityas.

Because of the length of Ghori Gosai's life narrative, this study will not be able to provide the analysis of every individual narrative in detail. For this reason, the chapter will sharpen the structure, and positionings in nine narratives, and summarize the other narratives, thereby presenting Ghori's life narrative in its entirety. The chapter will emphasize narratives that Ghori places emphasis on. These are narratives that are highly evaluated. They are also narratives that are either tied to his high agency (Narratives 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, and 17), and/or in which he accepts the leadership position in which

he is placed by others, generally other Englishmen, who themselves hold positions of authority (Narratives 7, 8, and 11). Despite this use of sharpening and flattening, I hope to provide an adequate representation of Ghori's voice.

11.2 Event narrative 2: No ordinary Girmitya

No Ordinary Girmitya is the beginning of Ghori's narration on how he became a Girmitya. The narrative consists of four complicating actions, each of which has its own resolution. The narrative is defined both structurally and thematically.

Structurally, the abstract and coda encompass the complicating actions and resolutions, thereby, defining them as belonging to the same narrative. The complicating actions are linked together through the **unspoken** theme of establishing an organization, concerned with Indian civil rights.

It is essential to view the timeframe of this narrative in conjunction with that of India's history to understand the narrative. The years in which Ghori established his organization (1856-1860), coincide with the Indian Rebellion against the British rule. The rebellion occurred between 1857 and 1858, and was largely concentrated in the North of India. Ghori's organization may have been part of this larger movement, which would explain why the men in his organization were killed in 1860.

Abstract

The abstract is solely constructed by Ghori:

uske bād (tut) <i>REM later</i>	<i>after that</i>
phir ↑ham ↓ghume ↓chalā ↓geya <i>then 1.SG travel walk go.PFV</i>	<i>then I went off travelling</i>
↑ghumte ↑ghumte (.) <i>travel.IP travel.IP</i>	<i>(while) travelling</i>
<ham (.) sabhā (.) istraik kiyā> (.h) <i>1.SG organization establish do.PFV</i>	<i>I started an organization</i>
↑koun ↑sabhā ↑īstraik ↑kiyā <i>which organization establish do.PFV</i>	<i>which organization did (I) start</i>
ki ↑apnā (.h) sab- <i>that 1.GEN</i>	<i>that our</i>

-u sabhā ↑me hamlog (.) ādmī ↑rahe 3.REM organization LOC 1.PL men AUX.IP	<i>in that organization we were men</i>
---	---

Ghori uses repetition of key words, *traveling* and *organization*, as guides for the interlocutors to follow the narrative. Ghori mentions in his abstract that he went traveling, and while traveling, he started an organization. He then evaluates, and emphasizes this statement by asking a rhetorical question: *Which organization did (I) start?* However, Ghori does not answer his question. Nor does he make explicit the purpose behind the establishment of the organization at any point in time in the narrative. A possible reason for this vagueness is that Ghori assumes that because the interlocutors will be of Indian origin, they will be familiar with Indian history, and will, therefore, be able to understand from this incomplete statement exactly what sort of organization Ghori is hinting.

Orientation 1

At level 1, all three forms of orientation (temporal, spatial, and character) are present in this narrative. However, out of the three, character orientations feature the least frequently. In addition, the character orientations, that are present in the narrative, perform an evaluative function. The majority of the orientations are intricately tied to the complicating actions. They will, therefore, be discussed as part of the complicating actions in which they occur.

Complicating actions and Resolutions

There are four complicating actions in the narrative, each having its own resolution.

Complicating action and Resolution A

The first complicating action describes the setting up of the organization, and the recruiting of men into the organization:

laknou me ↑kiyā <i>Lukhnow LOC do.PFV</i>	<i>(I) started (the organization) in Lucknow</i>
kānpur me ↑kiyā (tut .h) <i>Kanpur LOC do.PFV</i>	<i>(I started the organization) in Kanpur</i>
is ↑me: jeise mahādeo ↑bolā: <i>in.this this.way Mahadeo said</i>	<i>in this (it was) just as Mahadeo said</i>

our (.) k (.) <i>and</i>	<i>and</i>
kei †ādmī inko †ham >usme bharti kiya< <i>many man PROX.RFLX 1.SG in.that recruit do.PFV</i>	<i>I recruited many men into the organization</i>
bhārī bhārī ādmī re (tut) <i>big big man AUX.IP</i>	<i>(they) were important men</i>
šāmal dās ka †bhai rahā ek (tut) <i>Shamal Das GEN brother AUX.PST one</i>	<i>Shamal Das had a brother</i>
>usko bhī bhartī †kiya< (tut) <i>REM.RFLX too recruit do.PFV</i>	<i>(I) recruited him too</i>

Ghori's description of his actions is in the agentive mode, as seen in the participant action chart below. It was he, who set up the organization in Lucknow and Kanpur to, presumably, rebel against the British rule, and it was he, who recruited members for this organization:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Organization in Lucknow	Organization in Kanpur	Recruited men
Ghori	y	y	y
Men			x
Shamal Das's brother			x
Others			x

At level 2, Ghori provides external evaluation on his recruitment in the form of a religious reference, *in this (it was) just as Mahadeo said*. The reference appears to rely on cultural knowledge, which is located at level 3 of the analysis, and is therefore, left unexplained. The character orientation *(they) were important men* illustrates that the men he recruited were of exceptional caliber.

The complicating action ends with a resolution, which continues with the impression of the above character orientation:

isme ham <u>sab</u> wo mītiṅ me rahe (.) <i>in.this 1.SG all that meeting LOC AUX.IP</i>	<i>we were all in this meeting</i>
---	------------------------------------

The resolution summarizes that there were many members in the organization, and, when seen in correlation with the complicating action, that these members were well-known, and influential individuals within their provinces.

Orientation 2

Ghori's agentive positioning of himself continues into the 'chunk' of orientation present in-between complicating actions 1 and 2. In this chunk, Ghori lists the different years, and places (Map 2) in which he set up meetings. At level 1, the temporal and spatial orientations set the frame in which the complicating actions are taking place. For quite a large part of the excerpt, both the temporal and spatial frames occur together, thereby, allowing the interlocutors, at level 2, to follow the sequential organization of the narrative, and also to keep up with the switching between the spatial frames of the narrative:

athārā ↑sou chhap<an> <i>eighteen hundred fifty.six</i>	<i>eighteen fifty six</i>
chhap↑an ↓satāwan <i>fifty.six fifty.seven</i>	<i>fifty six fifty seven</i>
<u>Rythmic</u> satāwan me ↑ham āgre me mītiṅ ↑kiyā (.h) <i>fifty.seven LOC 1.SG Agra LOC meeting do.PST</i>	<i>in fifty seven I did a meeting in Agra</i>
athāwan me <i>fifty.eight LOC</i>	<i>in fifty eight I did a meeting in Gwalior</i>
↑ham ↑gwālyā me mītiṅ ↑kiyā (tut) <i>1.SG Gwalior LOC meeting do.PFV</i>	
unsat ↑me: (.) <i>sixty LOC</i>	<i>in sixty</i>

In the orientation section between the first two complicating actions, at level 2, there is a rhythmic intonation pattern as Ghori describes the meetings he conducted in Agra, and Gwalior. The two clauses are organized in the same order, with Ghori using rising intonation on the pronoun ↑*ham* and, 'did' ↑*kiyā*, with a pause after each clause:

<i>Year</i>	<i>LOC</i>	<i>1 SG</i>	<i>Province</i>	<i>LOC</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Do.PFV</i>	<i>Pause</i>
satāwan	me	↑ham	āgre	me	mītiṅ	↑kiyā	(.h)
athāwan	me	↑ham	↑gwālyā	me	mītiṅ	↑kiyā	(tut)

The rhythmic intonation pattern, as well as the repetition of words, helps to group the clauses together, as performing the same act of conducting meetings in the United Provinces.

Complicating action and Resolution B

The next complicating action again discusses the setting up of the organization in a third province of the United Provinces, Jhansi. However, this time there is a difference, to which Ghori draws attention through a break from the previous rhythm:

unsat ↑me: (.) <i>sixty LOC</i>	<i>in sixty</i>
unsat me ham jā=ke <i>sixty LOC 1.SG go.COMP</i>	<i>in sixty I went and</i>
>jahā ↑chi me mītiṅ ↑kiyā <i>Jhansi LOC meeting do.PFV</i>	<i>had a meeting in Jhansi</i>
↑wahā par hamāre koi das bārā ādmī māre gei= <i>there LOC 1 SG.GEN some ten twelve man kill do.PST</i>	<i>there some ten or twelve of our men were killed</i>
=banduk se dāge ge< <i>gun INS shoot.IP go.IP</i>	<i>they were shot with guns</i>

It is not clear whether Ghori was a witness to this shooting, nor does Ghori specify who shot the members. The outcome of the fatal shooting of the organization's members in Jhansi is the closure of the organization. The severity of the situation is indicated at level 2 through three evaluative forms. Firstly, there is elaboration on the manner in which the men were killed in the complicating action *they were shot with guns*. Secondly, there is emphasis in the first clause of the resolution on the pronoun referring to Ghori. Thirdly, there is emphasis on *close*, through stress in the first clause, and through repetition in the second:

ham wā mītiṅ band kar ↓diyā (tut)	<i>I closed the meeting there</i>
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1.SG there meeting close do PFV	
↑band kar ke phin ↑loutyā (.h) close do COMP again return.PFV	after closing (the meeting) (I) returned
ae kānpur ↑me: come Kanpur LOC	(I) came to Kanpur

Complicating action and Resolution C

This shooting precipitates the third and fourth complicating actions. Because of the deaths in Jhansi, Ghori calls for an urgent meeting back in his home province of Kanpur. It is Ghori who decides to send members to the colonies. The decision is made, presumably, because the organization is now under suspicion, and cannot carry out its functions successfully in India. Ghori feels that the men would be better able to carry out their work in the colonies:

ae kānpur ↑me: come Kanpur LOC	(I) came to Kanpur
phin apnā mītiṅ ki ↑yā again 1.SG.GEN meeting do.PST	again I had my meeting
jetne apne: <u>sadas</u> ke ↑ādmī ↑rahe (tut) as.much 1.SG.GEN organization GEN man AUX.IP	all those who were members of our organization
beit ke mitiṅ kiyā= sit COMP meeting do.PFV	sat down and had a meeting
=ham bolā 1.SG said	I said
↓dekho (tut) watch.IMP	look
↓tum: raṅun ko ↑jāo 2.SG.FAM Rangoon ACCLOC go.IMP	you go to Rangoon
↑ek ↑ādmī one man	one man
ek ādmī jāo <u>nei ↑tāl</u> ↑ko one man go.IMP Natal ACCLOC	one man go to Natal
ek ādmī jāo <u>chīnīdād</u> ↑ko (tut) one man go.IMP Trinidad ACCLOC	one man go to Trinidad
ek ādmī jāo <u>dhamrā</u> ↑ko (.h) one man go.IMP Damera ACCLOC	one man go to Damera
ou jam ↑eikā ko and Jamaica ACCLOC	and to Jamaica

Again, Ghori's agency is apparent. It is he who chooses which man is to go to which colony:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Return to Kanpur	Had a meeting	Sent man to Rangoon	Sent man to Natal	Sent man to Trinidad	Sent man to Damera	Sent man to Jamaica
Ghori	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
Men		y	x	x	x	x	x

At level 2, in Ghori's dialogue in the above excerpt, there is rhythmic prosody coupled with repetition. The pattern does not apply to the first and last clauses in the dialogue, which are organized respectively as:

1) Pronoun Country ACCLOC Go One Man

↓tum: raɳun ko ↑jāo ↑ek ↑ādmī
2.SG.FAM Rangoon ACCLOC go.IMP one man

2) And Country ACCLOC

ou jam ↑eikā ko
and Jamaica ACCLOC

In the dialogue, the lack of pattern in the first and last clauses allows the demarcation of this section of the narrative from the rest. The clauses in-between the two above clauses follow the pattern:

<i>One</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>Go.IMP</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>ACCLOC</i>	<i>Pause</i>
ek	ādmī	jāo	<u>nei</u> ↑tāl	↑ ko	
ek	ādmī	jāo	<u>chīnīdād</u>	↑ ko	(tut)
ek	ādmī	jāo	<u>dhamrā</u>	↑ ko	(.h)

The rhythm is achieved through the repetition of the words in the same order, as well as the stress on the name of the country, and the rising intonation on the final locative ↑*ko*.

In addition to the spatial frame in which the narrative is actually occurring, there are spatial orientations, given in the third complicating action, as to the far-reaching impact of the second complicating action. The principal purpose of this rhythmic patterning is located at level 2, to allow the interlocutors to follow the narration across the different spatial frames, introduced sequentially.

Ghori re-emphasizes his agency through an external evaluation, which forms the resolution to the third complicating action:

eis ↑ e ādmī bāt ↑ e (.h) <i>this.way man divide</i>	<i>in this way (I) divided the men</i>
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Complicating action and Resolution D

The final complicating action is a continuation of the previous one. However, this time, it focuses solely on Ghori, and his reasons for immigrating to Fiji:

ou ↑ <u>mei</u> phījī jātā hu (.h) <i>and 1.SG Fiji go be.PROG</i>	<i>and I am going to Fiji</i>
phījī me dekhun ↑ ā (.h) <i>Fiji LOC watch.FUT</i>	<i>in Fiji (I) will see</i>
ki ↑ sāre bārā ānā roj miltā: he <i>that half twelve ānnā everyday receive. 1.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>whether (the Girmityas) receive twelve and a half anna everyday</i>
yā ↓ <u>nei</u> (.h) <i>or NEG</i>	<i>or not</i>
ou log ghantā me = <i>and people hour LOC</i>	<i>and people in an hour</i>
=>ek ghantā khānā miltā <i>one hour food receive.1.IP</i>	<i>do (they) receive one hour for food</i>
āt ghāntā kām hotā <i>eight hour work happen. 1.IP</i>	<i>does eight hours of work happen</i>
yā < jastī hotā (.h) <i>or more happen. 1.IP</i>	<i>or does more happen</i>

Ghori's dialogue in complicating action 4 lacks the rhythmic patterning of complicating action 3. The omission of these features also performs an evaluative function, at level 2. The contrast between the two halves of the dialogues puts the second half in sharp relief, emphasizing its importance in the life narrative: Unlike the men in the previous complicating action, who were directed to go to the colonies, Ghori volunteers to go to Fiji:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	To go to Fiji	To see if Girmityas receive 12 shillings a day	To see if Girmityas get one hour of rest for meals during work hours	To see if Girmityas work eight hours or more	To send a report on the Girmityas
Ghori	y	y	y	y	y
Girmityas		x	x	x	
Indian Government					x

The result of his voyage to Fiji will be a report that he will send back to India, outlining the circumstances of the Girmityas in Fiji:

†ī †ham sab ripot <u>bhārat</u> ko deṇe <i>PROX 1.SG all report India DAT give.FUT</i>	<i>all this I will give in a report to India</i>
---	--

Coda

The use of a deixis reference, distancing the spatial frame of the narrative from the present, signals the end of the narrative:

ham wā †se ou: phījī †me <i>1.SG there LOC come Fiji LOC</i>	<i>from there I came to Fiji.</i>
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11.3 Event narrative 3: I recruited myself

Narrative 3 describes the initial stages of Ghori's preparations to travel to Fiji. Ghori persuades a man with a similar name to give him, Ghori, his signed documentations from the sub-agent. It was a requirement during Girmityas that if a person wanted to enlist as a recruit, he would need to be presented before a magistrate, who would ensure the person was of the legal age, and was willing to become a recruit. These conditions were more stringent for women than for men. If the magistrate was satisfied with the person before him, he would issue a certified document, allowing the person to become a recruit, on the condition that he passed his medical examination at the emigration depot (Gillion, 1962: 32-34). It is this form, from the sub-agent, that Ghori acquires from Gawali. Following this, Ghori makes arrangements at work for his assistant to take over his position, and goes home to pack his bags.

At home he is interrogated by his sister-in-law as to where he is going this time. His sisters-in-law and mother ask him to buy clothes and jewelry from Calcutta. Ghori takes their money. He places emphasis on this incident through repetitions. In effect, Ghori is confessing to having stolen money from his family. It needs to be asked then as to why Ghori would narrate this incident, and more importantly, why would he emphasize this theme through repetitions.

While the theme at first appears to counteract Ghori's self-aggrandizement positioning, when seen in the context of the narrative, and the entire life narrative, it does contribute towards the overall theme and positioning. Ghori is here telling the interlocutors the extent to which he went, on behalf of the Girmityas. This taking of money from his family members was not for himself, but for the Girmityas, as he illustrates in the next narrative.

11.4 Event narrative 4: The train journey

Ghori boards the train with the sub-agent, Hajari Lal and his recruits, careful to remain hidden from their sight:

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Brought men to board train	Goes into second class carriage	Lies on top bunk	Board train	Sit beneath Ghori's bunk	Watches men and Hajari Lal
Ghori	z	y	y	z	z	z
Hajari Lal	y			y	y	x
Men	x			x	x	x

The positionings depicted in the table above illustrate that Ghori boards the train of his own choosing. On the other hand, the other potential recruits board the train under the direction of the Sub-Agent. The positioning, again, emphasizes, at level 3, that Ghori is not like these other potential recruits, who represent the more 'typical' Girmityas of the master narratives in their conduct.

At Allahabad station, Ghori steps out of the train, and purchases sweets and tea, both for himself and the other men. However, the Sub-Agent, whose duty it was to take care of the potential recruits, attempts to provide them with a meal that will be least taxing on his purse. The Girmityas are offended by Hajari Lal's actions, and contrast his actions to Ghori's, a stranger, whom they saw as having no responsibility towards them, but who had taken the trouble to provide them with a substantial meal. Ghori watches from his bunk, above that of the potential recruits, as they beat Hajari Lal, and explain to him why they are beating him. Ghori blames himself for Hajari Lal's beatings. However, he is unable to help him, as by doing so he will need to reveal who he is. If he does so, Hajari Lal may take back the documentations Ghori has in his possession, thereby, preventing Ghori from recruiting himself as a Girmitya.

11.5 Event narrative 5: I bathed in the Ganges

The narrative focuses on contrasting Ghori's actions with that of Hajari Lal. Hence, at level 1, there is no mention of the Girmityas, who would have accompanied Ghori and Hajari Lal to Agra.

Complicating action A

Ghori's positioning in this section of the complicating action fluctuates between a witness and an agent; he observes what direction Hajari Lal is taking, and follows him.

Through this narrative, and, in particular, through his final dialogue in the narrative, Ghori indicates that he has asked for divine guidance in his mission. Ghori emphasizes, through repetition, that he is going to Fiji in the guise of a Girmitya. He draws a parallel between his act of travelling in disguise with that of the deity, Krishna:

phīr ham batāyā <i>then 1.SG tell.PFV</i>	<i>I then told (God)</i>
↑ he ↑ deo (.h) <i>EXCLM God</i>	<i>oh God</i>
tu <u>chhamā</u> ↑ karnā <i>2.SG.FAM forgive do.FUT</i>	<i>please forgive me</i>
our ham tāpu jātā he (tut) <i>and 1.SG island go.1.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>I am going to Fiji</i>
our ab ham (.) <u>ek</u> <u>rob</u> me jātā ↑ he <i>and now 1.SG one guise LOC go.1.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>and I am now going in a guise</i>
↓ ham ↓ nei ↓ māntā ↓ koi ↓ jāti ↓ lei=k <i>1.SG NEG want.IP any cast take.COMP</i>	<i>I don't want to take any caste</i>
ham ek <u>rob</u> me jātā <i>1.SG one guise LOC go.1.IP</i>	<i>I'm going in a guise</i>
ek <u>krišan</u> ban ke jātā (.h) <i>one Krishna become COMP go.1.IP</i>	<i>(I) will become like Krishan</i>
ou sab ↑ chhamā ↑ karnā <i>and all forgive do.FUT</i>	<i>and please forgive (me) for all this</i>
jab ham ↑ ai ↑ gā <i>when 1.SG come FUT</i>	<i>when I return</i>
tab ham tumse apnā chīj le gā <i>then 1.SG 2.SG.FAM.LOC 1.SG.GEN thing take FUT</i>	<i>then I will take my possession back from you</i>
> ↓ abhī ↓ nei < (.h) <i>now NEG</i>	<i>not now</i>

In this narrative, at level 3, Ghori positions himself as a pious man, who has performed the pilgrimage to the Ghangis River. This strong affiliation to his religion is apparent throughout the life narrative. *I Bathed in the Ganghis River* is also important for later narratives, to provide him with the credentials to speak as an authority on religion.

Complicating action B and Resolution

The following participant action chart highlights Ghori’s religiosity, through a contrast with Hajari Lal’s actions. Ghori, upon seeing the river, feels compelled to bathe in it before proceeding with the journey to the depot. This is in contrast to Hajari Lal, who allows himself to be led away by the Englishman, the Grand Sahib.

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Feels it is important to bathe in the river	Goes on with the Grand Sahib	Bathes in the Ghangis River	Seeks God’s understanding as to why he must forsake his caste while he is a Girmitya	Vows to return on a pilgrimage and reclaim his caste on completion of his mission
Ghori	y	z	y	y	y
Hajari Lal		x			
Grand Sahib		y			
Potential Recruits		(x)?			

11.6 Event narrative 6: I am Gowali

The narrative begins with a search for the missing man, Gawali, whose documentations Ghori has in his possession:

	Search for Gawali	Becomes skeptical of the missing man’s existence	Finds the search and the Grand Sahib’s words amusing	Reveals that he is Gawali	Receives his payment	Leaves
Ghori	z	z	y	y	z	z
Grand Sahib	y	y		x	y	
Hajari Lal	(x)?			z	x	y
Unknown	x					

others						
--------	--	--	--	--	--	--

At level 1, as in the previous narrative, there is no mention of the potential recruits. The narrative focuses solely on the Grand Sahib, Ghori, and Hajari Lal. In the narrative, Ghori begins as a witness to the search, which, in effect, is for him. He then resumes a more agentive position as he reveals himself as Gawali.

It would appear that neither the Sub-Agent nor the other potential recruits had realized that Gawali was not with them. It is possible that Hajari Lal had a list of names, which he gave to the Grand Sahib. There would, therefore, have been a realization that Gawali was missing. Ghori sees this as an opportune time to reveal himself as Gawali. Hajari Lal would have received payment for each individual that he brought for recruitment, hence, it is in Hajari Lal's interest to uphold Ghori's claim.

11.7 Event narrative 7: Why I couldn't leave right away

The narrative focuses on Ghori's life at the Calcutta depot. At level 1 of the analysis, the narrative does not have an abstract or coda. It begins with an orientation section, and has three complicating actions, each of which has its own resolution. The actions and resolutions are held together thematically (see *Structure*).

Orientation

The narrative has a definite spatial frame, the Calcutta depot, but does not have a temporal frame; hence, it is difficult to ascertain how long Ghori remained in the depot.

At the beginning of the narrative, Ghori provides a brief summary of what life was like in the depot:

phīr ham huwā ↑dīpu ↑me ↑rehtā ↑rā (.h) <i>then 1.SG there depot LOC live.1.IP AUX.PST</i>	<i>then I was living there in the depot</i>
hu↑wā sārek dabā bhar ke khānā mil↑e (.h) <i>there MOD container full ACC food get.3.IP</i>	<i>there (you) received a container full of food</i>
bhāt ↑dāl <i>rice dhal</i>	<i>rice, dhal</i>
sab khae <i>all eat.3.IP</i>	<i>all ate</i>

Ghori begins his narrative by mentioning that all ate together in the depot, regardless of caste. This is a typical comment made in other life narratives of indenture in this collection. But after this comment, Ghori's narrative becomes markedly different from that of other narrators. This orientation to life in the depot is followed by the first complicating action of the narrative.

Complicating actions and Resolutions

Complicating action A

There is a new character in this complicating action, at level 1. He is *the Bengali*, whom the interlocutors have not been introduced to, yet Ghori speaks of *the Bengali*. The first complicating action focuses on the Bengali. At level 2, the Bengali is positioned as a bully, who swears at the Girmityas, and makes them apprehensive about their future Girit life. Ghori is positioned as the protagonist, who challenges the bully on behalf of the Girmityas:

koi koi roj <i>some some day</i> <u>change in voice: lack aspiration</u> baṅālī bole= <i>Bengali says</i>	<i>some days the Bengali said</i>
_____ =sālā log <i>EXP PL</i>	<i>you bastards</i>
_____ khae lo <i>eat.3.IP take</i>	<i>finish eating</i>
_____ <ko thīk he> (.) <i>that good be.PROG</i>	<i>(it) is good</i>
_____ mālu hoi <i>find.out happen.FUT</i>	<i>(you) will find out</i>
_____ sālā <i>EXP</i>	<i>bastard</i>
_____ jab tāpu jeio (.) <i>when island go.IMP</i>	<i>when (you) go to Fiji</i>

Change in voice:authoritarian are kyā mālu hoi <i>EXCLM what find.out happen.FUT</i>	<i>oh what will (we) find out</i>
↑yār (.) <i>friend</i>	<i>friend</i>
↑kyā ↑tum eise dattā sab ke <i>what 2.SG.FAM this.way tell.off.1.IP all ACC</i>	<i>why are you threatening (us) in this manner</i>
A: hmm	<i>hmm</i>
G: ham eis↑e usko batāyā <i>1.SG this.way 3 SG.DAT tell.PFV</i>	<i>I told him like this</i>
Authoritarian khabardār <i>stop.it</i>	<i>stop it</i>
ādmī se eise bola (.h) <i>man LOC this.way said</i>	<i>(I) said this to the man</i>

As in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative, at level 2, the use of dialogue to convey the complicating action gives the impression to the interlocutors that the incidents unfolded in the order and manner in which they are being narrated. The first dialogue is that of the Bengali threatening the Girmityas. The second dialogue is Ghori's own reaction. The dialogues attributed to the Bengali and to Ghori are accompanied by vocal characteristics, which differentiate the speakers, allowing the interlocutors to follow the dialogue without Ghori-as-narrator having to specify whose turn it is. The vocal characteristics also function as evaluative markers on the characters to whom the voices are attributed. For instance, when Ghori attributes dialogue to the Bengali, he uses stereotypical markers of a Bengali speaking Hindi, with the dropping of aspirations. Ghori, on the other hand, uses an authoritative voice, indicating that he feels he is justified in challenging the Bengali. In addition, in using an authoritative voice, and reprimanding the Bengali, Ghori reminds the interlocutors that the reason he is here in the depot is because he has adopted the role of Protector of the Girmityas.

Resolution A

In retaliation, the Bengali puts Ghori in the kitchen in the role of cook. This would suggest that the Bengali is in a position of authority over the Girmityas. It is for this reason that Ghori demands that he stop intimidating them with veiled threats. It is possibly Ghori's agentive positioning that the Bengali views as a threat to his own authority, and is the reason he assigns Ghori to work in the kitchen. This would limit the contact Ghori would have with the other Girmityas, and would limit the actions he could take on their behalf:

Resolution for Complicating action A and Orientation to Complicating action B

↑tab ↑u ↑sālā ham ↑e <i>then 3.REM EXP 1.SG</i> bhan ↑dārī ↑me ↑rak ↑liyā <i>kitchen LOC put take.PFV</i>	<i>then that bastard put me in the kitchen</i>
↓kānā ↓banāne ↓kā (.h) <i>food make.IP INV</i>	<i>to cook food</i>

Complicating action B

The second complicating action is indirectly the result of the first complicating action. Because Ghori confronted the Bengali, he was put in the kitchen as a cook. As a result of carrying out his task as cook, Ghori falls into the frying pan, and burns his legs:

jab huwā rā <i>when there AUX.PST</i>	<i>when (I) was there</i>
to ek roj ↑dāl chhouke lag ↑ā <i>TOP one day dhal cook. 1.IP start.PFV</i>	<i>one day (I) started to cook the dhal</i>
to ham gir giyā karhai ↑me (.h) <i>TOP 1.SG fall go.PFV frying.pan LOC</i>	<i>and I fell into the frying pan</i>
dāl ↑me (.h) <i>dhal LOC</i>	<i>into the dhal</i>
>karhai me gir giyā <i>frying.pan LOC fall go.PFV</i>	<i>(I) fell into the frying pan</i>

Resolution B

The result is that Ghori has his legs put into salt barrels and he is taken to the infirmary. As with the Bengali in the first complicating action of this narrative, those who put Ghori's burnt legs into salt barrels, remain nameless. Ghori refers to them as *those*

people, without first indicating to whom he is referring. Hence, at level 1, the new characters are not introduced but are inserted as needed into the narrative to perform their part. The emphasis therefore, lies not on the people but on their actions around Ghori:

hamā< goṛ jar ↓ge ↓do (tut) 1-SG.GEN leg burn PST two	<i>my legs got burnt</i>
u log ↑kā ↑kiye 3.REM PL what do.3.IP	<i>what those people did</i>
kī nimak kā pīpa= that salk GEN barrel	<i>salt barrels</i>
=bhār↑ī ↑pīpā ↑re (.h) big barrel AUX.IP	<i>there used to be big barrels</i>
wei me ham↑ke goṛ se in.that LOC 1-SG.GEN leg INS ↓dabā ↓dīn (tut .h) press.PFV do.PST	<i>(they) put my legs in that</i>
dab↑ā ke press.PFV COMP	<i>put (my legs)</i>
phīn ham aspatāl me rahā (.h) again 1-SG hospital LOC AUX.PST	<i>then I was in hospital</i>
aspat↑āl me ↑rehte reht↑e: (tut) hospital LOC stay.IP stay.IP	<i>(I) stayed in hospital for a while</i>

Complicating action C

The final complicating action occurs sometime after Ghori's burns are healed. The ship has arrived, and Ghori prepares to step onboard the ship with the other Girmityas:

ek jahāj me chhut- (.) charhā one ship LOC board.PFV	<i>then (I) boarded a ship</i>
ome pānch sou ādmī charhā (.) in.that five hundred man board.PFV	<i>on (the ship) there were five hundred people.</i>
wa se tab hambhī usmān ↑charhe lag↑ā there LOC then 1-SG too in.that board.IP start.PFV	<i>I also began to board</i>
tab grand saheb hame rok liyā (.h) then Grand Sahib 1-SG stop take.PFV	<i>then the Grand Sahib stopped me</i>
bole says	<i>(he) said</i>
tum nei jao	<i>you don't go</i>

2.SG.FAM NEG go.IMP	
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Resolution C

Sahadat, another Girmitya is asked to take Ghori's place on board the ship, and Ghori remains behind:

hamre (.h) badli ↑me sahādat āyā (.) 1.SG exchange LOC Sahadat come.PST	<i>Sahadat came in my place</i>
ham ↑wā ↑rei ↑giyā 1.SG there stay go.PFV	<i>I stayed behind</i>

The final dialogue in this narrative is attributed to the Grand Sahib, and, at level 2, is an evaluation on Ghori. Ghori has become an indispensable person at the depot, whom the Grand Sahib, himself, asks to remain behind:

bole said	<i>(the Grand Sahib) said</i>
tum ādmīn kā sikhao (.h) 2.SG.FAM man ACC teach.IMP sikhāt↑e ↑ho teach.3.IP be.PROG	<i>you are teaching the men</i>
↑ādmīan ka ↑khānā kho ↑wāte ↑ho (.h) man ACC food feed.3.IP be.PROG	<i>(you) are feeding the men</i>
↓tum ↓hia ↓ro (.h) 2.SG.FAM here stay	<i>you stay here</i>
tum dwi- 2.SG.FAM two ↑dusrā ↑ādmī ↑hame ↑kar den ↑ā another man 1.SG do give.FUT	<i>you organize another man for me</i>
tab ↓tum ↓jānā (.h) then 2.SG.FAM go.FUT	<i>then you go</i>

At level 2, Ghori clearly places the Bengali as the antagonist of the narrative. The Bengali is in a position of authority and is abusing this position by intimidating the Girmityas with threats of what plantation life holds for them in Fiji. In addition, it is indirectly because of the Bengali's actions of assigning Ghori to kitchen duty that Ghori gets injured. On the other hand, Ghori is clearly the protagonist of the narrative as emphasized in the Grand Sahib's evaluation above.

In this narrative, Ghori’s positioning, at level 3 of the analysis, fluctuates from agent (his arrival at the depot), to witness (the Bengali taunting the other Girmityas), back to an agent (his retaliation on behalf of the Girmityas), and, finally, as a result of his agency, he takes the position of what should have been that of a victim (cook at the depot), as he is being punished, but which he changes into a position of agency, as his position as a cook is highly valued at the depot by the Grand Sahib, who is in charge of the depot.

11.8 Event narrative 8: On Board *Sangola I*

This narrative, and the next, describe Ghori’s journey from India to Fiji. At level 1, the narrative has a large orientation section, introducing the interlocutors to life onboard the ship, before moving to the complicating actions, and their resolutions. As in the previous narrative, there is no abstract, or coda.

Orientation

Ghori structures the opening of this narrative in the same manner as all the other narratives so far. He opens the narrative with the establishment of the change in spatial frame. The entire narrative is situated on board the ship *Sangola I*. The second complicating action has a more specific spatial frame, the upper deck where the Captain of the ship would sit. The final complicating action and its resolution appear to be situated below deck. Throughout the narrative, there are displaced orientations, which give spatial, temporal, and character information as is required.

Complicating actions

There are four complicating actions in the narrative.

Complicating action A

The first complicating action describes Ghori’s reaction to food on his first evening onboard the ship:

tab †ham sanjho†la †jahāj	<i>then I boarded Sangola I</i>
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<p>then 1.SG Sangola ship ek nambar me (tut) charhā (tut) one number LOC board.PFV</p>	
<p><u>gyārā</u> sou ādmī eleven hundred man hamāre sāt māe thī (long pause) 1.SG together LOC PST</p>	<p>eleven hundred men were with me</p>
<p>jab ham jhāj me chare (tut) when 1.SG ship LOC board.IP</p>	<p>when I boarded the ship</p>
<p>usme sanjh ↑ā ↑ke (tut) in.that evening ACCDUR u sārā ek biskut mil ↑ā (.h) REM MOD one biscuit receive.PFV</p>	<p>on the ship in the evening, (we) received one biscuit</p>
<p>ham dekhā 1.SG watch.PFV</p>	<p>I saw (this)</p>
<p><u>Speaking to himself</u> ham bolā 1.SG said</p>	<p>I said (to myself)</p>
<p>_____</p> <p>i sārā koun chī he (.h) PROX MOD what thing be.PROG</p>	<p>what is this thing</p>
<p>_____</p> <p>khāne ko lakrī lanch me milt ↑ā (.h) eat.IP ACC wood launch LOC receive.IP</p>	<p>(we) get as food on the ship</p>
<p>_____</p> <p>ham keise ji ↑ye ↑gā (tut) 1.SG how live FUT</p>	<p>how will I survive</p>
<p>ham u biskut ↑kā 1.SG REM biscuit ACC pāni=m ↓bahā ↓diyā (.h) water.LOC throw.PFV do.PFV</p>	<p>I threw that biscuit into the water</p>
<p><u>Loud</u> chini kap ↑pī ↑liyā (.) sugar cup drink take.PFV</p>	<p>(I) drank the cup of sugar</p>
<p>↓pāni ↓biskut ↓bahā ↓diyā (tut) water biscuit throw.PFV do.PFV</p>	<p>threw the biscuit in the water</p>

The giving of dry biscuits and sugary water was a precautionary measure taken by the ship's doctor against seasickness on the Girmityas' first day aboard the ship (Gillion, 1962: 63).

Complicating action B

The second complicating action takes place sometime after this:

<u>Rhythmic</u> chalte chalte jahāj chale he <i>walk.IP walk.IP ship walk.3.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>the ship went on and on</i>
ou ham↑log (.) <i>and 1 SG.PL</i> roj samund↑ār ↑kī ↑hawā ↑kare (tut) <i>everyday sea GEN wind do.3.IP</i>	<i>and everyday we took in the sea air</i>

This section of the narrative describes how Ghori came to develop this rapport with the Captain of the ship. At level 1, it also functions as the orientation for the next complicating action:

<u>Loud</u> to ↑ham ek ↑roj (tut) <i>TOP 1.SG one day</i>	<i>so one day</i>
ham chalā geyā upar <i>1.SG walk.PFV go.PFV above</i>	<i>I went up on deck</i>
keptān ke lage beithā <i>Captain ACC near sit.PFV</i>	<i>to sit with the captain</i>
to ham keptān se bāt karne lagā (.) <i>TOP 1.SG Captain LOC talk do.IP start.PFV</i>	<i>I started talking to the captain</i>

Complicating action C

At level 1, there is the establishment of the temporal frame for the third and fourth complicating actions through the naming of the Hindu festival:

phir huwā rehte: reh↑te: (tut) <i>then there stay.IP stay.IP</i>	<i>then after staying on the ship for a while</i>
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jahāj me jab astrāl↑ya ke lage ā↑yā <i>ship LOC when Australia ACC near come.PFV</i>	<i>when the ship came near Australia</i>
to ↑hua holī kā dan āgeyā phog-phagwā <i>TOP there Holi GEN day arrive.PFV Fagwa</i>	<i>then it was the day of Holi, Fagwa</i>

The third complicating action is the beginning of the main complicating action of the narrative. As he is one of the cooks onboard the ship, Ghori discusses with the Captain the possibility of cooking traditional Indian food for the Girmityas, rather than their regular food:

to ↑ham ↑batātā kap↑tān ↑se <i>TOP 1.SG tell.1.IP Captain LOC</i>	<i>I am telling the Captain</i>
<u>Loud</u> kī ↑āj holī dan ↑he (.h) <i>that today Holi day be.PROG</i>	<i>that today is the day of Holi</i>
ou hamārā tei↑wār ↑he (.h) <i>and 1.SG.GEN festival be.PROG</i>	<i>and this is our festival</i>
tum eisā ↑kām kar↑o (tut) <i>2.SG.FAM this.way work do.IMP</i>	<i>you arrange things this way</i>
<kī āj hamlog <i>that today 1.PL</i> vid↑yā ↑purī sab ↓banae ge > (tut) <i>vidya puri all make.3.IP go</i>	<i>that today we make vidya and puri</i>
our ham sab bāte ge ↓admīn ↓ko (.h) <i>and 1.SG all give.IP go man DAT</i>	<i>and (1 P) give it to all the people on board</i>

The Captain agrees conditionally:

tab keptān boltā <i>then Captain say.IP</i>	<i>then the Captain says</i>
achh↑ā: <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
ī bārā baje ke kānā <i>PROX twelve o'clock GEN food</i> ↑khā ↑lene ↑deo <i>eat allow.3.IP give.IMP</i>	<i>let (them) eat their lunch</i>
tab sanjhā ke denā (.h) <i>then evening ACCDUR give.PFV</i>	<i>then give (it) to (them) in the evening</i>

Ghori describes the conversation between him and the Captain. At level 2, while Ghori's contribution is classified as reported speech because of the use of 'that' before the speech, the Captain's contribution to the conversation is clearly in the form of dialogue. The conversation illustrates the rapport between the Captain and Ghori. They are speaking as equals. The use of dialogue for the Captain's speech is important as it illustrates that he does not dismiss Ghori's suggestion, but negotiates with Ghori as to when to best implement his suggestion.

While Ghori and the Captain are talking, Mahmud Din overhears the conversation:

to ↑ek mahmud ↑dīn <i>TOP one Mahmud Din</i> ↑nām ke hoe par ↓rahā (.h) <i>name GEN there LOC AUX.PST</i>	<i>there was one called Mahmud Din who was right there</i>
kām kartā rā hamāre sāt wo ↓bhī (tut) <i>work do.1.IP AUX.PST 1.SG with REM too</i>	<i>he too was working with me</i>

In contrast to the previous two narratives, Ghori provides character orientation for Mahmud Din. Both he and Ghori are working on board the ship as cooks. The emphasis on Mahmud Din's character orientation is because he is a central antagonist of the narrative:

u jā ke sab ādmīan ke batā diyā <i>3.SG went COMP all man DAT tell.PFV do.PFV</i>	<i>he went and told everyone</i>
āj holi kā ↓din (tut) <i>today Holi GEN day</i>	<i>today is Holi</i>
er	<i>er</i>
tewār he (.h) <i>festival be.PROG</i>	<i>(today) is a festival</i>

Complicating action D

Mahmud Din's action results in the final complicating action:

ādmī log big ↑ar ↑ge <i>man PL angry go</i>	<i>the people got angry</i>
khānā nei khae (.h) <i>food NEG eat</i>	<i>(they) refused to eat</i>

<u>Rhythmic, stubborn voice</u> bole says	<i>(they) said</i>
_____	<i>today we will make puri</i>
āj to ham purī banae †gā <i>today TOP 1.SG puri make FUT</i>	
=====	<i>(we) will eat vidya</i>
<u>vidyā</u> khae †gā <i>vidya eat FUT</i>	
=====	<i>we won't eat roti today</i>
āj ham <u>rotī</u> nei †khaeg (tut) <i>today 1.SG roti NEG eat.FUT</i>	

At level 2, by describing the outcome of Mahmud Din's actions, Ghorī is in effect contrasting the outcome of Mahmud Din's actions with his own. Ghorī consults the Captain on cooking special food to celebrate the festival. He accepts the Captain's suggestion to allow the Girmityas to have their lunch, which has already been prepared, and to provide them with vidya and puri as an evening meal. Mahmud Din, on the other hand, refuses to accept the Captain's suggestion. He takes the initiative, and announces to the Girmityas that it is Holi.

In their speech, the Girmityas are portrayed as speaking in a stubborn voice. At level 2, the use of choral dialogue combined with the use of rhythmic intonation, provides a staccato pattern of delivery, and works in giving the impression that the dialogue is produced in unison by a number of speakers, all reciting the same words, all indicating that they shall not be swayed in their actions. The combination of these evaluation features, in a large body of Girmityas, gives them the characteristics of an angry mob.

The Captain and others in authority attempt to reason with the Girmityas:

to sab huwā keptān bhī samjhāyā <i>TOP all there Captain too explain.PFV</i>	<i>so everyone including the Captain tried to reason (with them)</i>
kī ī bārā baje khānā †khā †leo <i>that PROX twelve o'clock food eat take.IMP</i>	<i>that eat this lunch</i>
<u>phīr sanjhā</u> k banao (.) <i>then evening ACCDUR make.IMP</i>	<i>and then in the evening make (the food)</i>

sab nei mānīn <i>all NEG didn't.want.to.understand</i>	<i>they all refused to listen</i>
---	-----------------------------------

The Captain then turns to Ghori:

tab keptān hamse boltā he (.h) <i>then Captain 1.SG.LOC say.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>then the Captain says to me</i>
ki tum ek dafē boldeo <i>that 2.SG.FAM one time say.do.IMP</i>	<i>that you talk to them</i>
tumhāre bāt sunte †he (.h) <i>2.SG.FAM.GEN talk listen.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>they listen to you</i>

Ghori uses his dialogue to the Captain to speak indirectly to the interlocutors. Hence, the dialogue simultaneously carries the action of the narrative, and allows Ghori to emphasize his position as a member of the interlocutors' ingroup:

ham bolā <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
āj u ham †ārī bāt bhī kāt dege (.h) <i>today 3.REM 1.SG.GEN talk too cut will.IP</i>	<i>today they will not listen even to me</i>
kyu †kī hindustānī sach b †ādī †he (tut) <i>because that Hindustani true to.his.word be.PROG</i>	<i>because an Indian is true to his word</i>
ek prant par hoe jātā <i>one decision LOC happen go.1.IP</i>	<i>when (he) makes up (his) mind</i>
wo †nei hattā (.h) <i>that NEG move.1.IP</i>	<i>he will not be moved</i>

As the theme and Ghori's positioning in the life narrative are highly intertwined, it is difficult to discuss one without the other. The dialogue of the Captain is similar to the dialogue of the Grand Sahib in the previous narrative. The Captain's dialogue re-emphasizes the positioning of Ghori in a position of authority by others. It is the Captain who asks Ghori to speak to the Girmityas. Hence, it is the Captain who is telling the interlocutors of the respect that the Girmityas hold for Ghori. The incident, therefore, connects back to the overall theme of Ghori being a leader amongst the Girmityas:

to bole <i>TOP says</i>	<i>(the Captain) says</i>
nei <i>NEG</i>	<i>no</i>
tum ek dafe bolo <i>2.SG.FAM one time say.IMP</i>	<i>you speak (to them) once</i>
phir to ham bandobar kar legā (tut) <i>then TOP 1.SG make.arrangements do take.FUT</i>	<i>after that I will make arrangements</i>

Ghori speaks to the Girmityas. He uses the term *bhai* meaning ‘brother’ to signal to both the Girmityas in the narrative, as well as the listening interlocutors, that he is positioning himself as one of the Girmityas, another *Jahajibhai*:

ham batāyā <i>1.SG tell.PFV</i>	<i>I told (my shipmates)</i>
bhai ↑log (.h) <i>brother PL</i>	<i>brothers</i>
↑hamārī ↑bāt ↑mān ↑lo <i>1.SG.GEN talk agree take</i>	<i>listen to me</i>
↑bhae <i>brother</i>	<i>brothers</i>
tumlog ĩ khān↑ā khae lo <i>2.FAM.PL 3.PROX food eat take</i>	<i>you eat this food</i>
ou ↑phir ham ↑sab ↑chīj detā he (.h) <i>and then 1.SG all thing give.PFV be.PROG</i>	<i>and then I am going to give everything (to you)</i>
tum purī banā↑ao vidyā= <i>2.SG.FAM puri make.IMP vidya</i>	<i>and you can make puri, vidya</i>
=↑joun chīj maṅtā <i>which thing want. 1.IP</i>	<i>whatever (you) want</i>
↓banao (.) <i>make.IMP</i>	<i>(you) make</i>

At level 2, the Girmityas’ speech simultaneously performs the dual function of carrying the action of the narrative, and acts as an evaluation on Ghori’s previous speech to the Captain. This allows Ghori to re-emphasize his positioning as an Indian, who understands how an Indian thinks and behaves:

bole says	(they) said
↑o: ↑o: EXCLM	EXCLAMATION
↑tum ↑gap ↑lagātā 2.SG.FAM lie put.1.IP	you are lying
↑ham ↑kabhī ↑nā ↓khānā ↓khaegā (.h) 1.SG ever NEG food eat.FUT	we will never eat this food
<u>Rhythmic, stubborn voice</u> ham ab ban ↑ae ↑gā 1.SG now make FUT	we will make it now
=====	(we) will not eat this food
ī khānā ↑nei ↑khae ↑ga (.) 3.PROX food NEG eat.FUT	
chai koi parmešwar ā jaegā even some God come go.FUT	even if a God comes
tabhī nā khaeg (.h) even.then NEG eat.FUT	(we) will not eat

The final dialogue performs the same function as the previous choral dialogue:

jab nā kh↑aeg when NEG eat.FUT	when (they) refused
ham bola (.h) 1.SG said	I said
↓ab ↓ī ↓log ↓eise ↑he now 3.PROX PL this.way be.PROG	these people are now adamant

Resolution

The Captain realizes that the Girmityas will not listen even to Ghori:

achhā AFM	Ok
ī khānā bigā do (tut) 3.PROX food throw.PFV give	have this food thrown away
↑sā:b khānā samundār me all food sea LOC girā diyā °ge° (tut) fall.PFV give.PFV FUT	all the food was thrown into the sea

Rhythmic_____	<i>then we distributed barrels of flour</i>
phir hamlog (.) pip↑ā (.) ātā bāt↑e <i>again 1.PL barrel flour give.3.IP</i>	
_____	<i>gave ghee</i>
ghī diy↑e <i>ghee give.3.IP</i>	
_____	<i>for the men to cook</i>
ādmīn kā banāne kā <i>man DAT make.IP INV</i>	
ye <u>dud</u> tin ke (tut) <i>this milk tin GEN</i>	<i>this tin of milk</i>
↑sā:b chīj admīn kā diy↓e (tut) <i>all thing man ACC give.3.IP</i>	<i>(we) gave everything to the men</i>

In addition, the Girmityas are given new sets of cards, and musical instruments, as it was in the interest of the Surgeon-Suprintendent to keep the Girmityas happy and maintain discipline onboard ship (cf. Gillion, 1962: 62-3):

phir tīn bākās <u>kād</u> bāt↓e <i>again three box card give.3.IP</i>	<i>then (we) distributed three boxes of cards,</i>
<u>khele</u> =k wāst↓e (tut) <i>play INV reason</i>	<i>for playing</i>
ou: (tut) <u>dholak</u> <i>and drum</i>	<i>and drums</i>
ham jāno ādhā darjan dholak (.) <i>1.SG know.IMP half dozen drum</i>	<i>I would think half a dozen drums</i>
dholak majīr↑ā: ↑jhā:n kartāl > <u>sab</u> < (.h) <i>drum majira jhan kartal all</i>	<i>drum, majira, jhan, kartal, everything</i>

Ghori stresses, through his repetition, how men and women were strictly segregated. This emphasis correlates with that of other Girmityas. This emphasis may be to indicate that despite the close confines of the ship, societal norms and expectations of conduct were upheld. At level 3, the viewpoint ties in with Ghori's moral viewpoint as a religious leader:

aurtan kā al↑ag <i>woman.PL ACC separate</i>	<i>women were given everything separately</i>
mardānān kā al↑ag <i>man.PL ACC separate</i>	<i>men separately</i>

Ghori's positioning highlights his agentivity. He positions himself as a Girmitya through his referential term *bhai* or 'brother'. His position, however, remains agentive in the final complicating action, as he helps the Captain dispense ingredients to the cooks, and musical instruments and playing cards to the Girmityas. The positionings Ghori adopts in the narrative indicate that he is his own agent. Moreover, it is possibly because of his independence that he earns the respect of the Girmityas and the ship's authorities alike.

Coda

The narrative lacks a coda, as the primary interlocutor interrupts the narrative to clarify the spatial frame:

A: ye jahāj ↑ par <i>this ship LOC</i>	A: <i>on the ship</i>
G: jahāj par (.) <i>ship LOC</i>	G: <i>on the ship</i>
īse liye jahāj par ↑ he <i>this reason ship LOC be.PROG</i>	<i>for this reason (we) are on the ship</i>
īse liye aksai he <i>this reason be.PROG</i>	<i>for this reason</i>

Abstract for Narrative 9

is māfik jab huwā par teiy↑ārī ↑bheyā <i>PROX manner when there LOC preparation happen.PFV</i>	<i>when all the preparations were happening in this manner</i>
huā ae geyā tof↓ān <i>there come go.PFV hurricane</i>	<i>there came a hurricane</i>

To help the interlocutors understand why the Girmityas are still on the ship, Ghori begins another narrative. Through the new narrative, he illustrates how the journey to Fiji progresses, and also, why it takes the Girmityas so long to arrive in Fiji.

11.9 Event narrative 9: The hurricane

The Hurricane is temporally framed as taking place immediately after the final complicating action in *On Board the Sangola I*. The abstract of *The Hurricane* situates the beginning of the causal chain as occurring concurrently with these actions.

During the hurricane, the ship finds shelter. The Girmityas are taken off the ship, and they celebrate Holi, their survival, and their sojourn from their voyage. The ship finally berths near Australia. A Surgeon-Superintendent boards the ship, and provides the Girmityas a change of clothing, followed by a medical examination. The Girmityas are deemed medically fit, and are placed on another ship to continue on their journey to Fiji.

Ghori's description of the Girmityas having a sojourn from their voyage is a counter-narrative to master narratives of indenture. The Girmityas are depicted as being carefree and happy, which is in stark contrast to the pictures of misery and dejection portrayed in master narratives and many of the other life narratives.

11.10 Event narrative 10: I could have been killed

This narrative is situated in a passage just outside of Fiji and marks the end of Ghori's journey to Fiji. Ghori describes a near death experience he had on his voyage to Fiji. He is about to step off the ship near Torres Strait to explore the jungles, but is stopped in time by a Bengali Lascar, who warns Ghori that men, who had given in to the temptation of exploring the jungles, had been killed. It is not clear who, or what, killed these people, but the warning is sufficient to quench Ghori's desire of exploring the jungle.

11.11 Event narrative 11: How I tricked the Englishmen

This narrative is situated in Fiji, at the quarantine depot in Nukulau. The narrative marks the beginning of Ghori's Girit experience in Fiji. At level 1, the narrative has a general orientation section, followed by the complicating actions. There are ten complicating actions in this narrative. Although each complicating action has its own resolution, five of the complicating actions and resolutions build up to the final complicating action. Hence, while each resolution resolves the events in its own

complicating action, the resolution carries the narrative forward towards the final complicating action. This final complicating action forms the major complicating action of the narrative. The narrative does not have a coda but ends on the resolution of the final complicating action.

Orientation

Ghori and the interviewer co-construct the temporal frame of the narrative:

to (.) mā:rīt ↑sāt tārik ↑ko <i>TOP March seven date ACCDUR</i> ham naklouwā me utar ↓ge <i>1.SG Nukulau LOC disembark go</i>	<i>on March the seventh we disembarked at Nukulau</i>
A: ↑koun sāl <i>which year</i>	A: <i>which year</i>
↑bābā <i>father</i>	<i>father</i>
G: san unei sou ↑das <i>year nineteen hundred ten</i>	G: <i>nineteen hundred and ten</i>

The spatial frame of the narrative, while situated in Nukulau, is more specifically situated in different places in the quarantine depot. Each complicating action has a specific spatial frame as illustrated below:

Complicating Action	Spatial Frame
1	Girmityas' quarters
2	Englishmen's bungalow
3	Englishmen's bungalow
4	Englishmen's bungalow
5	Storeroom
6	Englishmen's bungalow
7	Girmityas' quarters, Englishmen's bungalow
8	Girmityas' quarters
9	Girmityas' quarters
10	Girmityas' quarters

At level 1, the new characters are introduced early in the narrative, in the first complicating action:

ham↑ke <u>hal</u> dākt↑ar ↑dāktar ↑rā 1.SG.GEN Hall doctor doctor AUX.PST	<i>there was Doctor Hall who was the doctor</i>
our <u>lamb</u> saheb baṛā arjant ↑rā (tut) and Lamb Sahib big agent AUX.PST	<i>and Lamb Sahib who was the Agent General</i>

These are major characters in the narrative; hence, Ghori specifies what their roles were during this stage of the Girit process. The only other individual major character is Ghori. The Giritiyas, who are also present in the narrative, are presented collectively. Their presence serves an evaluative function in the narrative, at level 2, similar to the function of the potential recruits in Narrative 2.

Complicating action

The complicating actions are in the form of dialogues. Interspersed between these dialogues are Ghori's direct speech to the interlocutors, which allows the linking of the complicating actions as it provides orientational information. It also allows Ghori to switch between reported speech and dialogue, thereby, providing variation in his narration. By speaking directly to the interlocutors, Ghori can also gauge the primary interlocutor's reaction to the narrative. This allows Ghori to ensure three things: that the interviewer perceives and agrees with Ghori's point of view; that he is following Ghori's narrative; and that his narration maintains its reportability.

Complicating action A and Resolution

The first complicating action focuses on introducing the spatial frame of the quarantine station in Nukulau:

Orientation

G: (.) naklouwā me jab utr ↑e (tut) Nukulau LOC when disembark.IP	<i>when (we) disembarked at Nukulau</i>
huwā sab dīpu ↑ultā paṛ↑e ↑re (tut) there all depot upside.down lie.IP AUX.IP	<i>there the depot was in disarray</i>
>ulte paṛe re upside.down lie AUX.IP	<i>(it) was in disarray</i>
tab gyārā sou ādmī re ham↑log< then eleven hundred man AUX. IP 1.PL	<i>then we were eleven hundred men</i>

Complicating Action

unko sab sīdhā kar ke 3.REM.GEN all straighten do COMP	(we) straightened everything
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At level 3, Ghori uses agentive positioning for both himself and the other Girmityas. The Girmityas are depicted as reassembling their quarters of their own initiative, rather than under the directive of the Englishmen.

Agent = y

Recipient = x

Witness = z

Not mentioned but inferred from narrative = ()?

	Arrive in Nukulau	Reorganize the Girmityas' quarters	Went to their quarters
Ghori			
Girmityas-Ghori			
Girmityas+Ghori	y	y	
Male Girmityas			y
Female Girmityas			y
Englishmen (Dr Hall + Mr Lamb)	y		

The resolution ends with the reiteration of the maintenance of segregation. This is a moral viewpoint that Ghori has emphasized throughout the Girmityas' voyage:

tab ādmī apne me †ge then man 1.GEN LOC go	then the men went to their own quarters	CA
aurat apne me †ge (.h) woman 1.GEN LOC go	the women went to their own quarters	CA+ Repetition of form
↓sab ↓apne= apne all 1.GEN 1.GEN ↓ghar ↓me ↓rahe (tut) house LOC AUX.IP	everyone stayed in their own quarters	Repetition of form

Complicating action B and Resolution

In this complicating action, Ghori explains how it came to be that he resided not with the Girmityas, but with the two Englishmen. At level 3, Ghori positions himself as a recipient of the directives of the Englishmen:

↑ unke ↑ banlā ↑ me <i>3.REM.GEN bungalow LOC</i> hamko ↑ pehre par rak ↓ diyā (tut) <i>1.SG.GEN watchman LOC put do.PFV</i>	<i>(they) put me on guard duty at their bungalow</i>
kī tum hamāre ↑ sāt ro (tut) <i>that 2.SG.FAM 1.SG together stay</i>	<i>(they said) that you stay with us</i>
↑ ham ↑ huwā reh ↑ ne lag ↑ e (tut) <i>1.SG there stay.IP start.IP</i>	<i>I started staying there</i>

To be a bodyguard would imply that the person was respected by the other Girmityas, and, importantly, that he was a leader amongst the Girmityas. By making Ghori their bodyguard, the Englishmen would hope to avoid a rebellion by the Girmityas. At level 3, the complicating action is, expanding on the theme of Ghori being singled out as a leader amongst the Girmityas by others. This is a theme that is recurrent in Ghori's life narrative, previously appearing in Narratives 7 and 8.

Complicating action C and Resolution

In the third complicating action, Ghori attempts to revert to the theme in the first narrative. It is the Doctor and his attributed dialogue that is the focus of this complicating action. At level 2, Ghori uses the Doctor's dialogue to re-position himself as a credible narrator:

<u>higher pitch</u> tumhārā āyu pa ↑ chīs baras likhā ↑ he <i>2.SG.FAM.GEN age twenty-five years write.PFV</i> <i>be.PROG</i>	<i>your age is written as twenty five years</i>
<u>normal pitch</u> likhe eme (tut) <i>write.IP in.this</i>	<i>written in this document</i>
<u>resume higher pitch</u> our ham hia jab ink ↑ wairī kartā ↑ he	<i>but when I do an inquiry</i>

<i>and 1.SG here when inquiry do. 1.IP be.PROG</i>	
<p>_____</p> <p>to tumārī bārī ↑āyu satar se ↑upar <i>TOP 2.SG.FAM.GEN turn age seventy LOC above</i></p> <p>nikaltā he (.) <i>come.out. 1.IP be.PROG</i></p>	<i>your age comes out to be seventy</i>
<p>ī keisā bāt ↑he= <i>3.PROX what.kind talk be.PROG</i></p>	<i>how can this be</i>

The complicating action seems to have reached its peak as Ghori indicates in his last clause:

<p>=to (.) phīr tīn roj eise hī hoge ↓yā <i>TOP then three day this.way EMPH happen.go.PFV</i></p>	<i>then for three days this went on</i>
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Following the above complicating action, Ghori begins, what appears to be the resolution of the third complicating action:

<p>to ham ek roj bat ↑āyā unse <i>TOP 1.SG one day tell.PFV 3.REM.LOC</i></p>	<i>one day I told him</i>
<p>ham bolā <i>1.SG said</i></p>	<i>I said</i>

However, at this point, Ghori abandons this resolution, and the reconstrual of credibility, to begin a new complicating action. As seen in the above excerpts, the interviewer is completely absent, which becomes more marked when contrasted with the interviewer's presence, and appreciation, indicated through laughter, in the complicating action below. At level 2 of the analysis, therefore, we need to consider not only what is present, but also what is absent (cf. Berman, 1998; Lanser, 1981). On the part of the narrator, elisions may be for maintaining the other interlocutors' attention. However, it may also be for omitting details that are not in keeping with the point of view the principal narrator wishes to put forward. On the part of the interviewer, silence, or *absence of acknowledgment*, may not just be an indicator that s/he is enthralled with the tale, as was the case in Guldhari Maharaj's narration. Silence, at salient points in the narration, where the interviewer's input is expected by

the principal narrator, can serve another purpose, that of indicating the interviewer's disapproval of the principal narrator's point of view.

Complicating action D and Resolution

Ghori moves to another aspect of the theme of his life narrative, which is how he outwitted the Girmīt authorities. The new complicating action's temporal frame coincides with that of the previous complicating action. As with the previous complicating action, this complicating action is constructed almost entirely in the form of dialogue. The complicating action is also the beginning of the build up to the major complicating action.

This complicating action is initiated by the Doctor asking Ghori to fetch him alcohol from the storeroom. Ghori does not allow the Doctor to give his orders without interjecting with questions, and reiterating the Doctor's instructions in an interrogative voice. Hence, when considering both Ghori's and the Doctor's agency at level 3, it would appear that Ghori is challenging the Doctor's claims to authority. The impression that the interlocutors are left with is that Ghori, not the Doctor, is in the authoritative position:

	↑u ↑roj wa ↑kyā ↑bantā ↑he <i>3.REM day there what make.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>that day what was being made there</i>
	<u>purī</u> bantī he= <i>puri make.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>puri is being made</i>
<i>Doctor:</i>	=↑hamse batae <i>1.SG.LOC tell.IP</i>	<i>(he) tells me</i>
	↑kī (tut) dwī bot↑al dāru le ao <i>that two bottle beer take come.IMP</i>	<i>to bring two bottles of beer</i>
	<u>šarāb</u> <i>alcohol</i>	<i>alcohol</i>
<i>Ghori:</i>	bola <i>said</i>	<i>(I) said</i>
	<u>Interrogative voice</u> ↑kā ↑šarāb ↑he <i>where alcohol be.PROG</i>	<i>where is the alcohol</i>
<i>Doctor:</i>	bole <i>says</i>	<i>(he) said</i>

	godām me he (.h) <i>godam LOC be.PROG</i>	<i>in the godam</i>
<i>Ghori:</i>	↑godām ↑me ↑he <i>Godam LOC be.PROG</i>	<i>(it) is in the godam</i>
<i>Doctor:</i>	<u>choudā</u> bākas he <i>fourteen box be.PROG</i>	<i>there are fourteen cartons</i>
<i>Ghori:</i>	<u>Interrogative voice</u> ↑choudā he <i>fourteen be.PROG</i>	<i>there are fourteen (cartons)</i>
<i>Doctor:</i>	ha (.h) <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>
<i>Ghori:</i>	<u>interrogative voice</u> achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
<i>Ghori:</i>	<u>_____</u> koun śarāb ↑le ↑ao <i>which alcohol bring come.IMP</i>	<i>what alcohol should (I) bring</i>
<i>Doctor:</i>	bol ↑e (tut) <i>says</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
	ek wiś ↑kī <i>one whisky</i>	<i>one whisky</i>
	ek ↓barendī <i>one brandy</i>	<i>one brandy</i>
	dwī bāk ↑as ↑khol ↑ke <i>two box open COMP</i>	<i>open two cartons</i>
	nikāl ke <i>take.out COMP</i>	<i>take (them) out</i>
	le ānā <i>bring come.PFV</i>	<i>and bring (them)</i>

The resolution indicates Ghori's movement to the next spatial frame:

↑ham ↑geyā (.h) <i>1.SG go.PFV</i>	<i>I went</i>
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Complicating action E and Resolution

Up until this point, it would appear that Ghori is fulfilling his instructions:

ham eise khol= 1.SG this.way open	<i>in this way I open-</i>
=ghar khol↑ā house open.PFV	<i>(I) opened the house</i>
khol↑ke open COMP	<i>after opening</i>
dāru nikālā beer take.out.PFV	<i>(I) took out the beer</i>
dwī botal (.h) nikāl ke two bottle take.out COMP	<i>(I) took out two bottles</i>

But Ghori then provides the turning point in the life narrative:

G: jab <u>dekh</u> ↑ā (.h) when watch.PFV	G: <i>when (I) saw</i>
tab ham ghorājā apne sathīn ↑kā (.h) then 1.SG call.PFV 1.GEN comrades ACC	<i>then I called out to my comrades</i>
ham bola 1.SG said	<i>I said</i>
ae (.) doun↑o EXCLM friends	<i>EXCLAMATION friends</i>
<khub (.) khabar (.)↑suno> (tut) plenty news listen.IMP	<i>listen to (my) news carefully</i>
High pitch _____ chou:dā bākas dāru he (.) fourteen box beer be.PROG	<i>there are fourteen cartons of beer</i>
_____	<i>and (you) finish off these fourteen</i>
ou ī ↑ <u>choudā</u> bākas ka and 3.PROX fourteen box ACC	<i>cartons</i>

āj <u>safāi</u> kar denā today clean do give.FUT	
A: laughs	A: <i>laughs</i>
G: chhoranā nei leave.FUT NEG	G: <i>don't leave (any)</i>
A:	A:

Laughs in background	<i>laughs in background</i>
<u>High pitch</u> G: ou ↑rei ↑gei <i>and remain go</i>	G: <i>and if (any) remain</i>
_____	<i>then I will beat you</i>
to ham tumko ↓māre ↓gā (.h) <i>TOP 1.SG 2.SG.FAM.GEN hit FUT</i>	

Having set in motion, through his instructions, the chain of incidents building up to the major complicating action, Ghori turns back to the bungalow. As he does so, he gives further orders to the Girmityas:

<u>Resumes high pitch</u> ou khub purī banae ke ou gos <i>and plenty puri make.3.IP COMP and meat</i>	<i>and make plenty of puri and meat</i>
_____	<i>and send it to my place</i>
bhej denā hamāre huwā (tut) <i>send give.FUT 1.GEN there</i>	
<u>jhā</u> ham he (tut) <i>where 1.SG be.PROG</i>	<i>where I am</i>

The resolution indicates the Girmityas are carrying out his instructions:

to u log ek bal↑tī ↑gos (.)↑bherā ↑kā <i>TOP 3.REM PL one bucket meat sheep GEN</i>	<i>they put the sheep curry in one bucket</i>
ek baltī bakarā ↑kā <i>one bucket goat GEN</i>	<i>the goat curry in one bucket</i>
ou ↑pur↑tī tab me bhar ↑ke <i>and puri tub LOC pack COMP</i>	<i>and the puri in one tub</i>

At level 3, the positioning displayed here can be contrasted with that in the previous complicating action. When the Doctor gave his instructions to Ghori, his authority did not go unchallenged by Ghori. On the other hand, when Ghori gives instructions to the Girmityas, they are positioned as listening and obeying without question. Hence, Ghori's authority, unlike that of the Doctor, is unchallenged.

Complicating action F and Resolution

When seen in the scope of the entire narrative, complicating action 6 describes a minor event. The complicating action performs an evaluative function, by delaying the major complicating action, hence raising the anticipation of the interlocutors. At level 2, the complicating action also reinforces Ghori's point of view, on who constitutes 'us' and 'them'.

The complicating action is about the Englishmen eating curry. Presumably, Ghori has brought the bottles of alcohol the Doctor had requested. Ghori sits down to eat with the two men. The Englishmen praise the food the Girmityas have cooked. In this complicating action, although the admiration of Indian cooking would have been made by an individual, Ghori uses choral dialogue, giving the impression that the words were uttered by both men:

G: to gore bolte †he <i>TOP Englishman.PL say.IP be.PROG</i>	G: <i>the Englishmen are saying</i>
†eisā †tarkārī ham <i>this.kind curry 1.SG</i> kabhī umar bhare me †nei khae†yā (.h) <i>never age throughout LOC NEG eat.PFV</i>	<i>I have never eaten this kind of curry</i>
nā eis†ā (.) gos sawād †aiyā (tut) <i>NEG this.kind meat delicious come.PFV</i>	<i>never has the meat tasted so good</i>
<u>Voice: mimicry of Pidgin Hindi speaker</u> >ī keise banae jāte < <i>3.PROX how.3.IP make.3.IP go.3.IP</i>	<i>how is this made</i>
>hindu †stān <u>keise</u> †banāte < (.) <i>Indian how make.3.IP</i>	<i>how do Indians make this</i>
<u>Ghori speaking to Englishmen in Pidgin Hindi</u> hindustānī khānā tum nei jāno abhī° <i>Indian food 2.SG.FAM NEG know.IMP right.now</i>	<i>you don't know Indian food yet,</i>
†hindustānī † <u>bout</u> achhā pakwān ban°tā°(.) <i>Indian very good food make.IP</i>	<i>Indians make very good food</i>
ī to abhī koi kām ke nei= <i>PROX TOP right.now some work INV NEG</i>	<i>this is nothing</i>
	<i>(this) does not taste good enough to</i>

=hamāre ↑kām kā nei he (.) 1.GEN work INV NEG be.PROG	<i>me</i>
chupe kh↑ae= khae ↑ke (tut) <i>silent eat.3.IP eat.3.IP COMP</i>	<i>(they) ate on in silence</i>

In the previous sections of the narrative, Ghori does not characterize the Englishmen as speaking in Pidgin Hindi. At level 2, the result of suddenly giving the Englishmen features of Pidgin adds to the humour of the narrative and is a means of mocking (Hill, 1998; Meek, 2006) the Englishmen. The humour relies on the community's stereotype of pidginized Hindi, at level 3, that it is used by outsiders, who are unable to acquire the proper form of the language (Siegel, 1995: 100-101). At level 2, the attribution of Pidgin to the Englishmen, therefore, distances them from those who are Indian, that is, the interlocutors. The Englishmen's dialogue, as well as their use of Pidgin at level 2, emphasizes their categorization as 'outsiders' at level 3. The attributed dialogue and categorization also emphasizes the Englishmen's ignorance of what the Girmityas are plotting, and allows the interlocutors to laugh at the Englishmen's expense. In addition, at level 2, the Englishmen's high intonation pattern, combined with their choral utterance in Pidgin Hindi, has a similar effect to the use of voice in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative, that is, their utterance renders them child-like.

Ghori's dialogue, and use of Pidgin, emphasize his superiority over the Englishmen. He is an Indian, who is speaking his own language, but in a simplified form, in order for the Englishmen to be able to understand him. Although he uses Plantation Pidgin Hindustani, Ghori's voice, and his words are authoritative, and dismissive. Through his ability to discern between what they are praising, and what would constitute as food that Indians would consider worth praising, Ghori emphasizes his own Indianness. In this dialogue, the roles of the Englishmen and Ghori appear to be reversed. It is not the Englishmen who are portrayed in authority over Ghori, but vice versa. This lack of subservience needs to be considered in relation to Ghori's entire narration, and in particular, the reason behind his becoming a Girmitya.

Ghori's words function as a rebuke, which silences the Englishmen. Ghori appears to display animosity towards the two Englishmen. This is evident in his demeanour when speaking to them. As seen in the fourth complicating action, Ghori speaks in an

interrogative voice to the Doctor, questioning his every instruction. In this complicating action, Ghori's remarks insinuate that the Englishmen are not capable of discerning quality Indian cooking. In this final section, Ghori's emphasis, through pro-drop, is on the Englishmen's action of eating in silence. Moreover, it is in relation to this action that Ghori's reply to the Englishmen takes the form of a rebuke, which they cannot challenge. Ghori's animosity is not directed towards an individual but towards the Englishmen in general. His rebuke is, therefore, directed not to an individual but to Englishmen in general.

Complicating action G and Resolution

While the previous complicating action is reaching its resolution, the seventh complicating action begins. The Girmityas are following Ghori's instructions to drink the cartons of alcohol. While they are doing so, they perform religious plays, making a lot of noise in the process:

tab hiā u log <i>then here 3.REM PL</i>	<i>then here these people</i>
jab dāru piy ↑ an <i>when beer drink.PFV</i>	<i>when (they) drank beer</i>
bhe ↑ yā ↑ halā (.h) <i>happen.PFV noise</i>	<i>there was a lot of noise</i>
u log nātak ↑ bana ↑ dīn (tut) <i>3.REM PL drama make.PFV do.PST</i>	<i>they put on a play</i>
koi ↑ harīchand nātak kar ↑ tā <i>someone Harichand drama do.1 IP</i>	<i>some were doing the Harichand play</i>
koi pralā=harākasif kar ↑ tā (.h) <i>someone Harakasif do.1 IP</i>	<i>some were doing the Harakasif play</i>
koi ukā ke nātak ↑ kartā (tut) <i>someone Urkha GEN drama do.1 IP</i>	<i>some were doing the Urkha play</i>

The Englishmen are annoyed with the noise coming from the Girmityas. The Doctor orders Ghori to quieten the Girmityas:

to hamse batae ī ↑ log (.h) <i>TOP 1.SG.LOC tell.3.IP 3.PROX PL</i>	<i>these people say to me</i>
hamse ↑ hal daktar bol ↑ tā ↑ he <i>1 SG.LOC Hall doctor say.1 IP be.PROG</i>	<i>Doctor Hall says to me</i>
ī ↑ kyā ↑ bāt ↑ he (.h)	<i>what is this</i>

3.PROX what talk be.PROG	
↑ādmī log ↑bout halā kar rahe he (.h) man PL plenty noise do AUX.IP be.PROG	the men are making so much noise
to bole TOP say	(he) says
inko rok deo thorā (tut) 3.IP.GEN stop give little	(you) make them stop
kī ↑halā ↑nā ↑kar↑e (.h) that noise NEG do.3.IP	(tell them) that (they) are not to make noise,
kuch ↑paran dāru pī le some reason beer drink take	even though (they) are drunk
↑halā ↑nā ↑kare (tut) noise NEG do.3.IP	(they) are not to make noise

Of his own initiative, Ghori takes up a gun, and some bullets, before leaving the bungalow. His actions give the Englishmen the impression that he is carrying out their orders:

ham bolā 1.SG said	I said
achhā AFM	ok
ham banduk ↑lei ↑liyā 1.SG gun take 1.PFV	I took the gun
↑banduk ↑dhar ↑ke gun put COMP	(I) positioned the gun after which
golī le liyā bullet take 1.PFV	(I) took the bullets
↑jeb ↑me ↑bhar ↑ke (tut) pocket LOC pack COMP	(by) filling (them) in my pocket after which
chalā ↑āyā walk.PFV come.PFV	(I) came

Complicating action H and Resolution

In this complicating action, Ghori has arrived outside the Girmityas' quarters. Again, the impression is that he is performing his duty. This impression is heightened by the Girmityas' reaction to Ghori's gunshot:

tab <ek jab phāyar jab <u>kiyā</u> >	then when (I) fired a shot
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<i>then one when fire when do.PFV</i>	
to u log bole <i>TOP 3.REM PL say</i>	<i>they said</i>
<u>pakar</u> lo <i>catch take.IMP</i>	<i>catch (him)</i>
kon ādmī hia ātā he <i>which man here come. 1.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>which man is coming here</i>
pakar lo <i>catch take.IMP</i>	<i>catch (him)</i>
unko <u>phāsi</u> dedo (.) (tut) <i>3.REM.GEN hanging give.IMP</i>	<i>and hang him</i>

However, in the next section of the complicating action, Ghorī reveals that he has come out to the Girmityas on the pretext of quietening them:

to u ae <i>TOP 3.REM come.3.IP</i>	<i>they came</i>
ham bolā <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
kā <i>what</i>	<i>what</i>
↑ <u>ketnā</u> ↑piyā (.) <i>how.much drink.PFV</i>	<i>how much have (you) drunk</i>
khalā:s ↑karā <i>finish do.PFV</i>	<i>(have you) finished (it)</i>
kī abhī ↑nei (.h) <i>that right.now NEG</i>	<i>or not yet</i>
to bole <i>TOP say</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
abhī nei <i>right.now NEG</i>	<i>not yet</i>
khālī dwī bākas abhī bachā he= <i>only two box right.now remain be.PROG</i>	<i>there are only two cartons left</i>
=our sab khalās (tut) <i>and all finish</i>	<i>The rest have finished</i>
↑sab ↑khalās ↑he= <i>all finish be.PROG</i>	<i>all finished</i>
=hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>
Softer _____	<i>EXCLAMATION ok</i>

ou ↑achhā (tut) <i>EXCLM AFM</i>	
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After receiving an update from the Girmityas as to how they are progressing with his instructions, Ghori then gives his final orders to the Girmityas. These orders will enable Ghori to carry out the masterplan that he has been building up to in this narrative:

↑achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
ab ek kām ↑karnā (.) <i>now one work do.FUT</i>	<i>now do one thing</i>
↑to =u bole <i>TOP 3.REM say</i>	<i>they said</i>
kā (tut) <i>what</i>	<i>what</i>
ham jātā ↑he <i>1.SG go.1.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>I am going</i>
thorā der chup ↑rehnā <i>little time quiet AUX.FUT</i>	<i>be quiet for a while</i>
fir ↑khu:b halā banānā <i>then plenty noise make.FUT</i>	<i>then make a lot of noise</i>
to ham ↑gorān ka ↓lai↓gā (.h) <i>TOP 1.SG Englishman.PL ACC bring.FUT</i>	<i>and I'll bring the Englishmen</i>

As per Ghori's instructions, the Girmityas remain quiet while Ghori returns to the bungalow, giving the impression to the Englishmen that Ghori has fulfilled his duty:

Resolution H and Beginning of Complicating Action I

bole <i>says</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
achhā (tut) <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
ham chalā ae= <i>1.SG walk.PFV come</i>	<i>I came away</i>
=to otne der ke <u>chup</u> <i>TOP in.that time ACCDUR quiet</i>	<i>for that length of time (they) were quiet</i>
thorā der ↑bā:d <↑ap ↑barā ↑bhārī halā ↑machain> <i>little time after now very big noise make.PFV</i>	<i>after a little while (they) made a huge amount of noise</i>

Complicating action I and Resolution

While not appearing in an agentive role throughout the narrative, the places in the complicating action when Ghori does take an agentive position, are moments when he is carrying out his plan. For the remainder of the complicating action, he is a witness to the unfolding action, that he has set in motion, both in and outside the bungalow.

The beginning of this complicating action is entwined with the resolution of the previous complicating action. The Girmityas carry out their orders. This penultimate complicating action describes the Englishmen's reaction to the noise, and is the beginning of the major complicating action:

etnā halā mach↑ain <i>this.much noise make.PFV</i>	<i>(they) made so much noise</i>
> kuch khae ke nahī< (.h) <i>some talk INV NEG</i>	<i>it was unbelievable</i>
tab ↑gore ↑bolte ↑he <i>then Englishman.PL say.3.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>then the Englishmen say</i>
ae↑yār <i>EXCLM</i>	<i>EXCLAMATION</i>
↑ī ↑to ↑phīr ↑hala ↑kar↑dīn <i>3.PROX TOP again noise do.PFV</i>	<i>these people are making noise again</i>

Ghori expresses defeat. However, Ghori's expression of defeat is not as one who is intimidated by his superiors. He speaks to the Englishmen as an equal. He is indignant that they should blame him for the noise outside:

are <i>EXCLM</i>	<i>EXCLAMATION</i>
ham kā kare <i>1.SG what do.IP</i>	<i>what can I do</i>
halā kare <i>noise do.PFV</i>	<i>(they) are making noise</i>
ham ↑unkā ↑mu ↑kā ↑roko <i>1.SG 3.REM.GEN mouth what stop.IMP</i>	<i>how can I stop their mouths</i>
band hoe giyā ↑pahile <i>close happen do.PFV before</i>	<i>it was quiet before</i>
abhī chup=	<i>right now (they) were quiet</i>

<i>right.now quiet</i>	
=↑ phir ↑ karte (.h) <i>again do.3.IP</i>	<i>(they) are making noise again</i>
↑ chalo <i>walk.IMP</i>	<i>come</i>
↑ band ↑ karo= <i>close do.IMP</i>	<i>(you) stop the noise</i>

Ghori witnesses the next phase of his plan being fulfilled:

=bole <i>say</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
chalo <i>walk.IMP</i>	<i>let (us) go</i>
↑ ham chaltā <i>1.SG walk.1.IP</i>	<i>I am going</i>
ab deko <i>now watch.IMP</i>	<i>now see</i>
ham tīk kartā <i>1.SG good do.1.IP</i>	<i>I will stop (them)</i>
↓ chalo (.h) <i>walk.IMP</i>	<i>let (us) go</i>

The result of Ghori's challenge is seen in the order in which the three men leave the house, and the ammunition they carry. What is interesting, is that the overseers in almost every life narrative are associated with carrying a whip:

āge ↑ u <i>in.front 3.REM</i>	<i>they went in front</i>
chābuk ↑ liye (.h) <i>whip take.3.IP</i>	<i>with a whip</i>
ham banduk <i>1.SG gun</i>	<i>I with the gun</i>
↑ pīchhe <i>behind</i>	<i>followed</i>

Complicating action J and Resolution

This is the final complicating action, to which all the other complicating actions were building up to. All the participants are present in this final complicating action, as

Ghori's plans are fulfilled. Ghori's positioning alternates largely between taking an agentive role, when directing the action, or as witness to the unfolding action. The two Englishmen, on the other hand, begin with an agentive positioning, as they march up to the Girmityas, but this quickly changes as they witness Ghori revealing himself as the mastermind behind the Girmityas' actions:

↓ dono ↓ jāte <i>both go.3.IP</i>	<i>(we) both were going</i>
↑ tīno (.h) <i>three</i>	<i>the three (of us)</i>
chale jāt ↑ he = <i>walk.3.IP go be.PROG</i>	<i>(we) were going</i>

It would appear that up until this point the Englishmen had not suspected Ghori of being anything other than a faithful bodyguard:

=jei:se ham lage <u>poucha</u> <i>like 1.SG near arrive.PFV</i>	<i>as soon as we drew near</i>
u dīpu ↑ ke (.h) <i>3.REM depot COMP</i>	<i>near the depot</i>
ek phāyar kar diyā (.h) <i>one fire do give.PFV</i>	<i>(I) fired a shot</i>
jab phayar kar ↑ diyā <i>when fire do give.PFV</i>	<i>when (I) fired the shot</i>
to bolā <i>TOP said</i>	<i>(I) said</i>
↑ pakro <i>catch.IMP</i>	<i>catch (them)</i>
↑ pakro <i>catch.IMP</i>	<i>catch (them)</i>
↑ pakro (.h) <i>catch.IMP</i>	<i>catch (them)</i>

The Englishmen are taken by surprise, and are powerless to resist, as the Girmityas use the Englishmen's reaction to their advantage:

u gorān kā uthāy ke	<i>(they) lifted those Englishmen</i>
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<i>3.REM Englishman.PL ACC lift COMP</i>	
lei ke <i>take COMP</i>	<i>and took (them)</i>
dono ↓chale ↓ge (.h) <i>both walk.3.IP PST</i>	<i>both were taken</i>
↑dono ↑gorān ↑ke ↑kandhā ↑me ↑uthā ↑līn (.h) <i>both Englishman.PL ACC shoulder LOC lift PFV</i>	<i>both Englishmen were taken on (the Indian men's) shoulders</i>
lei jai ke <i>take go COMP</i>	<i>(they) were taken</i>
per par charhae ↑dīn <i>ree LOC climb.3.IP do.3.PFV</i>	<i>and put on the tree</i>

The Girmityas have the Englishmen at their mercy:

ab huwā ↑par mar- <i>now there LOC</i>	<i>now there (they)</i>
-dono goran kā parkar ke <i>both Englishman.PL ACC hold COMP</i>	<i>after catching both the Englishmen</i>
↓māre ↓he (.h) <i>beat be.PROG</i>	<i>and (they) are beating (the Englishmen)</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
dāru ↑de gā <i>beer give FUT</i>	<i>are (you) going to give (us) beer</i>
ki nei ↓degā (.h) <i>that NEG give.FUT</i>	<i>or are (you) not going to give (us beer</i>
tum dāru ↑de gā <i>2.SG.FAM beer give FUT</i>	<i>are you going to give (us) beer</i>
kī nei degā= <i>that NEG give.FUT</i>	<i>or are (you) not going to give (us beer)</i>
= >āj tumhe ↑mār dhāre gā <i>today 2.SG.FAM kill 3.IP FUT</i>	<i>today (we) will kill you</i>
āj tum hame ↓nei ↓dāru ↓do < (tut) <i>today 2.SG.FAM 1.SG NEG beer give.IMP</i>	<i>if you don't give us beer</i>

Realising they are in no position to refuse the demands, the Englishmen promise to provide the alcohol, without negotiating the amount of alcohol being demanded:

bole (.)	<i>(the Englishmen) said</i>
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<i>says</i>	
↑ <u>ketnā</u> ↑ māṅo (.) <i>how.much want.IMP</i>	<i>how much do (you) want</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
choudā bākas (.) <i>fourteen box</i>	<i>fourteen cartons</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(the Englishmen) said</i>
achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
de ↑ ga <i>give.FUT</i>	<i>(we) will give (it)</i>
tum hame māro ↑ nei <i>2.SG.FAM 1. SG hit.IMP NEG</i>	<i>you don't hit us</i>
tumhe choudā bakas <i>2.SG.FAM fourteen box</i> ham dāru maṅae ke ↓ degā <i>1. SG beer want.3. IP COMP give.PFV</i>	<i>I will get you fourteen cartons of beer</i>
↑ degā <i>give.PFV</i>	<i>(you) will give (it)</i>
bole <i>says</i>	<i>(the Englishmen) said</i>
<u>Subdued</u> hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>
————— deg (tut) <i>give</i>	<i>(we) will give (it)</i>

The two Englishmen are given choral dialogue, and their intonation pattern indicates their defeat. This intonation is in contrast to their intonation in Narrative 6 when they were eating.

The Girmityas position Ghori as a judge:

to hamse bolte he <i>TOP 1.SG.LOC say.3.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>(the Indians) said to me</i>
↑ suno ↑ he (.h)	<i>are (you) listening</i>

<i>Listen.IMP be.PROG</i>	
> ī choudā bākas dāru nei dei <i>3.REM fourteen box beer NEG give.FUT</i>	<i>if these people don't give (us) fourteen cartons of beer</i>
to isko ham ai ke <i>TOP 3.PROX.ACC 1.SG come COMP</i>	<i>we will come and</i>
hoe māre gā < (.h) <i>that.place hit FUT</i>	<i>hit them in their own quarters</i>

Ghori could show clemency towards the Englishmen. On the other hand, he could align himself with the Girmityas, and agree with their point of view. Ghori takes the Girmityas' side:

ham bola <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
↑ achhā <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
nā dei <i>NEG give.FUT</i>	<i>if (they) don't give</i>
tab (tut) (.) <i>then</i>	<i>then</i>

Once Ghori utters these words, the Englishmen realize that their only chance of escaping the beatings will be by providing the alcohol the Girmityas are demanding. Hence, in the resolution of the complicating action, the Englishmen order the alcohol to be delivered to the Girmityas. It is unclear to whom these orders are directed. Once the alcohol is delivered, the Girmityas keep their end of the bargain, and release the Englishmen.

At level 2 of the analysis, the final resolution is heavily evaluated through repetitions. There is the repetition of the fourteen cartons of alcohol given to the Girmityas, and the repetition that it was only after giving these boxes of alcohol that the Englishmen were released. The repetitions perform the function of providing explicit information as to how the complicating action was resolved. By doing so, the interlocutors are made aware that Ghori's masterplan has succeeded:

< ↑ choudā ↑ bākas dāru maṅa ↑ e > (.) (tut) <i>fourteen box beer want.3.IP</i>	<i>(the Englishmen) called for fourteen cartons of beer</i>	
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choudā †alag <i>fourteen separate</i>	<i>fourteen separately (for the women)</i>	
choudā alag (tut) <i>fourteen separate</i>	<i>fourteen separately (for the men)</i>	<i>Repetition of form</i>
† dāru lai ke choudā bākas †dein <i>beer bring COMP fourteen box give.PFV</i>	<i>(they) gave these fourteen cartons of beer</i>	<i>Repetition</i>
ab u chhuṭī (tut) <i>now 3.REM release.PFV</i>	<i>and then they were released</i>	
weise chhuṭī (.h) <i>that.way release.PFV</i>	<i>in that way (they) got released</i>	<i>Repetition</i>

The build up of the narrative and Ghori's animosity towards the Englishmen would seem rather puzzling when seen out of the context of the life narrative. But, when seen in context, particularly with reference to the second narrative, it is possible to gauge the reasons behind Ghori's behaviour towards the Englishmen.

In Ghori's viewpoint, the Girmityas, who were Indians, were, again, being subjected to the British rule. In spite of coming across the *kala pani* to Fiji to earn a living, the Girmityas were being treated as second class citizens by the two Englishmen. The two men, in Ghori's eyes, represented the British regime. While the two Englishmen lived in a bungalow, the Girmityas had to live in makeshift shacks. When seen in this light, it is possible that Ghori believes that his action was an act of justice.

11.12 Event narrative 12: My role in the dispatching of Girmityas

My Role in the Dispatching of Girmityas takes place a few days later. The narrative focuses on the last day of the Girmityas' stay at the quarantine station in Nukulau. The Girmityas are being divided into groups to be sent off to their respective plantations. This narrative expands on Ghori's self-aggrandizement as a leader amongst the Girmityas, and as a benefactor of the Girmityas.

At level 1, this is a well formed narrative as it has all of the six components that Labov mentions are possible in a narrative. However, it is difficult to distinguish where one component ends and the other begins, as in the demarcation of the abstract from the orientation, the complicating action from the orientation, and the resolution from the coda.

Abstract

The temporal orientation is entwined with the abstract, as seen below. The temporal frame is not explicit as to exactly how many days after the previous narrative this narrative takes place. However, the interlocutors are able to gauge, from Ghori's temporal frame, that the life narrative is still progressing in a linear fashion, and that a few days have elapsed between the resolution of the previous narrative and the beginning of this narrative:

Abstract and Orientation

<p>phīr †thore din me chalān <i>again little day LOC announcement.of.dispatch</i> bate lag†e (.h) <i>distribute.3.IP start.3.IP</i></p>	<p><i>and then a few days later (they) announced the dispatch (of the girmityas)</i></p>
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Orientation

The first orientation that we come across is embedded into the abstract. The orientation places the narrative in the temporal frame of the life narrative. In fact, the narrative does not have a specific section that can be classified as the orientation section of the narrative, but is dispersed through the narrative. Because these orientations are displaced from the beginning of the narrative, their function becomes evaluative, at level 2, as expanded upon below.

Complicating Action

The men whom Ghori allocates to the various plantations are depicted as taking their instructions from Ghori, and obeying without question. The purpose of Ghori's actions is revealed in the resolution and coda of the narrative:

<p>jab chalān <i>when announcement.of.dispatch</i> bate lag†e <i>distribute.3.IP start.3.IP</i></p>	<p><i>when (they) announced the dispatch (of the Girmityas)</i></p>
<p>koi †kā lambāsā <i>someone ACCLOC Labasa</i></p>	<p><i>some for Labasa</i></p>
<p>koi †kā (.h) <i>some.one where</i></p>	<p><i>some elsewhere</i></p>

to hamlog ↑usme (tut) ek ek vid ↑yān TOP 1.PL in.that one one wise.one ↓lambāsā ↓bheja= Labasa send.PFV	<i>we sent intelligent men to Labasa</i>
=↑parhā ↑wālā= literate.PFV MOD	<i>men who were educated</i>
=tārāchand ko lambāsā ↓bhejā Tarachand ACC Labasa send.PFV	<i>(I) sent Tarachand to Labasa</i>
our jhā jhā ↑rā and where where AUX.PST	<i>and wherever else (the Girmityas) were being sent</i>
nausorī ↑me (tut) totārām ko ↓bhejā (tut) Nausori LOC Totaram ACC send.PFV	<i>in Nausori (I) sent Totaram</i>

The character orientations perform the same function as those in Narrative 2, when Ghori mentions individuals, whom he recruited into his organization. That is, Ghori is indicating, through these illustrations, that the men he chose were of exceptional calibre. They were not only intelligent and educated, but they were men the Girmityas could respect, and rely on, during their Gimit. Moreover, by providing examples of the men he sent to the plantation, men who would be known in the community of the interlocutors, at level 2, Ghori is simultaneously providing credibility to his narrative.

Resolution and Coda

The following section is an explanation of the complicating action. Hence, it fulfils the criteria of a resolution:

↑eise ↑eise ↑ādmī (.h) this.way this.way man	<i>in this way men</i>
apnī jahā:j ka ↑ādmī 1.GEN ship GEN man chhāt chhāt ↑ke intensive.search intensive.search COMP	<i>men from our own ship (I) searched out</i>
↓huwā ↓bhejā= sāt me there send.PFV together LOC	<i>and sent with the Girmityas</i>
kī hamre pās khabar āwe that 1.SG.GEN LOC news come.FUT	<i>so that information would come to me</i>

The section also performs the function of a coda. It is in the past tense, thereby, indicating the narrative is in the past. The past tense also connects the narration back to

Narrative 2, the beginning of Ghori's description of his Girit experience. What is left unsaid is the reason behind his actions, which was mentioned in Narrative 2. The omission too, therefore, acts as a link to Narrative 2. Hence, Ghori's position of benefactor of the Girmityas, continues from Narrative 2 into the resolution and coda of this narrative.

11.13 Event narrative 13: At the Lautoka hospital

This is the next leg of Ghori's journey. The Girmityas are placed under observation overnight at the hospital, before they are sent on to the plantation.

11.14 Event narrative 14: The journey to the plantation

Ghori describes the Girmityas journey to Ba, the town in which they are to serve their Girit. Ghori's description of the Girmityas' joy at seeing the guavas growing wild, paints a picture of the Girmityas finding themselves in a tropical paradise:

tab ganā gārī me chal↑e (.h) <i>then cane cart LOC walk.3.IP</i>	<i>so then (we) went in the cane cart</i>
to ↑rastā ↑me ↑kerā (.) papītā (tut) <i>TOP road LOC banana papaya</i> our ↑bhout ↑chīj (.) rastā me dhar↑e (.h) <i>and many thing road LOC put.3.IP</i>	<i>beside the road there were bananas, papayas, and many other things growing</i>
hamlog ↑amrud to <i>1.PL guava TOP</i>	<i>we saw the guava</i>
↑sārā <i>EMPH</i>	<i>EMPHATIC</i>

The interlocutors are given the impression that this tropical paradise is in contrast to the India the Girmityas have come from:

>dufān ↑rā kī bhārat me <i>hurricane AUX.PST that India LOC</i>	<i>in India there was a hurricane</i>
to ↑miltā ↑nei ↑amrud< (tut) <i>TOP get.1.IP NEG guava</i>	<i>(we) couldn't get guavas</i>
↑hīā ↑sārā ↑janal (.h) <i>here EMPH jungle</i>	<i>and here they were growing wild</i>

At level 3, the description of the Girmityas' journey is quite unlike that of the master narratives or any other life narrative in this collection. I demonstrate this contrast below, through excerpts from Ghorī and Gabriel's life narratives:

Ghorī Gosai:

>sab ādmī utre gārī par se <i>all men got.off vehicle LOC LOC</i>	<i>all the men on the cart</i>
kud kud ke amrud utār ↑e < (.h) <i>jump jump COMP guava take.off.3.IP</i>	<i>jumped to grab the guavas</i>
> koi kerā =k ghound gārī me <i>some banana.GEN bunch vehicle LOC</i> utār ke dhar ↑le < (.h) <i>take.off COMP put take</i>	<i>some cut bunches of bananas and put them in the cart</i>
kei kuch <i>where some</i>	<i>(others) got other things</i>
eise ↑khā:d ↑piyat ↑hamlog (cough) <i>this.way eat.1.IP drink.1.IP 1.PL</i>	<i>in this way eating and drinking</i>
bā ae= <i>Ba come</i>	<i>(we) came to Ba</i>

Gabriel Aiyappa:

koi ke etnā taklīf rai kī (.h) <i>some GEN this.much hardship AUX.PST that</i>	<i>some (people) had so much hardship</i>
wa ↑se ↓nāvua āne ke (.) <i>there LOC Navua come.IP ACCLOC</i>	<i>coming from there to Navua</i>
pehil ↑e (.h) <i>previously</i>	<i>in those days</i>
kana ke <i>what INV</i>	<i>what's this called</i>
↑lonch rahā (.) <i>launch AUX.PST</i>	<i>there had been a launch</i>
to etn ↑ā: taklīf ↑rā <i>TOP this.much hardship AUX.PST</i>	<i>there was so much hardship</i>
koi koi ke kandā par beit ↑e <i>some some GEN shoulder LOC sit.IP</i>	<i>some sat on others' shoulders</i>
koi ↑mur ke upar beit ↑o (.h) <i>some head GEN LOC sit.IMP</i>	<i>Some sat on (others') heads</i>
nei sako ↑se	<i>(we) couldn't endure (the journey)</i>

11.15 Event narrative 15: The plantation

This is the final leg of their Girit journey to their plantation, *Lapato*. Throughout the narrative, the only participants who are mentioned are the new Girmityas. Ghori is part of a group of twenty seven Girmityas, dispatched to work in the township of Ba, on *Lapato* Plantation. Throughout the narrative, Ghori positions himself collectively with these other Girmityas; that is, he does not describe what happens to him as an individual but as part of this group of new Girmityas.

The narrative focuses on Ghori's first impressions of Girit life. He and the other Girmityas receive their implements, before being taken to the lines, where they receive their rations, and rooms in the lines. Unlike other life narratives in this study, Ghori does not focus on the hardship of travelling to the plantation, nor does he focus on the squalor of the lines. Instead, Ghori details the number of people allocated to a room in the lines. He ends the narrative by stating that he, and the new Girmityas, also lived in this manner.

11.16 Event narrative 16: The first drama

Ghori provides further information on the first day in the lines. This is one of the shortest narratives in the life narrative, and the actions mentioned in it are a prelude to those in the final narrative. Despite its length, the narrative has all the components of a well-constructed narrative, except for an abstract.

Orientation

The temporal frame, missing from the previous narrative, is supplied here. Ghori arrived on the plantation on Friday, at around ten o'clock in the morning. This narrative occurs on the same day, but in the evening:

hamre ↑phīr (tut) hīā ↑jab eta ↑wār 1.GEN again here when Thursday ke= sanichar= <u>suk</u> ko ↑utrā ACCDUR Saturday Friday ACCDUR got.off.PFV	<i>I got off here on Thursday-Saturday-Friday</i>
<u>suk</u> ke ↑roj (tut) Friday GEN day	<i>on Friday I got off at around ten o'clock</i>

ham utrā koi das †baje 1 <i>got.off.PFV</i> <i>some ten</i> <i>o'clock</i>	
lapat kothī me āyā (.h) <i>lapat plantation LOC</i> <i>come.PFV</i>	<i>and came to Lapat plantation</i>

The spatial frame for the complicating action is still the plantation, and, presumably, in the lines where the Girmityas live.

Complicating Action

The complicating action revolves around the enacting of a religious drama. At level 1, Ghori does not introduce any new characters. However, because of his use of pro-drop, it is difficult to tell whether Ghori is referring to himself, or to a group of Girmityas, which includes him:

sanjh †ā ke †hamre (.) pral=pralāl <i>afternoon ACCDUR</i> <i>1.GEN</i> <i>Prahlad</i> nātak=hamā= <i>drama 1.GEN</i>	<i>in the evening 1P enacted the Prahlad drama</i>
= †wo=harīchand nātak banā †diyā (.h) <i>that Harichand drama</i> <i>make.PFV</i> <i>do.PFV</i>	<i>that Harichand drama</i>

I would assume that the pronoun is in the plural. The *Harichand* drama is one of a quintet of five plays that focus on pious disciples. Each of these plays is named after its protagonist. This play features Harichand as the pious devotee, who suffers various trials, but does not waver in his devotion to God. The plays are referred to as *Sangit*, meaning *Song*, as the drama is in the form of a musical operatic theatre, common in the North of India, particularly from Punjab to Bihar. There are generally a number of performers in the plays, each of whom takes the role of singer, dancer, or drum player.

It is possible that Ghori organized the play. He comes from the United Provinces, where the performance of such plays are popular (cf. Narayan, 2003 on performative counter-narratives in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar). In addition, Ghori is an individual who has a high regard for religion, as seen in Narrative 5. The high agency that Ghori has displayed, almost throughout his narration, continues into the final section of the life narrative, described below.

Resolution

Ghori does not go into the details of the performance, but the drama is obviously well received by the Girmityas, as can be elicited from their actions in the resolution:

kuch pei ↑ sā mil gi ↑ yā (.h) <i>some money find get.PFV</i>	<i>(1P) got some money</i>
peisā mil gi ↑ yā <i>money find get.PFV</i>	<i>(1P) got money</i>

The significance of receiving money is tied to the coda.

Coda

Ghori indicates the end of the narrative, by mentioning the end of this first day on the plantation:

bhiān sanichar ↑ rā (.h) <i>tomorrow Saturday AUX.PST</i>	<i>the next day was Saturday</i>
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The coda ties in with the resolution. As Ghori illustrates in the next narrative, Saturday was market day for the Girmityas. With the money that he received from his performance, Ghori would be able to purchase items he had not received in his rations.

11.17 Event narrative 17: My message to the Girmityas

Ghori narrates about his organization of more religious plays, for a wider set of interlocutors. Girmityas from neighbouring plantations are invited to watch the plays. On the conclusion of the final play, Ghori explains the morals portrayed in the plays to the Girmityas. Furthermore, he explains how the morals relate to their own lives.

Orientation

The narrative begins with Ghori going to the market place at the Rarawai Mill. The remainder of the narrative is situated at the plantation, where the plays are performed. It can be assumed that the plays would have been performed in the lines where the Girmityas lived, as these plays were traditionally performed in public areas, and where the interlocutors were generally men.

The temporal frame of the narrative covers a wide span. It begins on Saturday, the day after the Girmityas arrive on Lapato plantation, moving into the next morning, as the first play the Girmityas perform in this narrative ends at dawn on Sunday morning. Ghori then collapses the time between this play and the final play by the following clause: *In this manner, (we) went on.* It would appear from this clause that Ghori and the other performers continue with their performances over the week. The final play takes place on Thursday, presumably, again in the evening, as the Girmityas would have had to work during the day time.

As in the previous narrative, Ghori omits the first person pronoun in many places in the narrative. He also omits mention of any specific character other than himself. Ghori thereby indicates that he wishes the interlocutors to focus on Ghori-as-protagonist in this final narrative. The other Girmityas form the background to Ghori's own actions.

Complicating action and Resolution

The narrative is similar in structure to Narrative 11. There are five complicating actions, all of which have their own resolution. The resolution section of each complicating action, while indicating the resolution of its own complicating action, also begins a new complicating action. In this manner, each complicating action works towards the final complicating action in the narrative.

Complicating action A and Resolution

The first complicating action takes place at the market place on Saturday morning. Ghori mentions that he buys clothes, and paper. The mention of buying paper relates back to the underlying reason for Ghori's presence as a Girmitya, which he mentions in Narrative 2, and, eludes to, in Narrative 13. On completion of his purchases, Ghori then makes an announcement at the marketplace that he, and other performers, will enact a religious drama, the *Prahlad* drama. This is a drama which is well known in the United Provinces (Map 1 and 2), from where most of the Girmityas came to Fiji:

huwā se kuch kapṛ ↑ ā kāgaj ↓ kharīdā (.h) <i>there LOC some clothes paper buy.PFV</i>	<i>there (I) bought some clothes and paper</i>
kharīd ↑ ke (.h) <i>buy.PFV COMP</i>	<i>after buying</i>

tab kyā †kiyā (.h) <i>then what do.PFV</i>	<i>then what did (I) do</i>
kī ab sanichār ke †ro:j <i>that now Saturday ACCDUR day</i> tāun †e me wā khabar batae diyā <i>town.RFLX LOC there news tell.3.IP do.PFV</i>	<i>but that today on Saturday in the town itself (I) told the news</i>
kī †āj prelā nātak (.h) <i>that today Prahlad drama</i>	<i>that today (1 P would be performing) the Prahlad play</i>
harnākāsī ke nātak hoe ga (.h) <i>Hiranyakashipu GEN play happen FUT</i>	<i>(1 P would be performing) the Hiranyakashipu play</i>
jo koi dekhe †māṅo <i>which some watch.3.IP want.IMP</i>	<i>those who want to watch</i>
lapat kothī †ao (.h) <i>Lapat plantation come.IMP</i>	<i>come to Lapat plantation</i>

The outcome of this announcement is that Girmityas from many other plantations, and presumably ‘free’ Indians, who had completed their Girmitya, came to the plantation to watch the play:

ae sanjhā †ke ādmī ālam se <i>come afternoon ACCDUR man afar LOC</i>	<i>in the evening men came from far and wide</i>
†sā:t nei ketnā ādmī ā geyā (tut) (.h) <i>seven NEG many man come go.PFV</i>	<i>many people came</i>

Complicating action B and Resolution

The outcome of this high turnout is that Ghori, and the other performers, are inspired to perform a play to the best of their ability:

fir hamlog u nātak banāyā (tut) <i>again 1.PL 3.REM play make.PFV</i>	<i>then we performed such a play</i>
rāt bhar nātak †banae †banae (.h) <i>night pack play make.IP make.IP</i>	<i>all night (we) performed</i>
jab †suraj nikle bhe †yā <i>when sun come.out happen.PFV</i>	<i>when the sun was coming up</i>
to hamlog keise- †kapat †kiyā (tut) <i>TOP</i>	
†our †u †nātak †phir †samāt †kiyā (.h) <i>and 3.REM play again finish do.PFV</i>	<i>then (we) concluded the play</i>

Complicating action C and Resolution

The resolution of the second complicating action is actually a third complicating action. Because of how well Ghori, and the other men, have performed, the interlocutors reward them with gold coins, and money:

usme ārt↑↑↑me hame bout peisā ↓ā ↓geyā (.h) <i>in.that prayer LOC 1.SG plenty money come go.FUT</i>	<i>in that concluding prayer, I received a lot of money</i>
ādmī koi mo↑har (.) <i>man some gold.coin</i>	<i>some gave gold coins</i>
koi to koi=koi to mo↑har chhor↑ge (tut) <i>some TOP some some TOP gold.coin drop go</i>	<i>some dropped gold coins</i>
koi: rupyā chhoṛe <i>some rupee drop.3.IP</i>	<i>some were dropping money</i>
chiliṅ koi nei <i>hold.back some NEG</i>	<i>no one held back</i>
↓bout ↓peisā ↓hame ↓milā (.h) <i>plenty money 1.SG receive.PFV</i>	<i>I got a lot of money</i>

Ghori is obviously the person in charge of the performances. He is the person to whom the money is given, and it is he, who distributes the money amongst the other performers:

u peis↑ā sou rakhā <i>3.REM money some keep.PFV</i>	<i>of that money some I kept</i>
sab ko bātā= <i>all DAT distribute.1 IP</i>	<i>and the rest I gave out</i>
=jetne ādmī hamlog °bane re° (tut) <i>as.many man 1.PL make.IP AUX.IP</i>	<i>to all the men who had performed</i>

Complicating action D and Resolution

The fourth complicating action is the final play that Ghori and the men perform. It is one that needs to be carefully choreographed:

e-etwā:r ke ↑roj <i>Thursday ACCDUR day</i> phir ukhā nātak banāyā (.h) <i>again Ukha drama make.PFV</i>	<i>on Thursday (1 P) performed the Urkha play</i>
urkhā nātak jab banāy↑ā (.h) <i>Urkha drama when make.PFV</i>	<i>when (1 P) performed the Urkha play</i>
ukhā me bārāsar kā ↑yud ou <i>Ukha LOC Barasar GEN war and</i>	<i>in the play there was a war between Barasar and Mahadeo</i>

māhādeo kā ↓huā ↓thā <i>Mahadeo GEN happen AUX.PST</i>	
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Resolution

u sab dekhā ↓yā (tut) <i>3.REM all show.PFV</i>	<i>(1 P) showed all this</i>
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This leads to the conclusion of the plays the new Girmityas have been enacting. To conclude the program, it is only appropriate that the organizer of the enactments speaks to the interlocutors, and explains to them the moral encoded in the performances.

Complicating action E and Resolution

At the end of this life narrative, we see a performativity within a performativity. Ghori’s final act is a speech, thereby, creating a contrast, at level 2, with the rest of the narrative, which lacks dialogue. In addition to the constructed dialogue, Ghori uses a voice that is amplified, as though speaking to a crowd. This projected voice heightens the image of Ghori speaking to the Girmityas as a religious authority, and as a leader. Ghori alternates this with normal pitch, when speaking directly to the interlocutors. However, Ghori’s depiction of his own amplified speech to the crowd, without any indication of the Girmityas’ response, makes me question whether Ghori sees the Girmityas as interlocutors or as audience. The absence of any mention of the Girmityas’ reaction is, however, characteristic of Ghori’s narration style, in indicating acquiescence on their part.

In this final complicating action, Ghori summarizes the major scenes of each of the plays, the Girmityas have watched. From the first play, the *Prahlad Natak* Ghori tells the Girmityas that the moral they need to take with them is that faithfulness is rewarded:

_____	<i>those who are faithful and true</i>
b-jo <u>sat</u> †he <i>which true be.PROG</i>	
_____	<i>and remain faithful and true</i>
ou <u>sat</u> ke upar reh †tā <i>and true INV upon AUX.IP</i>	
_____	<i>see how Harichand lay there</i>

u dekho hari ↑ chand <u>keise</u> (.h) 3.REM watch.IMP Harichand how	<i>dead</i>
rehtā ↑ mārā ↑ huā ↑ thā AUX.IP die.PFV happen AUX.PST	
u bhī jī kar ke <u>bakund</u> ho ↑ ge (.) 3 REM too live do COMP bakund happen AUX.PST	<i>he too was brought back to life</i>
<u>bimān</u> par char kar= <i>faith LOC climb do</i>	<i>on (his) faith</i>
=jo sat ↑ hoe <u>satis</u> mafik (tut) <i>which true happen saint manner</i>	<i>whosoever is true to his word like a saint</i>
our uskī ↑ āyu kuch kamī nei he <i>and 3.REM.GEN age some insufficient NEG be.PROG</i>	<i>and whose length of life is not insufficient</i>
jo sat par re gā <i>which true LOC remain FUT</i>	<i>whosoever will remain fast to the truth</i>
uskī āyu bhare gā(.) 3.REM.GEN age increase FUT	<i>his length of life will increase</i>

He reiterates, and expands on this moral through the next example. Ghori explains that if one remains faithful, and steadfast in his devotion to God, he will always be helped by God:

prelāt (.) <u>rā:m</u> kā nām ↑ nei ↑ chhorā <i>Prahlad Ram GEN name NEG leave.PFV</i>	<i>see Prahlad who never forgot Ram's name</i>
↓ harnāka ↑ sib <u>thambā</u> me thamā ↑ yā (.h) <i>Hiranyakashipu post LOC tie.PFV</i>	<i>Hiranyakashipu tied (him) to a pole</i>
ketne ketne kas liyā <i>how.much how.much difficulty take.PFV</i>	<i>how much difficulty (Prahlad) went through</i>
↑ tabhī ↑ nei ↑ chhorā (.h) <i>even.then NEG leave.PFV</i>	<i>even then (he) didn't lose faith</i>

<p>is mā:fik jo ādmī >is māfik< jid par <i>this manner which man this manner adamant LOC</i> rahe gā (.h) <i>AUX.IP FUT</i></p>	<p><i>any man who remains true in this manner</i></p>
<p><usko ↓parmātmā madat ↓karegā> (.) <i>3.REM. GEN God help do.FUT</i></p>	<p><i>God will help him</i></p>

Ghori tells the Girmityas that injustice will not last forever, as they saw in the play. By extension, all the hardship that they are currently enduring under Girit will come to an end:

<p>harnākus keise ↓mārā geyā <i>Hiranyakashipu how kill.PFV go.PFV</i></p>	<p><i>how was Hiranyakashipu killed</i></p>
<p>ei↑se (.h) ↑hī <i>this.way EMPH</i></p>	<p><i>in this same manner</i></p>
<p>jo ↑anjai ↑he <i>which injustice be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>all the injustice</i></p>
<p>↓eise ↓māre ↓jāe ge (.h) <i>this.way kill.PFV go FUT</i></p>	<p><i>will be vanquished</i></p>

Ghori stresses through the example of the Priest in the *Urkha Natak*, on upholding norms of conduct at all times, even in this new environment:

<p>ukā nāak me dekho (tut) <i>Urkha drama LOC watch.IMP</i></p>	<p><i>see in the Urkha drama</i></p>
<p>guru he <i>priest be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>there is a priest</i></p>
<p>>↑guru ko ↑kis ↑māfik ↑honā ↑chai< <i>priest INV what manner happen desirable</i></p>	<p><i>how should a priest behave</i></p>
<p>ye bhī khyāl kar ↓lo (.h) <i>this too take.notice do take.IMP</i></p>	<p><i>take heed of this as well</i></p>
<p>>kī guru=k keise honā ↑chai <i>that priest .INV how happen desirable</i></p>	<p><i>that how a priest should behave</i></p>

Finally, Ghori reminds the interlocutors of the fate of Barachar and Balram. He urges the Girmityas to take heed of their story, and not to quarrel amongst themselves:

<p>kī ↑mahādeo< (.) barachar ke <i>that Mahadeo Barachar ACC</i> upar ↑se katlar selar ↑rahe katlar</p>	<p><i>see that Mahadeo always triumphs over Barachar</i></p>
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<i>over LOC selar AUX.IP</i>	
↑māhādeo kā jid ↑huwā (.h) <i>Mahadeo GEN win happen.PFV</i>	<i>Mahadeo was the victor</i>
bārāchor kā ou balrām ka <i>Barachar GEN and Balram GEN</i> ho rā ↑he (tut) <i>happen AUX.PST be.PROG</i>	<i>what has been the fate of Barachar and Balram</i>
ī dekho <i>3.PROX watch.IMP</i>	<i>see this</i>
<u>loud, speaking to a crowd</u> ↑akas ↑bhānī ↑hotī ↑he (.h) <i>heaven miserable happen be.PROG</i>	<i>the heavens cry with sorrow</i>
_____	<i>that oh why do you fight amongst yourselves</i>
kī ↑ae tumlog āpas me <i>that EXCLM 2.FAM.PL amongst LOC</i> _____	
kyu larte ↑ho (.) <i>why fight.3.IP happen</i>	
_____	<i>why are you helping the devil</i>
cherā=k kyu madat karte ↑ho (.) <i>devil ACC why help. do.3.IP happen</i>	
_____	<i>go</i>
↑jao <i>go</i>	
_____	<i>do not fight amongst yourselves</i>
tum apne me nei jhagrā karo <i>2.SG.FAM 1.GEN LOC NEG fight do.IMP</i>	
<u>speaking to a crowd</u>	<i>than the fighting stopped</i>
tab u larai band huā (.h) <i>then 3.REM fight finish happen</i>	

In the resolution section of the narrative, Ghori ends his speech by explicitly stating the lessons the Girmityas are to carry away with them. He counsels the Girmityas to view Girmit not as a misfortune that has befallen them, but as an opportunity. Ghori urges the Girmityas not to dwell on the differences between them. In this context, these differences may range from personal disagreements between Girmityas, to the regional divisions that would have existed on the plantation. Ghori emphasizes that they are all Girmityas alike, and it is only through *sumat*, or ‘unity’ that they will survive Girmit:

our āplog sab ↓socho (tut) <i>and 2.PL.FOM all think.IMP</i>	<i>now you all think</i>
ou jo kuch bheyā ↑he <i>and which some happen.PFV be.PROG</i>	<i>that whatever has happened</i>
so ache bheyā ↑he <i>for good happen.PFV be.PROG</i>	<i>has happened for the best</i>
ab ham ↑e pāch barās me ↑hia bech ↑ā ↑ge ↑he (.h) <i>now 1.PL five years LOC here sell.PFV go be.PROG</i>	<i>now we have been sold here for five years</i>
↑pāch ↑baras ke waste <i>five years INV reason</i> ↓hame ↓yā ↓gimit ↓kamānā ↓he <i>1.SG here Gimit earn be.PROG</i>	<i>we need to work together for five years to earn our Gimit</i>

11.18 Summary and Discussion

At level 3, Part 1 of Ghori's life narrative shows resistance in different forms. I shall, however, leave the discussion of many of these forms of resistance to Part 2 of his life narrative, where they reappear.

In this section, it is Ghori's use of religion as a means of resistance, which I shall focus on. In Part 1 of his life narrative, there is constant reference to religion, and heavy reliance on religious acts, both of which are absent from Part 2. The overarching theme of Part 1, at level 3, is how he achieved the (deserved) status of religious authority amongst all the Girmityas. That this positioning is recognized, is seen in the introduction to Part 2 in the following chapter. The radio announcer, Tej Ram Prem attaches the referential term *pundit*, or 'Hindu priest', to Ghori's name.

Religion, in Ghori's life narrative, is both an instrument of resistance, as well as, when practiced, a performative form of resistance. The correlation between religion and resistance is an area that has recently attracted attention in Indian indenture studies (cf. Lal, 2006; 2008), but the correlation has also been detailed in other pacific labourers (Mercer & Moore, 1976). While through Sanadhya Totaram's (1914/1991) manuscript, Lal (2000) highlights the (re)establishment of religion in Fiji after indenture, as a means of resistance, Ghori's life narrative is much more pertinent, as an example of how religion was actually performed as a means of resistance during Gimit. Hence, this is not the resistance highlighted in indenture studies, that is, the refusal to become

Christian; rather, here we have the contextualized performance giving form, and voice, to Indianness.

Jasoda and Ghori are the only two Girmityas who address the presence of cultural norms that the Girmityas brought with them to the plantation. Jasoda discusses the Girmityas' accommodating their religious, and cultural values, to cope with the plantation environment. Ghori, on the other hand, places emphasis on the Girmityas' overt participation in religious acts, namely, Hindu plays. However, the participation in the Hindu plays is no longer a marker of being a Hindu; rather, Hinduism is, in Ghori's life narrative, a marker of a pan-Indian identity (cf. Kasinitz, 1992: 134 on performativity of pan-ethnicity), disregarding the different religions the Girmityas brought with them. For instance, Islam, is reflected in the Perso-Arabic name of Mahmud Din in Narrative 8. In addition, it is a North Indian, and in particular, a United Provinces form of Hinduism, that is here imposed as the marker of Indian ethnicity.

The emphasis is on the unifying function the plays serve on the Girmity plantation, underlined in Ghori's final words to the Girmityas. In addition, the plays serve as a vehicle beyond their religious function. They become a political instrument for Ghori to convey messages to the Girmityas. However, Ghori does not encourage open revolt amongst the Girmityas through his political message. Instead, this is 'resistance within the bounds of accommodation' (Munro, 1993: 22), as, through the use of religion, Ghori encourages the Girmityas to have hope, strength, to maintain their cultural norms and traditions, to remain humane, and to come out of Girmity with dignity. Moreover, he encourages the Girmityas to build *sumat*, and, thereby, to resist the hardships of the plantation environment collectively.

12

Ghori Gosai Part 2

Structure

Event narrative 1: He didn't obey me

Complicating action A

Complicating action B

Complicating action C

Event narrative 2: How I became the sirdar

Complicating action A

Complicating action B

Complicating action C

Complicating action D

Complicating action E

Complicating action F

Complicating action G

Complicating action H

Summary and Discussion

In his second session on *Girmit Gāthā*, Ghori’s life narrative portrays how, at level 3, he established himself in another position of hegemonic masculinity, in a domain that is perceived as authoritarian not only by Indians, but also by Englishmen. He does not claim this position through his own physical prowess, but through his intelligence. It is a movement similar to that in Part 1, when he achieves religious leadership amongst the Girmityas. However, while there still remains an understanding that the interlocutors will be familiar with the master narratives of indenture, there is less reliance on shared knowledge about cultural norms.

The presentation of Part 2 of Ghori’s life narrative is much shorter than Part 1. The majority of his narration was focused on his life after Girit. This post-Girit life is not part of the focus of this research.

At level 2, the radio announcer’s contributions sets the temporal frame, at level 1, in which Ghori’s life narrative resumes:

<p>A: waiwai ba ↑ke <i>Waiwai Ba ACCLLOC</i> pandit ghorī gosai kī kahānī <i>Pandit Ghori Gosai GEN story</i> ham jāri karte ↓he (.) <i>1.SG resume do.IP be.PROG</i></p>	<p>A: <i>we will resume the story of Pandit Ghori Gosai from Waiwai in Ba</i></p>
<p>ye kahānī šuru hotī ↑he <i>3.SG.PROX story start happen.IP be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>this story begins</i></p>
<p>unkī girmit kī <u>pahile</u> din (.) <i>3.SG.GEN Girit GEN first day</i></p>	<p><i>on the first day of his Girit</i></p>
<p><u>tīn</u> baje sabere ↓se <i>three o'clock morning LOC</i></p>	<p><i>three o'clock in the morning</i></p>

12.1 Structure

At level 1 of the analysis, Part 2 of Ghori’s life narrative is divided into two broad sections. The first section, consists of Narrative 1, *He didn’t obey me*. This narrative portrays the agency of Ghori as a leader amongst the new Girmityas. He is obeyed without question by almost all the men. The exception to this is punished, not by him,

but by the other Girmityas. Hence, the underlying implication is that Ghori's advice is for the Girmityas' benefit.

The second section, which consists of Narrative 2 *How I became the sirdar* and Narrative 3 *Directives to the new sirdar*, looks at the challenge to Ghori's agency in the form of the current sirdar. This section describes how Ghori overcame this challenge to become the sirdar, and the established leader amongst all the Girmityas. The narration ends by demonstrating that Ghori maintained this leadership even after he stopped being the sirdar.

At level 2, throughout this life narrative, there is heavy use of dialogue and voice given to characterize the major characters in the life narrative. Moreover, throughout the life narrative, Ghori-as-character uses an authoritative voice.

12.2 Event narrative 1: He didn't obey me

The complicating actions in the first narrative are enchainned. Subsequent complicating actions, therefore, unfold as a consequence of the prior complicating action.

Complicating action A

At three o'clock in the morning the new Girmityas are unsure of what they should do, and turn to Ghori for advice:

G: ↑tin baje rāt ↑ke sab ni↑kar ↑ge (tch) <i>three o'clock night ACCDUR all out go</i>	G: <i>three o'clock in the morning all got out</i>
nikar ↑ge <i>out go</i>	<i>(they) got out</i>
<our hamlog> ↑ke ↑ghar ↑me <i>and 1.PL GEN house LOC</i>	<i>and in our house</i>
ek sab ādmī ā ke ↑khaṛe ↑ho ↑ge (tch) <i>one all man come COMP stand.IP happen go</i>	<i>all the men came and stood</i>
bole <i>said</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
keisā ↑kī ↑jai (tch) <i>how.PFV do go.FUT</i>	<i>what shall (we) do</i>
↑ī ↑rāt ↑he ↑abhī (.h)	<i>it is night now</i>

3.PROX night be.PROG now	
sab ādmī chale ↑ge (.h) all man walk.IP go	all the men have gone
ham bolā 1.SG said	I said
↑dekho see.IMP	see
<u>Loud</u> ī nīr ↑he (.h) 3PROX siren be.PROG	this is a siren
↑nīr me jo awāj ho ↑gā nir LOC which sound happen go.FUT	when the siren goes
tab hamlog chaleje then 1.PL walk.FUT	then we will go
↓abhi ↓nei (.) now NEG	not now
↓sab ↓beitho (tch) all sit.IMP	all sit
↑sab ↑beit ↑ge ↑hamre ↑lage (tch) all sit.IP go 1.SG.GEN near	all sat with me

Complicating action B

At level 3, Ghori is clearly the established leader amongst the new men Girmityas, who do not question his advice. The exception to this is the man who goes off with the women:

aur ↑te ou ek ādmī chalā ↓geyā (.h) woman.PL and one man walk.PFV go.PFV	the women and one man had gone
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Ghori illustrates through the second complicating action the result that befalls the Girmitya, who did not obey him:

jab nīr ke sītī ↑lagā when siren GEN siren go.PFV	when the siren sounded
sāṛe pāch baj ↑e das minat bākī (.h) sare five o'clock ten minute left	at ten to five
tab ham ↑log ghar se nikre (tch) then 1.PL home LOC out.IP	then we got out of the house

jab ↑ghar ↑se ↑nikre <i>when home LOC out.IP</i>	<i>when (we) got out of the house</i>
āge = ha:m = <i>precede 1.SG</i> pīchhe = ādmī = <i>behind man</i> sab (.) chale jāte (.h) <i>all walk.IP go.IP</i>	<i>all walked with me ahead and the men following</i>
chale ↑jāte <i>walk.IP go.IP</i>	<i>(we) walked</i>
jab hu ↑wā rastā par ↑ge <i>when there road LOC go</i>	<i>when (we) went there on the road</i>
to ek ↑ādmī <i>TOP one man</i>	<i>one man (cried)</i>
↑hai ↑meiyā <i>EXCLM mother</i> ↑hai ↑bapā (.h) <i>EXCLM father</i> ↑hai ↑deiyā <i>EXCLM deiya</i> ↑kahā ↑he (.h) <i>where be.PROG</i>	<i>oh mother, oh father, oh, where are (you)</i>
↑hāi ↑dādā <i>EXCLM grandfather</i>	<i>oh grandfather</i>
↑kon ↑māris <i>who hit.PFV</i>	<i>who has hit (me)</i>
<u>loud</u> > ↑koun ↑he< <i>who be.PROG</i>	<i>who is (that)</i>
bole <i>say-IP</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
<u>plaintive</u> saheb ham ↓rā <i>Sahib 1.SG AUX.PST</i>	<i>Sahib it was me</i>
<u>loud</u> ↑kā ↑he (.h) <i>what be.PROG</i>	<i>what is (it)</i>
<u>plaintive</u> bole	<i>(he) said</i>

<i>say</i>	
<hr/> ↑nei ↑mālum ↑koun ↑māris hame <i>NEG knowledge who hit.PFV 1.SG</i>	<i>(I) don't know who hit me</i>
<hr/> māre bout māris <i>hit.IP plenty hit.PFV</i>	<i>(he) hit me so much</i>

This is followed by a lengthy dialogue, attributed to the unnamed Girmitya, at level 2 of the analysis. Throughout his dialogue, the Girmitya is apparently in tears, while Ghori maintains a loud voice, as though needing to shout in order to be heard by the man. This loudness also carries the impression, at level 3, of one in authority demanding information:

<u>loud</u> kai wāste ↑māris (.h) <i>why reason.IP hit.PFV</i>	<i>why did (he) hit you</i>
<u>plaintive</u> bole <i>said</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
<hr/> hamko sab-chale ae <i>1.SG.GEN all walk.IP come.IP</i>	<i>we were all coming</i>
<hr/> ham unke >sāt me <i>1.SG 3.REM.ACC together LOC</i>	<i>I with them</i>
<hr/> bole <i>said</i>	<i>(they/he) said</i>
<hr/> chalo= chalo nei māreg< (tch) <i>walk.IMP walk.IMP NEG hit.FUT</i>	<i>come come (I/we) won't hit you</i>
↑ī ↑wāste ham ↑chalā ↑aiya <i>3.PROX reason.IP 1.SG walk.PFV come.PFV</i>	<i>for this reason I came</i>
ham- hame dekh↑āt nei ↑rā <i>1.SG 1.SG see.IP NEG AUX.PST</i>	<i>I couldn't see</i>
ham gir ↓parā (tch)	<i>I fell</i>

1.SG fall para	
koi ādmī mār ↓geyā (.h) some man hit go.PFV	some man hit (me)

The above complicating actions, A and B, are contrasted to indicate the downfall that befell Girmityas who did not listen to Ghori. This is evident in the length of time spent in the unnamed Girmitya's description of what had happened to him. It is unclear why the man was beaten. What does emerge from the conversation is that the man was not being disrespectful to Ghori through his disobedience, rather, he had left early, under duress.

Complicating action C

to ham dekhi TOP 1 SG see- uske khun ↑chaltā ↑he (tch) 3.REM.ACC blood walk.IP be.PROG	I could see that he is bleeding
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The resolution is a new complicating action (CA 3): the Girmitya who had not listened to Ghori is now in need of assistance. Ghori provides this assistance through his men, whom he names. In a life narrative that is almost completely devoid of identified individuals, the mens' names are important for level 2 of the analysis. These are *his* men, and will feature again in the life narrative. As in Part 1 of Ghori's life narrative, whenever he names Indians, he does so to indicate their importance:

hamre pās ādmī ↑re 1.SG.GEN near man AUX.IP	I had men with me
<u>authoritative</u> dīn mohm ↑ad (.h) mastā pas ↑ād (.h) bud ↑hī Din Mohammed Masta Prasad Buddhi	Din Mohammad, Masta, Prasad, Buddhi

Ghori orders his men to take the Girmitya to the Overseer's bungalow. His means of eliciting the Overseer's attention is via a threat issued through the four men:

<p>chār ādmi isko <i>four man 3.PROX.ACC</i></p>	<p><i>(you) four men take him to the bungalow</i></p>
<p>lei jao baṅalā ↑me <i>take go.IMP bungalow LOC</i></p>	
<p>u dekho wā par ↑koi ↑ādmī ↑he (.h) <i>3.REM see.IMP there LOC some man be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>see if someone is there</i></p>
<p>hoga <i>happen.FUT</i></p>	<p><i>(if) there is</i></p>
<p>use ↑batao <i>3.REM.ACC tell.IMP</i></p>	<p><i>tell him</i></p>
<p>isko ↑aspatāl ↑lei ↑jao (tch) (.h) <i>3.PROX.ACC hospital take go.IMP</i></p>	<p><i>to take him to the hospital</i></p>
<p>nei <i>NEG</i></p>	<p><i>no</i></p>
<p>bat ↑ao <i>tell.IMP</i></p>	<p><i>tell (him)</i></p>
<p>kī jo <u>nei</u> aspatāl ↑lei ↑jae ↑gā <i>that which NEG hospital take go.IP FUT</i></p>	<p><i>that if (he) doesn't take (him) to the hospital</i></p>
<p>to hamāre pās ↑afsar ↑he <i>TOP 1.GEN near officer be.PROG</i></p>	<p><i>we have an officer</i></p>
<p>↓u ↓le ↓jai ↓gā <u>aspatāl</u> <i>3.REM take go.IP FUT hospital</i></p>	<p><i>he will take (him) to the hospital</i></p>

The Cooks are quite insolent towards Ghori and his men. The attitude of the Cooks is indicative of the hierarchy that existed amongst the Girmityas. Those Girmityas who worked as house servants held more prestige over the plantation labourers:

<p>to kuk log re <i>TOP cook PL AUX.IP</i></p>	<p><i>the cooks were there</i></p>
<p>bole <i>said</i></p>	<p><i>(they) said</i></p>
<p><u>rudely</u></p>	<p><i>what is (it)</i></p>

↑kā ↑he <i>what be.PROG</i>	
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In contrast, the Coolambar is portrayed as carrying out the directive in fear of the threat that Ghori's men have an officer with them:

tab u ↑gorā <i>then 3.REM Englishman</i> ↑weise ↑jāṅiyā ↑peine <i>3.REM.RFLX pyjamas wear.IP</i>	<i>then the Englishman still wearing his pyjamas</i>
↑nikal ↑āyā (.h) <i>out come.IP</i>	<i>came out</i>
nikar ke <i>out COMP</i>	<i>(he) came out</i>
bole <i>said</i>	<i>said</i>
tumhāre pas ↑aspat-(.h)-↑ <u>afsar</u> ↑he <i>2.SG.FAM.GEN near hospit- officer be.PROG</i>	<i>you have an officer (with you)</i>
bole <i>said</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
hā <i>AFM</i>	<i>yes</i>
hamre pas afsār he (tch) <i>1.GEN near officer be.PROG</i>	<i>we have an officer (with us)</i>
bole <i>said</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
↑achhā (tch) <i>AFM</i>	<i>ok</i>
ham leijātā= <i>1.SG take.go.IP</i>	<i>I am taking (him)</i>
=weilāg↑e wo jāṅiyē pehin↑e <i>that.same.time 3.REM pyjamas wear.IP</i>	<i>immediately still wearing (his) pyjamas</i>
tamtam par (.h) wo ādmī ke beithai ke <i>tamtam LOC 3.REM.RFLX man ACC sit COMP</i>	<i>he sat the man on the tam-tam</i>

The next set of complicating actions is enchaind to the resolution of the first complicating action:

↑jab ↑lei ↑ke ↑chalā <i>when take COMP walk-IP</i>	<i>when (he) took (the man) and set off</i>
tab ham (tch) khet me ↓chale (tch) <i>then 1.SG field LOC walk.IP</i>	<i>then (we) went off to the field</i>

12.3 Event narrative 2: How I became the sirdar

↑jab ↑khet ↑me ↑ae (tch) <i>when field LOC come.IP</i>	<i>when (I/we) came to the field</i>
to (tch) dwi aurat ↑ī ↑bagal ↑he <i>TOP two woman 3.PROX side be.PROG</i>	<i>two women were on this side</i>
>ek aurat = ī = pai = me = he <i>one woman 3.PROX length LOC be.PROG</i>	<i>one woman is in this row</i>
=ek = ī = me = ↑he <i>one 3.PROX LOC be.PROG</i>	<i>one in this (row)</i>
ek = bīch = me = ↓pai < (.h) <i>one middle LOC length</i>	<i>one in the middle row</i>
ek ek ādmī ↑kā (tch) <i>one one man GEN</i>	<i>each person (had a row)</i>
to ham ↑se (tch) u dwī aurat bolte <i>TOP 1.SG.DAT 3.REM two woman say.IP</i> he <i>be.PROG</i>	<i>the two women are saying to me</i>
mulkī (.h) <i>mulki</i>	<i>brethren</i>
tum-tumhār pai ham ↑lei ↑chaltā <i>2.SG.FAM length 1.SG take walk.IP</i>	<i>I will take (care of) your row</i>
tum hamāre sāt <i>2.SG.INFORM 1.POSS together</i> ī kām ↓dekho (tch) <i>3.PROX work see.IMP</i>	<i>you watch this work with us</i>
ta fir kām karnā <i>then again work do.FUT</i>	<i>and then (you) do the work</i>
↑bolā <i>said</i>	<i>(I) said</i>
<u>cajoling</u> ↑achhā bhābī	<i>ok sister-in-law</i>

<i>AFM sister-in-law</i>	
<hr/> a-↑achhā m-↑mai <i>AFM mother</i>	<i>ok mother</i>

Complicating action A

At level 2 of the analysis, Ghori's actions in this first complicating action on the plantation of observing the other Girmityas cut the cane before attempting to do the work himself is emphasized through repetition throughout the narration, until he becomes sirdar. Here he details the action, and his reasons:

ham bolā <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
↑tum to sab grās kāt↑e ↑jātī <i>2.SG INFORM TOP all grass cut.IP go.FUT</i>	<i>you are cutting all the grass</i>
ganā bhī kāte ↑jātī (.h) <i>grass too cut.IP</i>	<i>and (you) are cutting the sugarcane too</i>
ī ↑kon ↑ganā ↑he <i>3.PROX which sugarcane be.PROG</i>	<i>where is the sugarcane</i>
↑keisan ↑he ... (.h) <i>which.kind be.PROG</i>	<i>what is (it like)</i>
ham nei jāntā <i>1.SG NEG know.IP</i>	<i>I don't know</i>
↑hamre ↑samaj me <i>1.SG.GEN understanding LOC</i> nei ātā <i>NEG come.IP</i>	<i>I cannot understand</i>
koun chij tum ↑raktā <i>which thing 2.SG.FAM keep.IP</i>	<i>what things you are keeping</i>
kon chij ↑chortā (tch) <i>which thing leave.IP</i>	<i>what things you are leaving</i>
bole <i>said</i>	<i>(they) said</i>
dekho <i>see.IMP</i>	<i>see</i>
u ganā ↑he <i>3.REM sugarcane be.PROG</i>	<i>that is sugarcane</i>
our ī ↑garās he (tch) <i>and 3.PROX grass be.PROG</i>	<i>and this is grass</i>

indignant >tum ↑our ↑māre ↑gā < (.) 2.SG.FAM more hit.IP FUT	<i>you will hit (me) more</i>
 > ↑our ↑māre ↑gā < more hit.IP FUT	<i>(you) will hit (me) more</i>

Complicating action C

It is the sirdar's provocation of Ghori that leads to the violence against the Sirdar. Ghori needs to only whistle, and his men come running:

u ādmī hamāre upar (tch) 3.REM man 1.SG.ACC LOC	<i>that man on me</i>
jab u ā ge when 3.REM come go	<i>when he came</i>
ham ↑sītī lagā diyā (.h) 1.SG whistle put.PFV do.PFV	<i>I whistled</i>
hamāre ādmī <u>sab</u> ā ↓ge (.) (.h) 1.SG.GEN man all come go	<i>my men all came</i>
bas ādmī log pak ↑rin (.h) enough man PL grab.PFV	<i>and then the men grabbed (him)</i>
koi ↑peijāmā ↑pakar ↑lī:n someone pyjama grab take.PFV	<i>someone held (his) pyjamas</i>
koi <u>kuch</u> pakar ↑līn someone something grab take.PFV	<i>others held other things</i>
jetne bār re how.much hair AUX.IP	<i>all the hair (he) had</i>
<u>sab</u> (.) noch ↓din all pull.out do.PST	<i>(they) pulled (it) all out</i>
A: phir again	A: then
G: (tch)(.h) bār sab ↑kalās hair all finish	G: all (his) hair was removed
to bole TOP said	<i>(they) said</i>

↑ ab (.h) <i>now</i>	<i>now</i>
bolā <i>said</i>	<i>(I) said</i>
jā ↓ o <i>go.IMP</i>	<i>go</i>
ek path ↑ ar gor ke ↑ yā ↑ rakhanā <i>one stone leg ACCLOC here put.FUT</i>	<i>put one rock here on his leg</i>
ek b-b-bīch me rakh ↑ nā (.h) <i>one middle LOC put.FUT</i>	<i>put one in the middle</i>
kar ↑ yao ↑ ke <i>karyao ACCLOC</i>	<i>on his back</i>
ek ↑ hia <u>gatei</u> me ↑ rakhnā (.h) <i>one here neck LOC put.FUT</i>	<i>put one here on the neck</i>
our eise sut ↑ ei ↑ ke: <i>and this.way sleep COMP</i>	<i>and lay (him) now in this way</i>
upar chourā pathar ↓ dharnā (.h) <i>LOC fourteen stone put.FUT</i>	<i>put fourteen rocks on top</i>
kī jeise ise chout ↑ nei ↑ lage (tch) <i>that like 3.PROX.ACC injure NEG put.IP</i>	<i>so that he does not get injured</i>
ou ī <u>mare</u> bhī ↓ nei <i>and 3.PROX die.IP too NEG</i>	<i>and he doesn't die as well</i>
isko dabai ↑ do <i>3.PROX trap do</i>	<i>trap him</i>
uthe bhī na ↓ pā°wet° (.h) <i>get.up.IP too NEG MOD.IP</i>	<i>and he cannot get up as well</i>
our tum apne apne kām par <i>and 2.SG.INFORM POSS POSS work LOC</i> ↑ jānā (.h) <i>go.FUT</i>	<i>and you go to your work</i>

Complicating action D

The result of the actions in the previous complicating action is that the Coolambar arrives at the plantation, and sets about trying to find the Sirdar:

jab <u>gorā</u> ai ke <i>when Englishman come COMP</i>	<i>when the Englishman comes</i>
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boltā <i>say.IP</i>	<i>(and) says</i>
↑benkar ↑rāju: <i>Benkar Raju</i>	<i>Benkar Raju</i>
<u>louder pidginized pronunciation</u> ↑benkar ↑rāju ↑benkar ↑rāju (.h) <i>Benkar Raju Benkar Raju</i>	<i>Benkar Raju, Benkar Raju</i>
>benkar rāju he nei< (.)(.h) <i>Benkar Raju be.PROG NEG</i>	<i>Benkar Raju isn't (there)</i>

At level 3 of the analysis, the Coolumbar is not treated with fear, as in other Girmityas' life narratives, nor is he positioned as a commanding figure on the plantation. The Girmityas do not answer him when he questions them. Furthermore, when seen in context, when the Girmityas do answer, they are bordering on insolence:

<u>calling from a distance</u> ↑kāḷī <i>Kali</i>	<i>Kali</i>
_____	<i>where is Benkar Raju</i>
kā benkar rāju (.) <i>where Benkar Raju</i>	
↑u ↑nei ↑bole (.)(tch) <i>3REM NEG say.IP</i>	<i>she isn't replying</i>
<u>calling from a distance, louder</u> ↑jawānī <i>Jawani</i>	<i>Jawani</i>
_____	<i>where is Benkar Raju</i>
↑kā ↑benkar ↑rāju <i>where Benkar Raju</i>	
u nei ↑bole = <i>3.REM NEG say.IP</i>	<i>she isn't replying</i>
=ta bole <i>then say.IP</i>	<i>then (she) said</i>
hamārī dewar se ↓puchho <i>1.SG.GEN brother.in.law ACC ask.IMP</i>	<i>ask my brother-in-law</i>

Ghori speaks to the Coolumbar, using the imperative form, as one who has authority. The Coolumbar obeys without question:

ham bolā 1 SG said	<i>I said</i>
<u>authoritative</u> peikhāne me geyā lavatory LOC go.PFV	<i>(he) has gone to the toilet</i>
peikhāne me he lavatory LOC go.PFV	<i>(he) has gone to the toilet</i>
↑ jao go.IMP	<i>go</i>
peikhāne me he lavatory LOC be.PROG	<i>(he) is in the toilet</i>
peikhāne me he (.) lavatory LOC be.PROG	<i>(he) is in the toilet</i>
gorā geyā Englishman go.PFV	<i>the Englishman went</i>

Complicating action E:

In this section, at level 2 of the analysis, the Coolumbar and Sirdar's manner of speech render them both powerless. The Coolumbar sadly calls out for his Sirdar:

gorā geyā Englishman go.PFV	<i>the Englishman went</i>
chāro or four.EMPH side	<i>(calling on) four sides</i>
<u>plaintive</u> benkar rāju benkar rāju Benkar Raju Benkar Raju	<i>Benkar Raju, Benkar Raju</i>

The Sirdar is portrayed as a comic figure, as he cries out to his Coolumbar, helplessly:

u jab jān↑ā 3.REM when know.PFV	<i>when he knew</i>
kī ↑gorā ā ↑geyā that Englishman come go.PFV	<i>that the Englishman had come</i>

tab boltā ↑he (.) <i>then say.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>then he says</i>
boltā ↑he <i>say.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>(he) says</i>
crying_____	<i>yes Sahib</i>
↑hā ↑saheb <i>AFM Sahib</i>	
_____	<i>yes Sahib</i>
↑hā ↑saheb <i>AFM Sahib</i>	
_____	<i>I am trapped here</i>
ham hia dabā (.h) <i>1.SG here press.PFV</i>	
_____	<i>I am trapped here</i>
ham hia dabā (.) <i>1.SG here press.PFV</i>	
_____	<i>I am trapped here</i>
ham hia dabā (tch) <i>1.SG here trap.PFV</i>	

The Coolumbar is positioned next, at level 2 of the analysis, as a comic figure, through his actions. These actions of the Coolumbar form the resolution:

geyā u gorā <i>go.PFV 3.REM Englishman</i>	<i>that Englishman went</i>
kākat <i>huffing.and.puffing</i>	<i>huffing and puffing</i>
u pathar uthā ↑we (.h) <i>3.REM stone lift.IP</i>	<i>he (went to) lift the rocks</i>
gorā=k topī ↑alag ↑gei <i>Englishman.GEN hat on.its.own go.PST</i>	<i>the Englishman's hat went one way</i>
apnā sārā <u>girā</u> pānī me (.) <i>RFLX EMPH fall.PFV water LOC</i>	<i>(he) himself fell into the water</i>

Complicating action F:

Ghori reacts to the incident above. His tone is again authoritative as he speaks to the Coolumbar:

<i>AFM</i>	
<u>dek</u> °tum sab° (.h) <i>see 2.SG.FAM all</i>	<i>watch all of you</i>

The actions from complicating action 3 are repeated. As he whistles, the men appear and carry out his orders:

lagā ↑yā ↑sītī <i>put.on.PFV whistle</i>	<i>(I) whistled</i>
ādmī ae ↑ge (tch) <i>man come.IP go</i>	<i>the men came</i>
bola <i>said</i>	<i>(I) said</i>
ī pathar hata deo (.) (.h) <i>3.PROX stone move.PFV do.IMP</i>	<i>take off these rocks</i>
u pathar hata ke = <i>3.REM stone move.PFV COMP</i>	<i>they moved the rocks</i>

The pattern seen throughout his life narrative is repeated here. The Girmityas obey Ghori without question:

u log chale ↑ge (tch) <i>3.REM.PL walk.IP go</i>	<i>they went away</i>
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Complicating action G:

At level 2 of the analysis, upon hearing the Sirdar's depiction of events, rather than punishing Ghori, the Coolumbar praises him:

↑o : ↑benkar ↑rāj↑u (.h) <i>oh Benkar Raju</i>	<i>oh Benkar Raju</i>
u kis māfik kā ādmī husiyār (.) <i>3.REM which type INV man intelligent</i>	<i>what kind of man of intelligence is he</i>
tum ↑jāno (.) <i>2.SG.FAM know.IMP</i>	<i>you know</i>
↑ <u>kis</u> ↑ <u>māfik</u> (.h) <i>which type</i>	<i>what kind</i>
tumhārā khalī ↑bār nochai ↑yā <i>2.SG.FAM.GEN only hair pull.out.PFV</i>	<i>(he) has only had your hair pulled out</i>

↓ tumhe ↓ nei ↑ mārā 2.SG.FAM.DAT NEG hit.PFV	<i>(he) hasn't hit you</i>
<bār nouchai ke > hair pull.out COMP	<i>(he) had your hair pulled out and</i>
↑ eisā dabai ↑ diyā this.way press.IP do.PFV	<i>trapped you in such a manner</i>
ki tumre that 2.SG.FAM.GEN ↑ <u>chot</u> ↑ bhī ↑ nei ↑ <u>lagā</u> (.) (.h) hurt too NEG put.PFV	<i>that you didn't even get injured</i>
<u>chuckles</u> ha AFM	<i>yes</i>
wo ↑ abhī ↑ kot ↑ me 3.REM.RFLX now court LOC jīte gā tum ↓ se (.) win.IP FUT 2.SG.ACC	<i>in court he will win over you</i>
↑ tum nei sako 2 SG.FAM NEG can.IMP uske ↓ sāt (.h) 3.REM.ACC together	<i>you can't (fight) with him</i>

The result is that Ghori is asked to take the position of sirdar:

<u>hhā</u> ↑ <u>thīk</u> (.) AFM good	<i>very well</i>
chithī līk ↑ ke letter write COMP	<i>(he) wrote a letter</i>
diyā give.PFV	<i>and gave (it)</i>
<u>dismissive tone</u> gowān jao bhar aspatāl (tch) EMPH go.IMP outside hospital	<i>be off go outside to the hospital</i>
usko ↑ bhej ↑ diyā (tch) 3.REM.DAT send do.PFV	<i>(he) sent him off</i>
hamse boltā ↑ he (.h) 1.SG.DAT tell.IP be.PROG	<i>(he) is saying to me</i>
nei NEG	<i>no</i>

hamār thorā kām samhār ↑ deo (.h) 1.SG.GEN little work look.after do.IMP	<i>take care of my work for a bit</i>
↑ phir ham ādmī lagā legā (tch) again 1.SG man put.FUT do.FUT	<i>after that (I) will put another man on</i>

Ghori accepts the position on the condition that the Coolumbar will obey his orders. Through his authoritative voice it would appear that Ghori sees himself as doing the Coolumbar a favour in taking up the position:

<u>loud, authoritative</u> ↑ achhā AFM	<i>ok</i>
_____	<i>(you) will obey my directives</i>
hamār bāt ↑ māne ↑ gā 1.SG.GEN talk obey.IP FUT	
bole <i>said.IP</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
↑ hā (.h) AFM	<i>yes</i>
<u>loud, authoritative</u> ham joun ↑ hukum ↑ degā 1.SG which command give.FUT	<i>the orders I will give</i>
_____	<i>(you) will listen</i>
↑ sunegā <i>listen.FUT</i>	
bole <i>say.IP</i>	<i>(he) said</i>
↑ hā AFM	<i>yes</i>
sunegā = <i>listen.FUT</i>	<i>(I) will listen</i>

The resolution would indicate that because the Coolumbar has agreed to his conditions, Ghori begins the work of sirdar immediately:

=ham buk uthā ↑ diyā (.h) 1.SG book pick.up.PFV do.PFV	<i>I lifted the book</i>
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pensil uthā ↑diyā (.h) <i>pencil pick.up.PFV do.PFV</i>	<i>(I) lifted the pencil</i>
gorā chalā geyā (.) (tch) <i>Englishman walk.PFV go.PST</i>	<i>the Englishman went away</i>
ham sab dektā he = <i>1.SG all see.IP be.PROG</i>	<i>I am watching everything</i>

Complicating action H

Ghori illustrates his ability to achieve the required quota of work from the Girmityas, without the use of violence:

↑sa:b se <i>all LOC</i>	<i>from everyone</i>
koi se das ↑chein <i>some LOC ten chain</i>	<i>from some ten chains</i>
koi se ↑pāch ↑chein besī ↓liyā (tch) <i>some LOC five chain more take.PFV</i>	<i>from others five chains extra I took</i>
lei ↑ke <i>take COMP</i>	<i>(I) took it and</i>
sab ko chhutī ↑tīn ↑baje chār baje ↑tak (.h) <i>all DAT leave three o'clock four o'clock until</i>	<i>gave everyone leave by three o'clock, four o'clock</i>
jet↑nan ↑ka ↑tās ↑lag ↑geya <i>those GEN task put go.FUT</i>	<i>all those whose task was completed</i>
↓chhutī ↓dei ↓deyā (tch) <i>leave give.IP give.PFV</i>	<i>(I) gave them leave</i>

In the process, Ghori ensures that all the Girmityas receive their full wage. As in Part 1, Ghori does not focus on his actions benefitting any individual Girmitya, but on benefitting the Girmityas as a whole:

jekar tās ↑lago <i>whose task put.IMP</i>	<i>whosever's task was completed</i>
↓ham ↓chhutī ↓de=k <i>1.SG leave give.COMP</i>	<i>I gave (them) leave</i>
↓chale ↓ge= <i>walk.IP go</i>	<i>(they) went off</i>
= >sab ko < <i>all DAT</i>	<i>everyone</i>
↑sa:b ko purā ↑peisā <i>all DAT enough money</i>	<i>everyone received the full amount</i>

↓kamṭī ↓nei (.h) <i>less NEG</i>	<i>nothing was subtracted</i>
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His final act in the life narrative is in giving advice to the newly arrived Sirdar. At level 3 of the analysis, Ghori no longer needs the position of sirdar to maintain his position of leadership. This is illustrated through the new Sirdar's recognition of Ghori's position on the plantation:

eise karte kar ↑te <i>3.PROX.RFLX do.IP do.IP</i>	<i>in this manner</i>
thorā din ham kām ki ↑yā <i>little day 1.SG work do.PFV</i>	<i>I worked for a while</i>
phir dusrā ek ↑mandrājī ā ↑geyā (tch) <i>after next one South.Indian come go.PFV</i>	<i>then another South Indian man came</i>
mand ↑rājī ↑bhudā ↑rā <i>South.Indian old.man AUX.PST</i>	<i>the South Indian was an old man</i>
uske aurat ↑buryā ↑re (tch) <i>3.REM.GEN woman old.woman AUX.IP</i>	<i>his wife was an old woman</i>
to hamse bole <i>TOP 1.SG.DAT say.IP</i>	<i>he says to me</i>
↑bābu (tch) <i>Babu</i>	<i>Babu</i>
hamlog ke (tch) khub khabardārī kar ↓nā <i>1.SG.PL ACC plenty alert do.FUT</i>	<i>take care of us</i>
kī jeise eisā ↓nā ↓hoe (tch) <i>that like 3.PROX.RFLX NEG happen.IP</i>	<i>so that this does not happen (to us)</i>
ham bolā <i>1.SG said</i>	<i>I said</i>
tum ādmī kā peisa ↑nei ↑katnā: (tch) <i>2.SG.FAM man GEN money NEG cut.FUT</i>	<i>you don't withhold the men's wages</i>
tume <u>koi</u> nā ↓mārī (.h) <i>2.SG.FAM some NEG hit.FUT</i>	<i>and no one will hit you</i>
↑ādmi=k ↑peisā ↑katyo <i>man .GEN money cut.IMP</i>	<i>if you withhold the men's wages</i>
↓to ↓mār ↓kheiyō <i>TOP hit eat.IMP.FUT</i>	<i>then you will be beaten</i>

12.4 Summary and Discussion

At a superficial level of reading at level 3 of the analysis, it would appear that in Part 1, Ghori uses the racial stratification that existed during Girmityas as an instrument for resistance. These are strategies which mark the Englishmen as the other, not only within the life narrative in relation to the Girmityas, but also in relation to the Fiji Indian interlocutors. Given the reasons for his embarking on his Girmityas journey, it would be unsurprising that Ghori emphasizes the divide between Englishmen and Indians, and that he focuses on his agentive role in organising the collective resistance of the Girmityas against these Englishmen. While the two Englishmen set about trying to create order, Ghori sets about destroying their order and establishing his own. In the process, Ghori unites the casteless, and classeless Girmityas against a common enemy.

On the other hand, when taking Part 2 into account, the resistance can now be seen beyond racial stratification, to the resistance against those plantation authorities Ghori perceived as working against the Girmityas. Ghori has moved from his establishment as a religious leader during Girmityas, a move consolidated at the beginning of this life narrative by the interviewer, in his introduction of Ghori as 'Pundit', to his establishment as leader on the plane of the master narratives of Girmityas.

Part 2 of Ghori's life narrative is about the performativity of masculinities. In particular, it is about the performativity of hegemonic masculinities, discussed in Section 2.3. I will present two points of view on hegemonic masculinities. These are Jasoda's characterization of Gajis as the sirdar and Ghori's representation of how he himself became a sirdar. By contrasting the two men, I will demonstrate why Gajis as a sirdar is the 'other' in Jasoda's narration while Ghori's position as a sirdar adds to his self aggrandizement. Moreover, Ghori's positioning simultaneously maintains his identity as one of the Girmityas.

Hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005) is the "idealized image of masculinity" thought to be achieved through the suppression of femininities and alternative masculinities (Barrett, 2007:130). In Jasoda's life narrative, Gajis is the dominant antagonist, who constantly needs to be constructed through episodic actions to remain an antagonist in the life narrative. Hence, we see only one aspect of Gajis' identity, that which involves

the unfavourable performances of masculinity, which makes and keeps him as a valid antagonist. While this definition of hegemonic masculinity can clearly be exemplified in Gajis, it is much more difficult to attribute this definition to Ghori, as demonstrated in this section. At the same time, both Gajis and Ghori, through their performances, attain and maintain positions of hegemonic masculinities. Hence, the view that “there are multiple hegemonic forms at any time, some compatible, but some in conflict” (Kiesling, 2006: 269).

The plantation environment in the indenture era, in which these hegemonic masculinities were constructed and shaped, needs also to be taken into account. The performance of masculinities did not unfold in isolation, but in the context of racism; the isolation of the plantation, which became the Girmityas’ cosmos; and the sirdar’s desire for subservience from the other Girmityas.

An idealized hegemonic masculinity on the plantation environment could be said to be embodied in the position of the sirdar of the master narratives. This is a man who is feared by the other Girmityas, but his position coveted by the other Girmityas, for it offered less work, and better pay. The stereotyped image is of a North Indian man, who uses aggression, and fear to maintain his position, and is able to get maximum work out of the Girmityas for minimum wage (cf. Ramirez 1999 on aggression, violence, and domination as key components in establishment, and maintenance of hegemonic masculinity). But that the Girmityas did resist, and attempt to overthrow the sirdar, successively or not (Naidu, 2004: 65), proves that there were other “opposition masculinities” (Barrett 2007: 130) in play on the plantation.

I turn to the displays of masculinity in both Gajis and Ghori in their roles as sirdar. The overseers of their respective plantations acknowledge that the men have leadership abilities amongst the Girmityas, a positive attribute to one’s self identity; however, the means by which they maintain their position as leaders differs. While Gajis uses violence to assert himself, Ghori prefers to use rationale and justification for his actions as a sirdar. In addition, Ghori illustrates that he was given this position of leadership by the other Girmityas because he was a born leader. This is a theme seen throughout his narration, and there is never an occasion when a Girmitya challenges Ghori’s leadership. This positioning is in sharp contrast to that of Gajis, who was placed in the

position of sirdar by the overseer. Following his appointment, he seeks to re-enforce his dominance over the other Girmityas through intimidation. At level 2 of the analysis, Gajis, through his violence, attempts to instil fear in the Girmityas, singling out individuals for punishment. Hence, although he is obeyed because of this intimidation, at level 3 of the analysis, he is positioned by the Girmityas as the 'other'. In contrast, Ghori, through his actions, remains one of 'us', albeit in a more responsible position. These positionings, therefore, show "different, interlocking Discourses of power" (Kiesling, 2006: 269) that Gajis and Ghori draw on to "create, negotiate and maintain" their hegemonic positions of leadership (Barrett, 2007: 130-1).

At level 2 of the analysis, both Ghori and Gajis make use of violence. However, this violence, which is portrayed unfavourably in the case of Gajis, can be viewed more favourably in Ghori's case. In Jasoda's narration, Gajis's violence is excessive, and unjustified against the woman Girmitya. On the other hand, Ghori's use of violence is in revenge against the Sirdar and is carried out with great foresight, so as not to land him in trouble with the authorities. In fact, Ghori is praised by the Overseer for this foresight. In addition, Gajis's violence is directed at the Girmityas as a "means of policing masculinity" (Whitehead, 2005: 417) and in the beating of the South Indian man, this is directly related to the man's perceived lack of subordination (Messerschmidt 1993). On the other hand, Ghori's violence is directed at the man who has been victimizing the Girmityas. Hence, at level 3 of the analysis, Ghori is a liberator of the Girmityas from the Sirdar's brutality.

Ghori, in his resistance to the Sirdar's violence, upholds his bid for hegemonic masculinity. Ghori's reaction can be contrasted with that of the South Indian man in Jasoda's narration, who demonstrates subordinated masculinity in his passivity, when beaten by Gajis. Ghori, at level 3 of the analysis, therefore, maintains *an* ideal hegemonic masculinity, by not provoking the Sirdar, but being provoked by him; by not bowing in submission to the Sirdar's violence like the South Indian man in Jasoda's narration; by beating the Sirdar in a battle of wills, and taking the Sirdar's position; and finally, by illustrating that he was a more humane sirdar, particularly when contrasted with the sirdar in Jasoda's narration, Gajis, who represents the antithesis of the ideal sirdar, from the Girmityas' point of view.

Jasoda does not explain on what qualifications Gajis was chosen to become a sirdar. Ghori achieves this position through his fight with the Sirdar, whom he overthrew. Hence, Ghori shows that he has earned the right to be the sirdar. Ghori implicitly contrasts his leadership skills as sirdar with those of the previous Sirdar, and again, shows that he is the better leader of the two. Ghori illustrates the disunity amongst the Girmityas under the previous Sirdar, through the beating of the new Girmitya. He illustrates how, under his leadership, the Girmityas are united, and able to, collectively, complete the allotted tasks of the day much faster.

Ghori also negates the presence of racism on his plantation, narrating that the Sirdar who came after him was an old South Indian man. Hence, the new Sirdar's race is an indication of the solidarity amongst the North and South Indian Girmityas on Ghori's plantation. Moreover, the new Sirdar's age indicates that the Girmityas would not be victimized by another sirdar. Through his own leadership abilities, Ghori has demonstrated the lack of need for a sirdar, who needs to fulfill the required quota through physical violence. He has therefore dispelled the Girmityas' antagonist for good.

At level 3 of the analysis, the depiction of the sirdar in master narratives of Girmitya, available to both Jasoda and Ghori, needs to also be taken into account. Jasoda affirms the stereotyped image of the sirdar as a brutal man (Lal, 2000: 51-2; Naidu, 2004: 48-9), as does Ghori in his description of the first sirdar. However, Ghori, in his own role as sirdar, negates this stereotype, illustrating that this stereotype did not apply to him. Hence, while both Gajis and Ghori embody the hegemonic masculinity of Girmitya, being men in positions of leadership over all other Girmityas on their plantation, from the Girmityas' point of view, and that of the interlocutors, the ideal sirdar is embodied in Ghori.

13

Constructing 'I' through the Life Narrative

Girmit Gātha me
abhi tak
āpne kei vrid sajano ko suna he

*In Girmit Gatha
until now
you have heard many respectable people
(Tej Ram Prem)*

Although this study by no means covers all the possible factors that have an impact on the performativity of the life narrative, this chapter summarizes the factors discussed in this research, and found to be salient to bring about the performativity of *these* life narratives. The summary of the factors is followed by a discussion on the implications of these findings for future research into narrativized performativities of Girmit.

13.1 Findings from study

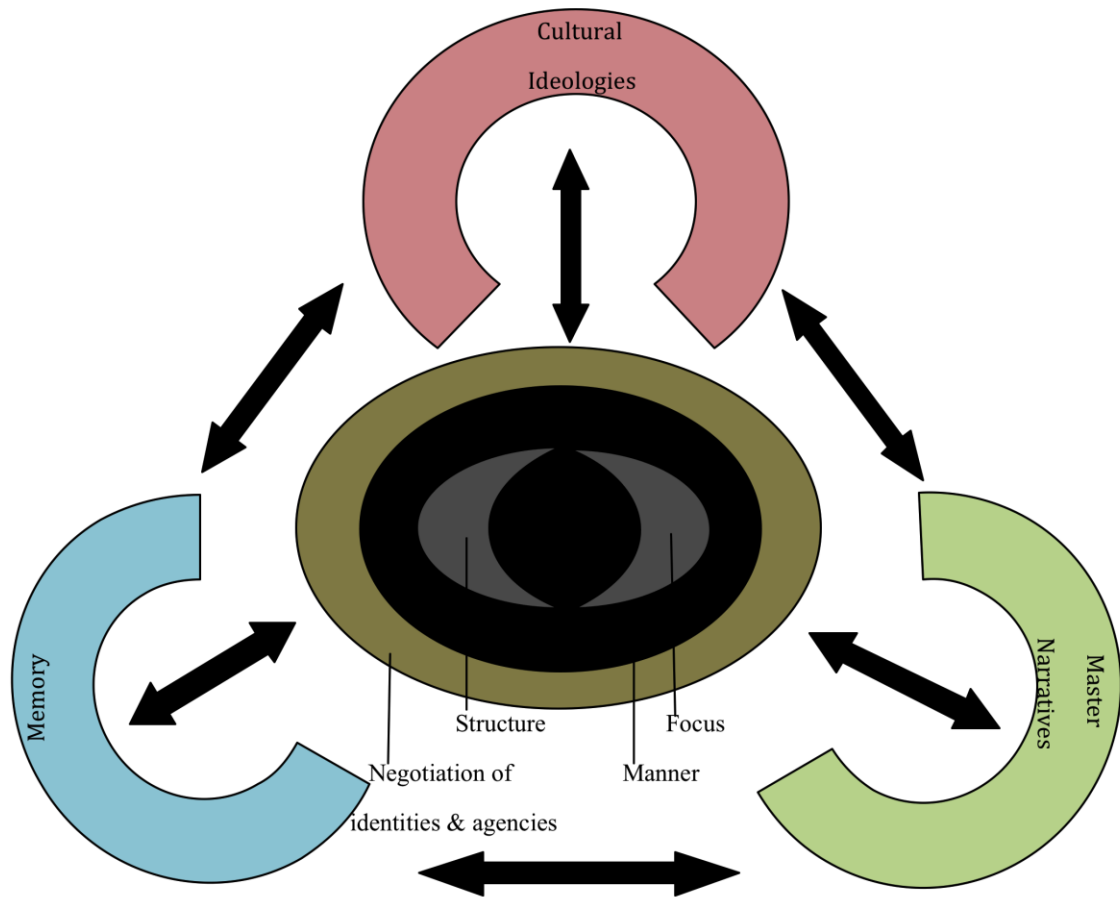
The findings in this chapter are not presented with the intention of writing a new master narrative; instead, what emerges is a more fine-grained analytical approach towards narrativization. This approach which I have termed 'narrativization analysis', builds on the merging of Labov and Bamberg, discussed in Section 6.3, and further illustrates the complexities present within the performativities of the life narratives.

Narrativization, as used here, follows Monica Fludernik's (1996) definition. Although Fludernik discusses narrativization in relation to readership (1996; 2003a; 2003b), the act of narrativizing can be extended to the production and reception of the life narrative. Narrativization, according to Fludernik, is about understanding experiences as narratives, beyond the structural level, in relation to the 'historical meta-fiction' (cf. Fludernik, 1994 on distinction of historical nonfictions and historiographical metafiction) and 'meta-narrative', which, in terms of the Girmit life narrative, can be respectively paralleled with the 'Girmit master narrative' and the 'cultural ideologies of storytelling'. Moreover, Fludernik's narrativization involves evaluating the experience in relation to

the narrator's purpose behind narrating, and the interlocutor's understanding of what the narration was about. The evaluative aspects of narration are carried out in the here and now, in relation to our own life experiences. This definition also serves as an explanation of narrativization analysis.

For a narrative to qualify as a life narrative, it must be composed of incidents of which the narrator has firsthand knowledge. Figure 5, below, illustrates this criteria through the 'eye' of the narrative. To perform the negotiation of 'Who am I?' and 'Who do I want to be?', the life narrative consists of structure (*structural components* of the life narrative), focus (*what* is narrated), and manner (*how* is it narrated). The performativity of the life narrative is within the interconnective spheres of memory, the shared knowledge of cultural ideologies, and the shared knowledge present in the master narratives of indenture. Moreover, the interconnectivity of memory, cultural ideologies and master narratives constrains the structure, focus, and manner of telling the life narrative. However, by being heard, the life narrative, in turn, constrains the interconnectivity of memory, cultural ideologies and master narratives. As presented below in Figure 5, the combination of all these components helps explain why *these* seven life narratives are told.

Figure 5: Influences on the performativity of the Girit life narrative



13.2 Structure and Focus of the Girit life narrative

The differentiation of a narrative as being event or habitual is based on the duration of the incident. An event narrative is about a singular incident while a habitual narrative is about iterative incidents. As the habitual narrative covers incidents over a prolonged period of time, it has a more descriptive quality in the telling. Hence, to distinguish components as falling under the habitual narrative, rather than the event narrative, this research has termed each of the components as being a ‘descriptive’ component.

However, the individual components in the event and habitual narratives have similar functions. Table 6, below, is a summary of the structure and focus of the two narrative genres and their components:

Table 6: Structural Components and Focus of the Girit Life Narrative

Structure	Focus	Structure	Focus
Event narrative	Details a singular incident	Habitual narrative	Describes activity over a sustained period
Abstract	A summary of the narrative	Descriptive abstract	A summary of the narrative
Orientation:	Background information on:	Descriptive orientation:	Background information on:
Spatial	Place	Spatial	Place
Temporal	Time	Temporal	Time
Character	Characters	Character	Characters
Complicating action	One-off action of protagonists and antagonists, forming climax to narrative	Descriptive complicating action	Sustained complicating action of protagonists and antagonists
Resolution	One-off dénouement	Descriptive resolution	Regular dénouement
Coda	Emphasizing the point of the narrative in light of the present	Descriptive coda	Emphasizing the point of the narrative in light of the present

The structural differentiation of the life narrative into event and habitual narrative allowed me to further see the focus of the narration. Ram Rattan Mishar maintains his focus on a singular incident during his Girit experience while Guldhari Maharaj maintains her focus on the routine of Girit. The other six narrators shift between event narratives and habitual narratives. The combination of the two genres contributes to the manner (section 13.3) of the narration, in allowing the narrators to sharpen, and flatten incidents, and, thereby, maintain coherence and reportability.

The differing functions of the habitual narrative across life narratives made me realize the importance of maintaining the structure in my analysis. In Gabriel Aiyappa's life narrative, it allows him to form bridges between the different stages of his Girit journey, after his focus on his initial reaction to each phase. For other narrators, such as Jasoda Ramdin and Guldhari Maharaj, it allows them to place emphasis on the harsh, and sustained rhythm of Girit by flattening individual Girit days into a seemingly endless monotony of routine, with each day and each week blurring into the next. For Ghorri Gosai, on the other hand, it allows for the performativity of credibility.

However, in narrative analysis, the space given to the event narrative has far outweighed that given to the habitual narrative. In my view, this balance ought to be redressed. As discussed above, maintaining the habitual narrative within the analysis allows for the maintenance of the contextualized performativity of the narration. Furthermore, it shows how the narrator is attempting to perform a coherent narration, and thereby, helps the researcher identify the focus of the entire narration. For this reason, in future research, I would continue with my focus on the life narrative, rather than the event narrative.

13.3 Manner of Girit narratives

A life narrative is about the re-presentation of performativity within a performativity. This re-presentation of performativity, or the manner in which a life narrative is told, builds on the structure and focus of the life narrative. In addition to the structural focus above, there is also the actual content of the life narrative, the focalized, 'who and what are seen and spoken about' (Cohan & Shires, 1988: 95). Linde's (1993) differentiation of a narration by its emphasis, or lack of, on the narrator-as-character in the storyworld as the 'focalized', has been important in this study for differentiating Guldhari's narration as a chronicle from the other life stories.

Identifying both the focalizing agent and the focalized of the narrations helped identify the focus of the life narratives as being on incidents that the narrator either experienced (life story), or witnessed (chronicle). As the focus of the life narrative can only be on events experienced and/or witnessed, the umbrella term of 'life narrative' allowed me to encompass both the life story and the chronicle. The focus also allowed me to demarcate the life narrative from other narrative genres present in the community. Most importantly for this research, it has allowed for the collective differentiation of the narrations and narrators in this study from the current master narratives and master narrators of indenture.

Part of the negotiation process involved in the telling of life narratives is the representation of the narrator-as-character in the different roles, such as the role of focalizer (cf. Cohan & Shires, 1988: 95; Fludernik, 2005: 40; Genette, 1980; Herman, 2002: 301-330; Jahn, 2005: N. 3.2.2), and the related identities and agencies attributed

to these roles. In a life narrative, therefore, the person who is the narrator equates to the focalizer (Fludernik, 2005: 40), but does not necessarily equate to the focalized.

However, while the aspect of focalizer emerged as important for this study, it has not attracted much attention in linguistic narrative analysis (cf. Threadgold, 2005: 270-1 for similar observations).

Moreover, the focalizer's degree of involvement in the storyworld may shift, as the focalizer may take on different positions for different purposes across life narratives (Klempner, 2000; Langer, 1991: 8, 48; Shen, 2005: 138). Hence, the focus of a life narrative can be altered from narrator-as-character to other characters through a change in the focalizer's positioning. Within Guldhari and Jasoda's narrations, the narrator-as-character shifts in her role of focalizer within the life narrative (cf. Friedman, 1955, cited in Jahn, 2005: 3.3.3; Lanser, 1981: 161, cited in Jahn, 2005: 3.3.3; Nieragden, 2002: 686). As interlocutors, our point of view on both the unfolding incidents and the narrator is tied to these shifts. Moreover, while both Guldhari and Jasoda employ the same technique of shifting the degree of involvement of the narrator-as-character, and, therefore, of the focalizer, this performance achieves a different identity construction in each life narrative (Shen, 2005: 138).

Guldhari's movement across the scale of the narrator-as-character, from most involved in the incidents of the storyworld, establishing herself as having been there as the incidents unfolded, to less involved, bearing a witness account, adds credibility to her narration. At no point does she describe incidents that she did not witness first hand. That these are actions of others, with Guldhari reporting as witness, also adds objectivity to her performativity (cf. Labov, 2000).

Jasoda, on the other hand, fluctuates between I-as-co-protagonist and I-as-witness. But Jasoda is not a true witness. We understand that she is part of the characters carrying out the incidents she is describing from her I-as-witness position. I view the use of I-as-witness in Jasoda's narration as a coping mechanism (cf. Klempner, 2000; Langer, 1991: 8, 48; Perez, Tobin & Sagy, 2010), allowing Jasoda emotional distance from incidents she finds painful to recollect and relay through her narration. It is also a "sanctioned" articulation and portrayal of grief.

Related to focalization is ‘who is allowed to speak in the narration’? Hence, consideration needs to be given as to whether the narrator is externally providing evaluations on incidents, from the vantage point of retrospect, or is the narrator-as-character providing a commentary on the unfolding action? Unlike the other narrations, we are not privy to Guldhari-as-character’s thoughts. Instead, it is Guldhari-as-narrator, who externally (cf. Edminston, 1989: 743; Nieragden 2002: 691-2) provides the evaluations on these incidents, from the vantage point of retrospect. The interlocutors are given an insight into the manner in which Girmity was carried out by being shown the actions of the antagonists, and voiceless protagonists. Through the depiction of these actions, Guldhari-as-narrator constructs her point of view, and, in turn, we, the interlocutors, construct our point of view on what the Girmityas felt about their Girmity experience.

Guldhari’s lack of internal evaluations, again, contributes an air of objectivity to her performativity. This can be contrasted with Ram Rattan Mishar-as-character’s internal evaluations on the Manager, which, combined with the dialogic action, provides the feel of a blow-by-blow recount of the incident (cf. Tannen, 2007: 102-132). Moreover, in a life narrative, if internal evaluations are present, we are privy only to the thoughts of the narrator-as-character, which simultaneously justifies his or her actions, without needing to allocate the same space to the antagonist.

The vocalized and non-vocalized language in which the narrators present their life narrative belongs to the realm of shared knowledge between the narrators and other interlocutors. As such, deviations from the norm are a salient means of emphasizing point of view. Fiji Hindi is a pro-drop language, and the narrators may use pronouns where it is not required for the purpose of attributing responsibility, and, possibly, blame to the character associated with carrying out the action. This is a strategy employed by Jasoda in her positioning of the nanny as the other. On the other hand, pronouns may be dropped where they are required, for the same purpose of attributing responsibility, and, possibly, blame, making it difficult to differentiate who is responsible for the action. This is seen most effectively in Guldhari’s narration. In Jasoda’s narration, there is also ambiguity in her use of pronoun, making it difficult to ascertain her position as belonging to the collective Girmityas or as a witness. This ambiguity is another strategy of distancing herself from painful recollections.

Another aspect of manner of narration is the ordering of incidents, which, in a life narrative is not only for the maintenance of coherence, but may also be evaluative in nature. While six of the narrations are linear in structure, Ram Rattan Mishar's narration is nonlinear. The telling of incidents from the vantage point of retrospect gives him the ability to organize the narration to best emphasize both his point of view on the incidents told and his positioning as the justified protagonist of the narration.

Related to ordering is the sharpening, flattening, or omission of incidents from the causal chain of events. This not only allows the narrator to present a coherent whole life narrative, but also allows the interlocutors to follow her point of view, as discussed under the function of habitual narratives. This flattening of some incidents, in favour of others, which are more in line with the narrator's viewpoint, can, for instance, be seen in Jasoda's narration. She de-emphasizes the Girmityas' resistance, and emphasizes the punishment of their failed resistance. The respective flattening and sharpening allows Jasoda to construct and maintain her viewpoint that Girit was a horrific experience for the Girmityas, filled with hardship, and constant brutality.

Table 7 below provides a summary of the components, which were found to be pertinent to how the life narrative is told:

Table 7: Manner of Girit Narration

Manner	Purpose
Structure	Table 6 above
Focus	Table 6 above
Focalizer	The narrator, who speaks
Focalizing agent	The narrator-as-character, who sees
Focalized	Who and what are seen and spoken about
Language	Vocalized and non-vocalized language strategies chosen for presentation of point of view
Ordering of events	Sequencing of the narration to achieve coherence, and to emphasize point of view
Sharpening	Incidents emphasized
Flattening	Incidents present, but not emphasized
Omission	Incidents absent from causal chain

Linguistic narrative analysts have explored the importance of language, ordering of incidents, the emphasis, de-emphasis, and omission of incidents, as well as the presence or absence of spatial and temporal frames to the manner of narration. However,

focalization, in my view, is an area that needs to be addressed further. This is because focalization allows the researcher to identify who and what is the focus of the narration. Moreover, it allows the researcher to differentiate the narrator, who speaks, from the character, who sees. This differentiation also allows the researcher to classify evaluations as being external, or internal to the narration. Finally, focalization allows the researcher to understand that there is a possibility for shifts in the focalizer's positions, which, in turn, act as an evaluation on the incidents being recollected, and retold.

13.4 Negotiation of Identities and Agencies in Girit life narratives

This study presents varying identities and agencies. Some of these identities and agencies will be familiar from the master narratives. However, this research presents other identities and agencies, which have been overlooked in the pursuit of thematic analysis.

Identities

While the master narratives present the Giritiyas as having fixed identities and agencies, it does not hold true within these life narratives. There is a range of identities presented for the protagonists. These identities existed simultaneously on the Girit plantation. For instance, in her life narrative, Jasoda Ramdin is an Indian; she is also a woman, a wife, a mother, and a Giritiya. These identities can be associated with a range of agencies. Hence, there is continual performativity in the presentation, and the negotiation of the identities, and associated agencies on the Girit plantation.

Gender is present in the telling of the life narratives. There are more women in women's narratives, and more men in men's narratives. The most extreme gendering is seen in Guldhari Maharaj's narration. In her narration, no men Giritiyas are present. In addition, the children remain ungendered. Through her use of gendering, Guldhari maintains the focus of the narration on the women Giritiyas as protagonists, while the Sirdar and Overseer are collectively positioned as the antagonists.

The major division of the characters within any life narrative is between protagonists and antagonists. The protagonist may be individualized, or presented collectively. In the men's life narratives, the narrator discusses the focalized as an individual, with the narrator-as-character as the individual protagonist. On the other hand, the women's life narratives largely present the focalized protagonist as part of the collective Girmityas. However, there are instances in which the Girmityas are positioned collectively in both the men's and women's life narratives. This collective positioning may be to either emphasize their victim position, as in Guldhari's life narrative, or to emphasize *sumat*, 'unity', as in Ram Sundar Maharaj, Ram Rattan Mishar, and Ghori Gosai's life narratives.

Similarly, the antagonists, when present in the life narrative, can either be portrayed individually, where their individual actions are differentiated, as in Jasoda Ramdin's narration, or they may be lumped together through their undifferentiated action, as in Guldhari Maharaj's narration. The antagonists may further vary as to whether they are major or minor antagonists. The differentiation relies on the amount of space given to the character to maintain her or his antagonistic position, through repeated acts. Hence, in Jasoda Ramdin's narration, the Sirdar forms the major antagonist, while the Dai forms a minor antagonist. On the other hand, there may not be any emphasized antagonists in the life narrative, as seen in Gabriel Aiyappa's and Ram Sundar Maharaj's narrations.

The characters, who align themselves with the narrator-as-character, or with the Girmityas, act as helpers. This can be seen for instance in Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative in the character of Nirhou. Similarly, there are helpers in Ghori Gosai's life narrative. The other Girmityas, who are given choral but not individual voice, are presented as carrying out Ghori's orders without question. Through their demeanour, they help further Ghori's position as the leader amongst the Girmityas.

Finally, ethnicity may appear as an identity marker in Ghori Gosai's narration, through mockery, to emphasize the 'us' and 'them' divide between the Girmityas and the Englishmen. However, another way of looking at this is that there is a division presented between the Girmityas and those who are in authority. The latter is a better

explanation of Ghori's confrontation with the Bengali in the depot, and the Sirdar on the Girit plantation.

Table 8, below presents a range of identities, and their functions in the life narratives in this research. It is important to note that there is more than one identity presented in every life narrative:

Table 8: Identities Negotiated in Girit Life Narratives

Types of Identities	Purpose
Collective	More than one individual is focalized, with actions undifferentiated
Individual in collective	Focalized is part of a collective group, but actions of focalized are distinguished, and emphasized
Individual	Focalized's actions in isolation of others
Gender	Overt reference to focalized's gender
Familial	Focalized presented in relation to spouse or relative
Ethnicity	Focalized's cultural affiliations emphasized

Agencies

Agency lies in the telling of the life narrative, the showing, the naming, the hinting at the possibilities of further showing, and naming, regardless of the positioning of the narrator-as-character within the life narrative.

In every life narrative in which antagonists are present, they are given high agency, for the attribution of responsibility for their actions, and, ultimately, blame (cf. Shaver, 1985: 4, 67 on attribution of blame). The assignment of blame forms an important aspect of most narrations, and narrators have at their disposal a variety of means for assigning blame (Labov, 1997). Ram Rattan Mishar, for instance, in addition to the non-linear sequencing of events, uses prosody and evaluative lexicon to attribute, and emphasize the Manager's agency in his construction of causal responsibility, and, finally, to assign blame to the Manager. In assigning the Manager as the antagonist, he emphasizes his own justified position as the protagonist of the narrative. Hence, there is significance in the emotions, as well as the actions attributed to others-as-characters for the purposes of the protagonist's self-aggrandizement.

In the discussion of the identities and agencies that are performed within the Girit storyworld, there is also the discussion of resistance and accommodation. In this study,

it is the Girmityas, who, drawing on their memory, their knowledge of shared cultural norms and master narratives, within the situated context of the telling of the life narrative, construct their definition of Girmit, resistance, and accommodation, through their positioning of the actors, who worked under the system of Indian indenture. Hence, this is a study that extends the idea of resistance and accommodation from the history field into sociocultural linguistics, and, in particular, into identity and agency representations within life narratives.

What I see as an overt expression of resistance is when the Girmitya, in his or her life narrative, told within this particular cultural communicative space, places emphasis on what s/he did to overcome a difficult situation. I acknowledge that there would have been other moments when the Girmit narrators possibly did not resist, which are omitted from the life narratives. I also acknowledge that the point of view on resistance and accommodation is quite subjective (see Munro, 1993: 1-43 and Shameem's, 1990 differing viewpoints for instance). Hence, there would be moments when the line between accommodation and resistance is blurred from the viewpoint of another. There would also be other instances when the narrator ((un)wittingly) behaved in a manner that is constituted as resistance from another's point of view. Such discussions, however, would be outside the bounds of this study.

In the Girmit life narratives, agency lies in accommodation, as well as resistance. The emphasis on accommodation may be seen in two forms. Firstly, there is the emphasis on the focalized's acceptance of circumstances, and, therefore, adaptation to the new environment, as in Ram Sundar Maharaj's life narrative. Secondly, there is an emphasis on the focalized's experience of hardship, and inability to change circumstances, and, therefore, the need to accommodate to the new environment to survive, as in Guldhari Maharaj and Jasoda Ramdin's life narratives. The emphasis on resistance, on the other hand, emphasizes what the focalized did to change circumstances in his favour. Resistance is most overtly seen in Ram Rattan Mishar and Ghori Gosai's life narratives, and to a lesser degree, in Ram Dulhari's recollection of his first day on the plantation.

As Munro mentions, in relation to plantation workers, resistance and accommodation lie on a continuum (1993: 1-43). The potential however, of resistance or accommodation on the part of the protagonists lies in any life narrative. It is what the narrator wishes to

sharpen, flatten, or omit. For instance, Jasoda's emphasis counters that of Ghori's. Jasoda places great emphasis on the punishment of the Girmityas for a failed resistance, and distances herself from having any part in the attempted resistance. On the other hand, Ghori emphasizes his leadership in the successful resistance on his plantation. In fact, in this research, women's narrations emphasize suffering, and/or accommodation, while men's narrations emphasize resistance. However, when present, the emphasis lies on resistance within the bounds of accommodation, as seen in both Ghori Gosai's and Ram Rattan Mishar's life narratives.

At the same time, counter narratives are not only about the presence of resistance. They are also about the presence of positions not seen, or emphasis on positions minimized in the master narratives. Too often, we think of a typical Girmitya as a young man, when, as Guldhari Maharaj reminds us, Girmitya was just as much about women. The emphasis on 'motherhood' during Girmitya in the life narratives of the women, counters its near absence from the master narratives. The performativity of motherhood also counters the previous works which position Girmitya women and mothers unfavourably. These focuses and positionings may not constitute as the resistance seen in the previous paragraph. However, these points of view make me aware that Girmitya was not only about the Girmityas working on the plantation, and cooking, and sleeping in the cramped lines. It was about human interactions, and the presence of the family unit on the plantation, remote from the extended family situation in India.

In fact, it is studies that focus on life post-indenture that begin to differentiate the Indian ex-labourers, in relation to the (re)construction of culture and the family unit. However, it is not post-indenture that the Fiji Indian community began, but during indenture, as highlighted in the women's life narratives, and in Part 1 of Ghori's life narrative, as he urges the Girmityas to develop an identity, which works towards the collective good of all Girmityas. The Girmityas' accommodation, as well as resistance to their new environment, to establish a new set of cultural norms and language, building on what they had brought with them, and incorporating these norms and languages with the new environment that their children would grow in, is the heritage of the Fiji Indian communities of today.

Table 9, below, presents a range of agencies and their functions in the life narratives in this study. Just as it was mentioned above about identities, it is important to note that there is more than one agency presented in every life narrative:

Table 9: Agencies Negotiated in Girit Life Narratives

Types of Agencies	Purpose
Witness	<p>Focalizer or focalized is the observer of events, and is not presented with any agency to encourage, or prevent the occurrence of the incident being observed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual focalizer: in I-as-witness position • Individual focalized: allowed only to watch incident unfolding • Collective focalized: group of focalized bystanders allowed only to watch incident unfolding
Recipient	<p>Focalized presented as a recipient of action without resistance on the part of the focalized:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual: single focalized character receiving directives or punishment • Equal recipients in a collective: everyone in the focalized group follows directives from an ‘other’ • Less agency than another in a collective: another individual within collective is leader, hence, focalized is receiving directives from ‘insider’
Agent	<p>Focalized presented as taking initiative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual: acting alone • Most agency in a collective: focalized is giving directives as leader of the group • Equal agency in a collective: everyone has same agency

Based on the findings, I have identified areas that I need to pay closer attention to in a future study on Girit life narratives. Because of the interconnectivity between variables (Crenshaw, 1991; Hancock, 2007; McCall, 2005), in Girit studies, the focus needs to shift from isolated variables. This becomes particularly pertinent, when even from a sample of seven narrators, gender, as a relational component (cf. Oyewumi, 1997), is a salient factor in constructing the focus of the narration and the choice of focalization.

The gendered plantation is reflected in the focus of the Girmityas' life narratives. However, while gender inequality amongst the Girmityas is of interest to Girmitya historians today, it does not feature in the Girmitya life narratives. In Ram Dulhari's narration, he differentiates himself as a 'man' from the other 'women' in the depot, but once on the plantation, this distinction does not resurface. In all the life narratives, gender is not contrasted between the sexes of men and women; rather, it is discussed in relation to others of the same sex. For instance, Jasoda presents the Nanny as a lesser woman. The distinction also lies according to hierarchy in terms of plantation authorities versus Girmityas. This is because the sirdar, according to Thurston (cited in Lal, 2000:51), was chosen for his "bullying capabilities", as illustrated by the sirdars in Guldhari, Jasoda and Ghori's life narratives. Hence, the sirdar's position involved the subordination of all Girmityas.

The focus on women's life narratives is on women, and those of men are on men. In this way, the life narratives are gender differentiated. The women present narratives on the family unit, and on the raising of children on the plantation. Guldhari presents ungendered children, with her emphasis on the role of the mothers on the plantation. Similarly, Jasoda and Ram Sundar Maharaj are both mothers and Girmityas. However, they illustrate the different attitudes on the different plantations to the care of the children.

Most of the men's narrations focus on resistance and agency, as in Ram Rattan Mishar, Gabriel and Ghori's narrations. Ghori, in his bid for leadership, brings the performativity of hegemonic masculinity amongst 'dominated' men to the fore. Where agency is lacking in Ram Rattan Mishar's narration, as in how he came to be a Girmitya, this is flattened. Ram Dulhari, however, uses positions of other masculinities. His narration contrasts with that of the other men in its largely lack of agency. He shows slight agency in his decision to become a Girmitya, but this is reactionary, a perceived challenge to his manhood. He is closer to Jasoda in his naivety on his first day. However, he, like the other men, does not focus on the presence of the women and children on the Girmitya plantation.

The Girmityas take great pains to establish that they did not use violence, and that they were not the aggressors on the plantation. This attribute lies with the plantation

authorities. The instances when they did use violence, such as Ghorī's subordination of the Sirdar, and Ram Rattan Mishar's threat, there is establishment that this was in retaliation for being transgressed against by the plantation authorities.

Despite the differences within the life narratives, all agree that the work required of them on the Girmīt plantation was extremely long and difficult. However, the Girmītyas all present themselves as conscientious workers, and none of the Girmītyas will admit that they could not complete their allotted tasks, and consequently suffered beatings. However, I am not prepared to generalize any further from such a small collection. That I will leave to a future study.

13.5 Memory, Cultural Ideologies, and Master Narratives' influences on the Girmīt life narrative

This study is about the significance of what is recalled, and how it is recalled. We remember incidents that are important in our lives as occurring in a temporal sequence, one leading to the next, based on a pivotal theme (Bamberg, 2004a). We remember our lives as stories, which continually evolve with each sharing (Armbruster & Meinhof 2005: 45; Bruner, 1987/2004). Hence, the most significant episodes in our lives, at the moment of telling, that we wish to emphasize, take the form of narratives (Bamberg, 2004a), as we dwell on them, and explain them to the best of our ability. This narration is a paradigmatic rather than syntagmatic sequencing of events (Cohan & Shires, 1988: 65-66; Portelli, 1992: 60).

A number of studies have investigated the issue of false memory brought about through cognitive (Paz-Alonso & Goodman, 2008), and social influences (Ost, Granhag, Udell & Hjelmsäter, 2008). However, what is of interest to this study is the role of the recalled incidents in the structure and focus of the life narrative, as we attempt to understand why the narrators emphasize certain incidents, and de-emphasize, or omit other incidents, and, finally, the social outcome of the negotiation of self(s) through this life narrative.

Memory is a selective tool, and what we may choose to remember, and what we may choose to forget are equally important. Remembering and forgetting operate at both the

individual and collective levels. Forgetfulness implies knowledge of the occurrence of incidents, but making a choice not to remember them:

In the dialogic space produced within an interview, what is worth remembering and what is not are up for negotiation. This suggests that forgetting is the effect of an active process which can involve denial, refusal, discrediting, silencing, omitting.

(Norquay, 1999: 2)

In addition, according to Norquay, forgetfulness can lead to ignorance, which implies a state of no longer being aware of the occurrence of incidents. For both these reasons, forgetfulness is as important as remembering.

In a life narrative, what we remember to tell, what we forget, and what we omit is not governed by chance. Rather, what we remember is often governed by cultural norms and expectations of behaviour, and by master narratives (Armbruster & Meinhof, 2005: 45; Norquay, 1999: 3). What we most remember are the incidents that enhance our self-aggrandizement: how we want to be seen in our own eyes, and the eyes of others. These are the incidents that we choose to remember, and which we emphasize in our life narratives. Conversely, those incidents that do not emphasize or contribute significantly to our self-aggrandizement, are usually forgotten.

Forgetting may be either an unconscious or conscious act (cf. Connerton, 2008 on types of forgetting). On the one hand, incidents, that we deem as unimportant, unconsciously recede from our recollection, if they have no further linkage to any memorable incident. On the other hand, traumatic incidents may be more difficult to forget. However, remembering the incidents may cause further trauma. For this reason, according to Connerton (2008: 67-69), there is a conscious effort made to forget. Such a conscious act to forget begins at the individual level. The presence of the traumatic incident is marked by its absence in life narratives, through silence and omission. Over time, the absence becomes part of the collective memory.

However, not everything that is traumatic, or which does not positively emphasize our self-image, can be forgotten (cf. Schacter, Chiao & Mitchell, 2003:228-229 on persistence; Singer & Conway, 2008: 283). In such cases, there is also the re-presentation of trauma through ‘sanctioned’ expressions of grief (cf. Shi-xu, 2009), as in Jasoda Ramdin’s narration. In other cases, we may choose to omit incidents from our lives. These omissions, as discussed above, may be of incidents, which are deemed unimportant in the life narrative, or incidents that we wish to keep hidden, or of which we do not wish to speak because of trauma, discomfort, or humiliation.

Cultural ideologies have a great impact when we consider the incidents that we are silent about (cf. Allan & Burrige, 2006; De Fina, 2000; Freeman, 2002; 2003). These incidents transgress cultural etiquette of right and wrong, and what can be uttered out loud to others (cf. Foucault, 1971: 8). These are the unsanctioned stories of our lives, and of a community. These unsanctioned stories may exist as unacknowledged stories within the community, outside of the sanctioned master narratives. It is the sharing of sanctioned and unsanctioned individual memories that together constitute the collective memory (Jacobs, 2008; Poole, 2008), and the collective story (Richardson, 1990: 24-25) of Girit.

As summarized below in Table 10, a life narrative is, therefore, not a window into our memory:

Table 10: Influences on Performativity of Girit Life Narratives

Memory	Cultural Ideologies	Master Narrative
Remembered	What is sanctioned to be articulated What is sanctioned to be heard What is worth articulating for a positive identity negotiation	What is present, and emphasized for a positive identity negotiation of the collective protagonists from the point of view of the master narrators
*Remembered, but possibly not articulated, or if articulated, possibly not heard	What is not sanctioned to be articulated What is not sanctioned to be heard What is not worth articulating for a positive identity negotiation	What is absent What is de-emphasized for a positive identity negotiation of the collective protagonists from the point of view of the master narrators
Forgotten	What is not worth	What is not worth

remembering for a positive
identity negotiation

remembering for a positive
identity negotiation of the
collective protagonists from
the point of view of the
master narrators

*If articulated, and heard, forms a counter narrative to the current master narratives of indenture

13.6 Summary and Discussion

The thematic discourse of the master narratives of Indian Indenture has provided a basis from which to discuss the factors leading to the implementation of Girit, and the stages of Girit. When it comes to discussing the Girit's point of view on their experiences, however, this study's findings indicate that the discourse needs to widen to incorporate the alternate versions of the master narratives.

More discourse, in fact, needs to be situated around the Girit life narratives. One form of discourse is through approaching the life narrative with lenses from different fields. At the same time, as illustrated through this chapter, it is also important in seeing how different components of the life narrative are identity laden. This is because just as Girit's and their experiences cannot be typified, the narrativized performativity in the telling of a Girit life narrative can also not be typified.

This chapter placed emphasis on the influences that contribute to bringing about the telling and hearing of *these* life narratives. The concluding chapter situates the study and its findings within the fields of Narrative Analysis, Linguistics, and Indian Indenture Studies.

Conclusions and Beginnings

Our unkī yāde
sadye bane rahe gī

*And their memories
will remain for centuries*
(Tej Ram Prem)

Drawing primarily on the works of Labov & Waletzky (1967/1997), and Labov (1972; 1997; 2001; 2004; 2006), the research began with the premise that we construct narratives of the most salient moments of our lives. This study further suggests that there is a range of narrative forms that may be implemented for different functions. Drawing primarily on the works of Bamberg (1997; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c), the research argued that identities and agencies are narratively negotiated, and constructed within a cultural communicative space, in the presence of master narratives. The study suggests that through this search for an answer to ‘Who am I?’ and ‘Who do I want to be?’ selves are narratively constructed.

The study focused on how Fiji Hindi structures are used to further the narrator’s points of view on the identities and agencies of characters in relation to the narrator-as-character in the storyworld. The ultimate purpose is to negotiate an identity that is favourable to the Giritmit narrator. The life narratives analyzed were about Giritmit experiences that the narrators witnessed and/or experienced. This research countered other studies on Giritmit. This is firstly, through the space given to the Giritmityas to perform their life narratives, and secondly, through seeking to understand their negotiation of ‘Who am I?’ and ‘Who do I want to be?’ as encapsulated in the research question:

How do Indian indentured labourers to Fiji construct life narratives in Fiji Hindi, to reconstruct their indenture experiences, and through the narration process, negotiate positions of identities and agencies?

The study began with the assumption that for these Girmityas, this is their recollection of Girit, at this particular time, and for this particular set of interlocutors, with the shared knowledge of the cultural understanding of Girit, the cultural norms of behaviour, and with the benefit of hindsight. From here, the research moved to explore what aspects of identity and agency are being negotiated through the emphasis, de-emphasis, and omission of incidents in the life narrative. The initial purpose in undertaking this research was to foreground alternative narratives, which are counterpoint to the broad, thematic master narratives of Girit. However, this was a study not only about counter narratives. It was also a study on evolving identities and agencies. The construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of identities and agencies became part of the research focus.

This final chapter draws together the major discussions presented in the study: development and implementation of the analytical model, master narratives of Girit, and Girmityas' narratives. The main arguments within the study in relation to rationale, methodology, narrative structure and performativity, identities and agencies, as well as a final reflection on the research are presented. The relevance of the research findings for Narrative analysis, Linguistics, and Girit studies are discussed. The study's research limitations are acknowledged and attention is drawn to the challenges posed by the Girmityas' life narratives. The chapter concludes with a discussion of further areas of research.

14.1 Research overview

Chapter 2: To explain why narrative analysis perspectives are useful, Gabriel Aiyappa provided the Girmitya's perspective in this overview of Girit. The research built upon the works of historians (Ali, 1980; 2004; Gillion, 1962; Lal, 1993; 2000; 2004a; 2004b; Munro, 1993; 2005; Tinker, 1974), and sociologists (Naidu, 2004; Shameem, 1990), all of whom have traced in great detail the workings of the Indian indenture system in Fiji. For the most part, they paint a grim picture of the era, with the proviso that this did not necessarily apply to all the Girmityas. Over time, the perspective in Indian indenture studies has moved from the Girit-as-slavery ideology to giving the Girmityas more agency (cf. Lal, 2000: xi, 43; 2004b: 4). Nevertheless, the method of discussing Girit in terms of generalizations-with-exceptions remains predominant in the field. As we

however know, the big story of Girit (and, in fact, any history) is built on the small stories of the individuals, who were there when it happened.

Chapter 3: In providing the background on the production of the life narratives, the interviewees, the interviewers, and the interview situation, the Giritiyas in this study were viewed as agents of social production. In the radio documentary, *Girit Gāthā*, the Giritiya chooses to reveal her experience, the unknown, relative to the known master narrative of the community. This by no means denies the possibility of the hand of the editor splicing the interviews, and cutting out chunks that were deemed unsuccessful. What can be heard, however, is that, to a certain degree, it is the Giritiya who chooses how and what incidents to narrate that she witnessed or experienced of Girit. Whether she constructs herself in line with the master narrator's agent, or victim of the system is (relatively) her own decision. Where it is not her decision, we are able to hear this for what it is: an attempt on the part of the interlocutors to fit her narration back into the mould of the familiar. I am not claiming that the Giritiyas' identities are unmediated in the life narratives, for they are, both by the interviewer and the context of the interview for future broadcast. However, *Girit Gāthā* opened a discursive and performative space, in-between the community's Discourses and the Giritiyas' *discourses*, where the Giritiyas can negotiate, and even contest their subjectivities, and we, as secondary interlocutors, can hear this negotiation, and, at times, contestations.

Chapter 4: To facilitate the restorying of Girit, I transcribed, transliterated, and translated all the life narratives in the finite set of *Girit Gāthā* life narratives. The seven Giritiyas in this study were chosen for their emphasis on their life leading up to, and during Girit. The re-presentation of Giritiyas' whole narratives were thematically selected from their entire interview. The cutoff point was an end in their focus on their Girit experience and a shift towards their life post-Girit, which is excluded from the focus of the research. The re-presentation of the Giritiyas' point of view on Girit experiences through whole narratives is a contrast to how their voices have so far been re-presented in Girit studies. The major influences on the transcribing, transliterating, and translating of the life narratives were firstly,

accessibility for the Fiji Hindi readers, while simultaneously encoding the discursive performativity of the narration, and finally, making the life narratives accessible to the wider, English reading public.

Chapters 5 & 6: Development and implementation of the analytical model was a process of moving from a solely structural mode of analysis (Chapter 5) to an analysis that also incorporated the performative aspects of narrative construction (Chapter 6). The model interweaves the frameworks of Labov & Waletzky (1967/1997), Labov (1972; 1997; 2001; 2004; 2006), and Bamberg (1997; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c), and, following Bamberg, is divided into three levels of analysis. Within the analysis, Labov & Waletzky, and Labov's conceptualization of narrative structure intertwines with Bamberg's theory that narrative structures are dependent on all the interlocutors (primary and secondary) involved in the telling and hearing of the narration, and the context in which the narration is told and heard. This allows for an analysis of the purpose behind the telling (and hearing) of the narration.

The first level of analysis is located within the storyworld. At this level, the focus is on the characters in their assigned roles, relative to the complicating action of the narrative, and the narrator-as-character. The second level of analysis interweaves Labov's emphasis on the evaluations of the Girit narrator to construct a narrative that is both reportable and credible with Bamberg's emphasis on the evaluations of all the interlocutors in shaping the life narrative. At the final level of analysis, Labov's analysis of agency is woven into Bamberg's discussion of identities. To keep the model grounded in the culture it is analyzing, at the third level of analysis, the model incorporates the shared cultural knowledge, which includes the master narratives, and also the allowances and constraints on what is articulated; the performativity of the articulation; and the inter-relationship between cultural ideologies and memory, an area touched upon in this study, and which requires further research. These final aspects of the analysis must be emphasized as the life narratives were elicited to be heard on *Girit Gāthā*, a Fiji Hindi radio program.

Chapters 7 to 12 were devoted to the analysis of the individual life narratives. Here, I discuss the Girmityas' respective narrativized performativities, in relation to the master narratives of indenture.

Guldhari Maharaj: In Girit master narratives, gender is a binary opposition, proscribed at birth. Furthermore, we often forget to look at the intervariability between genders, ages, ethnicities, and cultures the Girmityas brought onto the plantations. In the few instances when women are distinguished from the men Girmityas, what is taken into consideration is the women's marital status, which if single, has, until recently, been used against them. Guldhari, who is the only child Girmitya in this study, highlights this lack of intervariability, by focusing solely on the women, by leaving the children ungendered, and by presenting the Sirdar and Overseer, the only two men in her life narrative, as the combined antagonists. It is beyond the scope of this study to write the wrongs of the misrepresentation of Girit women, a task that is currently of interest to Girit historians (cf. Lal, 2000; Shameem, 1990). However, in line with localizing the indenture experience, this study addresses the misrepresentation of genders on the plantations of the master narratives, and the countering of this misrepresentation through Guldhari's performativities.

Ram Sundar Maharaj: The atmosphere of the master narratives operates in tandem with the unfolding life narrative. The spatial frame of the lines and sugarcane plantation, which together comprised the Girit plantations, is the situated context to the action. But it also imbues, for the Fiji Indian interlocutors familiar with Girit master narratives, its stereotyped atmosphere of brutality, hardship, and discomfort. This 'reality' of the master narratives can then be subverted by narratives like those of Ram Sundar Maharaj. While acknowledging the long hours of work the Girmityas performed, in her life narrative, Ram Sundar Maharaj provides an antithesis to the master narratives in her portrayal not only of the living conditions on the plantation for the Girmityas, and their children, but also of the characteristics of the Coolubar, the Sirdar, the Dai, and the Inspector. Through her positionings, she emphasizes that there are no typical Girit experiences.

Jasoda Ramdin: Giritmit researchers tend to talk about the Giritmityas collectively, in binary terms, as either victims, or agents of the writer's theme. For instance, Naidu (2004) discusses the violence of Giritmit, with an emphasis on the excerpts of those Giritmityas who experienced violence at different levels of the plantation strata. On the other hand, Shameem's (1990) focus is on portraying women as exercising high agency over their Giritmit experience. Discussions of such themes are insightful, in that they draw attention to issues of identities, agencies, and experiences that existed during Giritmit. There is, however, no discussion on the relativity of being in a 'victim' or 'agent' position. Jasoda Ramdin narrates how, on the plantation, she was part of the collective Giritmityas, carrying out strenuous tasks for long hours, under threat of punishment. At the same time, she portrays other scenarios where *other* Giritmityas were singled out. Does she then see different categories of victims: that of being victims of the Giritmit system on the plantation collectively, and that of being singled out as a target of the plantation authorities' violence? Through the latter depictions, is she indicating that these were individuals who were even greater victims than she was? Nor do the researchers' discussions take into account the fluctuation of identities and agencies presented in the narrations, where a Giritmitya may position herself as a victim in one context, and take a more agentive position in another. In Jasoda's narration, for instance, there is a shift in her agency as she describes her reactions to the plantation authorities, in her positions as a Giritmitya, and as a mother-and-Giritmitya.

Ram Dulhari: In the telling of his life narrative, the Giritmitya may add further credibility to the master narratives, by providing explicit examples from his own life. In his life narrative, Ram Dulhari emphasizes the unscrupulousness of the Arkhati. He also describes his own naivety as to what Giritmit entailed for him. Furthermore, he draws attention to the cramped living conditions in the lines, the long, monotonous, and difficult work on the sugarcane plantations, and the punishments endured for uncompleted tasks. Through the positionings of himself-as-character, and relational positionings with the other characters in the storyworld, Ram Dulhari performs the Giritmitya and the Giritmit of the master narratives.

Ghori Gosai: The Giritmityas managed their complexities in individual ways. This is seen not only in the content of their narrations, but also in their narrativization

performativities. Those who are initially labeled as Girmityas, because of having experienced Girit, may construct, as Ghori Gosai does, an identity, which counteracts the community's conception of a Girmitya. In Chapter 11, Ghori also addresses cultural and religious performativity as a form of resistance. This is an area of current interest to Girit researchers, but one lacking in first-hand accounts. Having established his position as a leader on the cultural plane in Chapter 11, in Chapter 12, Ghori subverts the stereotyped domination associated with the plantation authorities, discussed in Chapter 2. He performs a new form of hegemonic masculinity as the new sirdar, thereby establishing himself as leader also on the plane of the master narratives of indenture. Through his positionings, Ghori challenges both the stereotyped hierarchy of the Girit plantation, as well as the stereotyped agencies associated with that hierarchy.

Chapter 13: The penultimate chapter drew together the analyses and findings from the individual life narratives. The aim, however, was not to create a new master narrative, but to emphasize the complexities present in the life narratives, which in turn, open the life narratives to further questions. This research finds that agency lies in the Girmityas' awareness of the master narratives of indenture, the cultural norms of storytelling, and the discursive choice to construct a Girmitya and a Girit that either fulfills the description, or challenges the master narratives. In turn, this choice invokes the question in us, the interlocutors: "Who decides?" This study also raises the question that if these experiences do not fit our idea of what a Girit life narrative ought to be, do we disregard them, or do we rethink our master narratives of Girit, so that they are a better representation of these voices of experience?

14.2 Research findings

Through the methodology implemented, and through the focus of the research, this study makes two significant contributions to the fields of Narrative Analysis, Linguistics, and Indian Indenture Studies.

The narrativization analysis approach is shown to be culturally relevant. Furthermore, it may be adapted to other cultural contexts as it focuses on the narrative genres present in

the life narrative, as well as the performative aspects of the telling, both of which are cultural constructs. The study illustrates that there is a range of narrative genres, which may be present in a narration. Through the analysis of the perfective and imperfective aspect markers in Fiji Hindi, the study makes the important finding that the Fiji Hindi Girit life narrative may consist solely of event narratives, as in Ram Rattan Mishar's narration, or solely of habitual narratives, as in Guldhari Maharaj's narration, or a combination of the two, as seen in the remaining life narratives. Moreover, the function of the habitual narrative differs from one narrator to the next. The study advances the argument that the current emphasis in narrative analysis on the event narrative needs to shift to encompass these other narrative structures for the discipline to remain culturally grounded.

This research makes a significant contribution to Indian Indenture studies. The study provides an alternative approach to Girit research, through its emphasis on whole narratives, and through its focus on the discursive process of negotiation and construction of identities and agencies. The research findings are also important to Indian Indenture Studies. In this research, not all Giritiyas wish to be perceived as victims of the system. On the other hand, not all wish to be seen as having knowingly chosen the life of indenture. This difference in positioning can be seen when Ram Sundar Maharaj and Ram Dulhari's life narratives are compared. Furthermore, where one Giritiya wishes to emphasize agency, another shows resignation, as illustrated through a comparison of Ghori Gosai and Jasoda Ramdin's life narratives. Moreover, the events a Giritiya may encapsulate within his life narrative to illustrate his Girit experience, may have an entirely different focus from that of the master narratives, as in the case of Ram Rattan Mishar's life narrative. The research findings therefore indicate that although there were similarities in the Girit experience, how each Giritiya perceived and dealt with that experience is diverse. However, these other positionings and performativities are absent from the master narrative of indenture.

14.3 Research limitations

While this study provides an alternative approach to Girit research through its focus on the narrativized performativity of identities and agencies, it is a qualitative study, and can include only a limited number of life narratives to achieve depth of analysis.

Moreover, the findings of the seven life narratives cannot be generalized to other Girmityas; rather, these identities and agencies must be seen for what they are: unique in their performativity, produced within a cultural communicative space, for a specific purpose.

It is a great tragedy that when the *Girmit Gāthā* series was being recorded, there was only a handful of Girmityas alive, willing, and able to be interviewed. Nevertheless, it is quite fortunate that Fiji, the last of all the indentured colonies to which Girmityas went, succeeded in recording the Girmityas giving accounts of their experiences in their own voices. These voices in the *Girmit Gāthā* series, and a few others in the hands of historians, who were fortunate enough to record them, are all that represents over a million individuals, who went to far-flung colonies to serve Girit.

This scarcity of data raises other limitations. While this study is interested in performativity, the research is limited to only what performativity can be heard, as the life narratives were audio recorded. Moreover, the life narratives in this study cannot be compared with other versions to contrast negotiations in other communicative situations, an area currently of interest to holocaust narrative analysts. Nor can I interview the Girmityas to discuss the positionings presented in this study. Throughout the research, I have been acutely aware of the presence of the absence. The study lacks the life narratives of the South Indian women Girmityas, and the Coolumbar. Through their absence, the study replicates the limited focus of previous Girit research.

Keeping the study culturally grounded has its own limitations. The interpretations within this study bear the marks of my positionings as a fourth generation Fiji Indian woman, sailing on another transnational wave, following the political upheavals in Fiji, and as a Fiji Indian linguist with an interest in identity and agency performativities. This cultural heritage has allowed me access to the life narratives in the original language, and has tuned me to the master narratives of Girit present in Fiji, as well as the cultural shared knowledge of how narratives are told in Fiji Hindi. These native speaker intuitions have helped mould my perceptions, as well as the translations and analyses presented in this research. In bringing these native speaker intuitions to the hearings, I emulate the Fiji Indian radio listeners for whom the life narratives were

elicited. However, a reader with other subjectivities, and (desired) identities will look at the life narratives through different lenses. This is not necessarily a weakness: through this research, we have seen glimpses into the shadows of Girit, and I trust the reader to see a little bit more.

14.4 Further research

In *Girit Gāthā*, the Giritiyas have used a public sphere to negotiate their subjectivity. The language they appropriate, to have their voices heard, is that which grew out of the unique circumstances of the plantation environment, aspects of which are re-performed through their life narratives. The study is, therefore, symbolic in that it looks at the construction of life narratives by the first generation of speakers of Fiji Hindi.

However, I cannot generalize that their construction of life narratives holds for the Fiji Indian communities today, both within and outside of Fiji, as the construction of life narratives changes over time, and with the development of sub-cultures, under the seemingly homogenous categorization of “Fiji Indian” (Dean, 2003). The purpose of this study is to provide a basis for understanding how life narratives were constructed by the first speakers of the language, and it, therefore, provides a basis for future comparative studies into the construction of life narratives amongst Fiji Indian communities, both in Fiji and abroad.

Today, almost a century after the abolishment of Girit, there is again resurgence in the community’s interest in its history reflected in the production, and reproduction of works on Girit. There was the 2005 production of a BBC documentary on Girit. There have also been recent reprints of academic books on Girit (Lal, 2004a; Naidu, 2004). In addition, there has been the production of original works by both academics (Ali, 2004), and by individuals who have produced biographies of their Giritiya forebears (Anthony, 2007; Colpani, 1996; Prasad, 2004). Further research could focus on the circulation of discourses on Girit events: who is author and authority, what master narratives are these new Girit discourses linked to, and how are these discourses being redeployed, and recast? However, although these works help provide further insights into Girit, they are produced by those who did not witness Girit first hand. Hence, the Girit life narrative warrants further study. While this research has been limited to the performativities within the life narratives, a future study could

discuss the impact these performativities have on the Fiji Indians today, both in Fiji, and in the diasporic communities.

In categorizing the Girmityas as a group, it is then possible to challenge the more homogenizing aspects of the current master narratives, and to discuss the ambivalence within each life narrative in presentations of identities and agencies of all characters, and positions in the plantation setting. In this study, the interconnectivity between the focus of the life narrative and gender was found by moving from the individual life narratives, to looking at the life narratives collectively in Chapter 13. This intervariability allows us then to raise further questions about the complexities of Girit, and the Girmityas' performativities of 'Who am I?' and 'Who do I want to be?' While markers of cultural norms and values are represented in master narratives, these master narratives are themselves subject to change, and reinscription.

In writing up this research, I was very conscious of voices heard, and unheard, stories sanctioned for telling, and, therefore, told, while others were prevented from being told. For while stories may be unspoken, and (or) unheard, this does not make them any less real in the realm of incidents that did occur. But by remaining unspoken, (and) or unheard, the incidents disappear from the collective memory of a community, and it is as though they never happened.

This study has but skimmed the surface of the life narratives. What appeared to initially be an in-depth analysis has opened up more questions, and more interpretations. The analysis has also opened up the diverse, and, at times, conflicting discourses woven into each life narrative. I see this study as going some way in providing a scaffold on which future researchers will perform their voices, and lay their narratives. For while the life narrative in Fiji Hindi is held together through structure and focus, there are layers upon layers of performativities, identities and agencies remembered, and negotiated, and one thesis is not sufficient to uncover them all.

But this is a beginning.

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