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## Language and Power in Sharankumar Limbale's *Akkarmashi*: A Foucauldian Reading

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### Abstract

This paper explores the relationship between language and power in the autobiographical novel *Akkarmashi* by Sharankumar Limbale through a Foucauldian analysis. The study investigates how language functions as a tool of power to control and manipulate individuals and communities in the context of caste-based discrimination in India. The study is guided by Michel Foucault's theories on power and discourse, which emphasize the ways in which language is used to exert control over individuals and shape societal norms. The paper examines the use of language in the novel to reinforce caste-based power dynamics and perpetuate social hierarchies. Through a close analysis of the text, the study uncovers the ways in which language is used to marginalize and stigmatize individuals belonging to lower castes. It also explores how language is used as a means of resistance by the marginalized communities in the book. The paper argues that the novel exposes the power imbalances embedded in language use, and highlights the need to challenge dominant discourses that perpetuate social inequalities. It also underscores the significance of empowering marginalized voices to contest hegemonic power structures.

**Keywords:** Language, Power, Foucault, Caste, Discrimination, Resistance

### Introduction

Sharankumar Limbale is a Marathi writer, poet, critic, and intellectual from Maharashtra, India. He is known for his contributions to Marathi literature, particularly his novel *Akkarmashi*. *Akkarmashi*, which was published in 1978, is Limbale's most famous work. The novel is a semi-autobiographical account of a boy born to parents of different castes, who is consequently treated as an outcast by society. The novel deals with themes of caste, identity, and the struggles faced by individuals who are marginalized by society. Limbale's other notable works include *Hindu* and *Towards an Aesthetic of Dalit Literature* (2004) which are critical works on the issues of caste and literature. He has also written several collections of poetry, including *Carrying My Wife's Head* and *The Outcaste's Rebellion*. Limbale's contributions to Marathi literature have earned him several awards and accolades, including the Sahitya Akademi Award and the Padma Shri.

Analyzing language and power in literature is significant because it allows readers to understand how language is used as a tool to assert dominance, perpetuate social hierarchies, and manipulate readers. By analyzing language use, literary scholars can examine the ways in which authors use language to represent certain groups of people, ideologies, and power structures. The way in which language is used as a tool of power is through the representation

of marginalized groups. For example, in Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved* (1987), the use of language is instrumental in portraying the experiences of enslaved people in America. Through the use of fragmented language, Morrison shows how enslaved people were denied access to education and the power to fully articulate their thoughts and emotions. Morrison's use of language in *Beloved* illustrates how language can be used to perpetuate power structures that oppress certain groups of people.

Another way in which language and power are intertwined is through the use of rhetoric to manipulate readers. In George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1945), the pigs use language to manipulate other animals into supporting their power grab. By using euphemisms and slogans like "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (Orwell, 1945, p.103), the pigs manipulate other animals into supporting their increasingly oppressive regime. Orwell's use of language in *Animal Farm* demonstrates how rhetoric can be used to manipulate and control people.

In addition to analyzing individual texts, literary scholars have also explored how language and power intersect in broader cultural contexts. For example, in his essay "Politics and the English Language," George Orwell argues that the decline of language use in politics is not merely a reflection of the decline of civilization, but rather an active force that perpetuates oppressive power structures. By examining the ways in which language is used in political discourse, Orwell shows how language can be used as a tool to perpetuate power imbalances in society.

Dalit literature is a literary movement in India that emerged in the mid-twentieth century and represents the literary works of the Dalit community, which is considered to be one of the most marginalized and oppressed communities in India. The analysis of language and power in Dalit literature is significant because it reveals how language has been used as a tool to perpetuate power dynamics and reinforce social hierarchies. One of the most prominent Dalit writers, B.R. Ambedkar, argues that the use of language is a form of power that is used to maintain social hierarchies. In his essay, "Annihilation of Caste," Ambedkar highlights the importance of analyzing language in Dalit literature and the need for the Dalit community to create their own language that is free from the biases and prejudices of the dominant castes. Another example is the autobiographical novel *Joothan* by Omprakash Valmiki, which is a memoir of his experiences growing up as a Dalit in rural India. In the novel, Valmiki discusses how language was used as a tool to oppress Dalits. He writes, "Our language was the language of the oppressor. It was the language of humiliation and shame" (Valmiki, 1997, p.32). Valmiki's memoir highlights how language has been used to reinforce the power dynamics between Dalits and dominant castes.

Similarly, the language of Namdeo Dhasal, a prominent Dalit poet, is a powerful tool for conveying the struggles and oppression faced by Dalits. His poetry reflects on the use of language by Dalits and how it is used as a form of resistance against the dominant castes. In short, analyzing language and power in Dalit literature is significant because it sheds light on the ways in which language has been used to perpetuate power dynamics and maintain social hierarchies (Hovell, 1989, p. 66). The works of Dalit writers such as B.R. Ambedkar, Omprakash Valmiki, and Namdeo Dhasal demonstrate the importance of creating a language that is free from the biases and prejudices of the dominant castes and how language can be used as a tool for resistance and empowerment.

In this respect, the article begins by providing a brief overview of the novel and its socio-historical context. It then situates the analysis within Foucault's theories of power and discourse, outlining the key concepts and principles that inform the analysis. The main body of the article presents a detailed examination of the ways in which language is used to construct and reinforce power relationships in the novel. This includes an analysis of the

## Language and Power in Sharankumar Limbale's *Akkarmashi*: A Foucauldian Reading

protagonist's use of language to assert his dominance over the other characters, as well as an exploration of the ways in which the subaltern castes resist and challenge this power through their own use of language.

### The Concept of Power in Literature

In literature, power refers to the ability of a character or group of characters to exert control and influence over others or their environment. Power can take many forms, including physical strength, social status, wealth, intelligence, knowledge, and supernatural abilities. The struggle for power is a common theme in literature and is often used to explore themes such as corruption, oppression, and the consequences of unchecked ambition.

To illustrate, power in literature can be seen in George Orwell's novel *1984* (1949). The novel is set in a dystopian society where the ruling government, headed by the figure of Big Brother, exercises complete control over every aspect of citizens' lives. The Party's power is absolute, and it uses various methods to maintain its control, including censorship, propaganda, and the rewriting of history. The novel's protagonist, Winston Smith, struggles to resist the Party's power and begins to rebel against its authority, but ultimately fails to escape its grip. **One way to examine power in Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) is to look at the ways in which it is exercised and resisted in the dystopian world of the novel.** She argues that the novel can be read as a critique of the ways in which power is exercised in postcolonial societies. In Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1988) Foucauldian discourse analysis can be used to explore the ways in which power is exercised through language. The novel can be read as a critique of the power relations between the West and the Islamic world.

Foucauldian analysis has been used to study various aspects of Dalit literature, including power, subjectivity, resistance, and the construction of identity. It analyzes the power dynamics between the Dalit writer and their readers, focusing on the ways in which Dalit autobiographies challenge dominant discourses and create new forms of subjectivity. Dalit autobiographies are a powerful form of knowledge and discourse that challenge dominant narratives about Dalits and promote social change. This discourse can be used to challenge stereotypes about Dalits and to promote a more accurate and nuanced understanding of their experiences. Foucauldian study examines the ways in which Dalit women writers use their autobiographies to resist the dominant ideology of caste and gender oppression. Furthermore, Foucauldian lens examines the ways in which the Dalit body is used as a site of resistance against caste oppression. Foucauldian concepts such as power, discipline, and normalization can be used to analyze how the Dalit body is disciplined and how resistance is enacted through bodily practices.

### Theoretical Framework

Michel Foucault's concept of power is complex and multifaceted. In his works, he challenged traditional notions of power as being held by a few individuals or groups who use it to dominate others. Instead, he viewed power as being pervasive and constantly in flux, existing in relationships and institutions. Foucault argued that power is not a tangible thing possessed by individuals or groups, but rather a dynamic that exists in particular societal situations. Power is not something that is held or wielded by certain people or institutions, but rather something that is present in all social relationships and interactions.

Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society. (Foucault, 1982, p. 93)

Foucault emphasizes the pervasiveness of power, suggesting that it is not confined to specific individuals or institutions, but rather is present throughout society. Power is not just

something that is imposed from above, but rather is generated and sustained by the actions and attitudes of everyone. “Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere.” (Foucault, 1977, p. 93)

Foucault believed that power was not simply a tool for domination, but rather a means of shaping and transforming society. Those who hold power have the ability to influence and shape the attitudes and behaviors of others, and to bring about change on a large scale. Power is not something that can be possessed like a physical object, but rather is something that is constantly being exercised through actions and attitudes. “Power is exercised rather than possessed.” (Foucault, 1978, p. 94)

Foucault argued that power does not simply repress individuals and limit their actions. Instead, power is productive and generates new forms of knowledge, discourse, and social relations. “Power is not an evil, and that it is not necessarily repressive; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). Foucault claimed that power operates through disciplinary mechanisms, such as surveillance, normalization, and punishment. These mechanisms shape individuals and construct social norms and values. He wrote, “Discipline ‘makes’ individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise.” (Foucault, 1977, p. 170)

In short, Foucault’s concept of power emphasizes its pervasive and productive nature, operating through disciplinary mechanisms and micro-relations rather than being held by specific actors. Power is not seen as inherently repressive, but rather generates new forms of knowledge, discourse, and social relations.

### **The Relationship between Power and Language in Dalit Literature**

In Dalit literature, power is often associated with the dominant caste groups who wield political, social, and economic power over the Dalit community. Language is seen as a means of expression and a tool for resistance against this power dynamic. In his book *The Flaming Feet and Other Essays: The Dalit Movement in India* (2011), Dr. D. R. Nagaraj argues that language has been used as a tool to maintain the social hierarchy in India. Nagaraj emphasized that Language is a vehicle for power and powerlessness, for the assertion of cultural and social hierarchies. Dalit literature challenges this hierarchy by using language as a means of empowerment and resistance. One of the most significant works of Dalit literature is *Joothan: A Dalit’s Life* by Omprakash Valmiki. Valmiki’s autobiography exposes the violence and discrimination that Dalits face in India. Language plays a significant role in Valmiki’s work, as he writes in Hindi, a language that was traditionally associated with upper-caste Hindus. However, Valmiki subverts this association by using Hindi to write about the experiences of Dalits.

Similarly, in *Ants Among Elephants: An Untouchable Family and the Making of Modern India* (2017), Sujatha Gidla explores how language has been used to maintain the social hierarchy in India. Gidla’s work challenges this hierarchy by writing her memoir in English, a language that is associated with the upper classes in India. The relationship between power and language in Dalit literature is a complex one. While language has been used as a tool to maintain the social hierarchy in India, Dalit literature challenges this hierarchy by using language as a means of empowerment and resistance. Works like *Joothan* by Omprakash Valmiki and *Ants Among Elephants* by Sujatha Gidla demonstrate how language can be used to subvert traditional power structures and give voice to marginalized communities.

### **Akkarmashi: A Foucauldian Reading**

#### **Examination of Language and Power in *Akkarmashi* Using Foucauldian Analysis**

## Language and Power in Sharankumar Limbale's *Akkarmashi*: A Foucauldian Reading

*Akkarmashi* is a Marathi autobiographical novel written by Sharankumar Limbale, published in 1978. The novel is a powerful critique of the caste system prevalent in Indian society, and the ways in which it has been internalized by those who are considered “untouchables” or Dalits. The novel can be analyzed through the lens of Michel Foucault’s theory of power, which emphasizes the ways in which power is not just possessed by individuals, but is distributed throughout society and embedded in social institutions and practices.

In this book, Limbale portrays the struggles of the Dalit community in India, who are marginalized and oppressed by the dominant caste groups. Foucault’s theory of power relations emphasizes how power operates through language and discourse, and how it is used to control and regulate social groups. This analysis can be used to examine how the novel depicts the power relations between the dominant and oppressed groups, and how language is used to reinforce these power dynamics. The Dalit community is represented in the novel as being deprived of language, which is an example of how language is used to perpetuate power relations. The dominant caste groups in the novel are shown to control the use of language, with Dalits being denied access to education and being forced to speak in the dominant caste language. This is illustrated in the following quote from the novel: “The language spoken by the privileged castes was their language, which the Dalits were not supposed to know or use” (Limbale, 2008, p. 3). This demonstrates how language is used as a tool of power to exclude and marginalize the Dalit community.

Another example of the use of language to maintain power relations is the way in which the dominant caste groups use language to control the representation of the Dalit community. The novel shows how the dominant groups use language to construct negative stereotypes of the Dalit community, which serve to justify their oppression. For example, the protagonist of the novel is referred to as an “*Akkarmashi*,” a term used to refer to the children of prostitutes. This label is used to stigmatize and marginalize him, and to justify the discrimination he faces. This is illustrated in the following quote: “I am an *akkarmashi* (half-caste). I am condemned, branded illegitimate” (Limbale, 2008, p. ix). The power in *Akkarmashi* can be seen in the way in which the protagonist is denied access to certain spaces and opportunities because of his caste. Foucault argues that power is not just exercised through coercion or force, but also through the control of spaces and resources. The speaker identifies himself as an ‘*akkarmashi*,’ a Marathi term that literally means ‘half-caste’ and has been historically used to denote those born of mixed-caste parents. This label is one that carries a great deal of stigma and marginalization in Indian society, as it implies impurity and illegitimacy. The speaker feels condemned and branded as such, highlighting the ways in which language is used to define and categorize individuals based on social constructs of race, caste, and gender. The book is focusing on the interplay between power and language. Michel Foucault argued that power is not solely held by individuals or institutions, but is instead dispersed throughout society and embedded in language and discourse. In this stanza, we can see the ways in which power is wielded through language and how it shapes the experiences of the speaker.

The reference to the Patel landowner and his ‘whore’ illustrates the ways in which power can be used to exploit and oppress marginalized communities. The fact that this behavior is normalized and accepted by society further reinforces the power dynamics at play. The speaker’s use of language here exposes the hypocrisy and double standards inherent in caste-based society. The speaker also notes the ways in which their own community has humiliated them by calling them *Akkarmashi*, demonstrating the internalization of dominant discourses and the ways in which marginalized individuals can become complicit in their own oppression. This self-hatred and sense of inferiority is a direct result of the power dynamics at play, as the speaker has internalized the dominant discourse that defines them as lesser.

There is a Patel in every village who is also a landowner. He invariably has a whore. I have written this so that readers will learn the woes of son of a whore. High caste people look upon my community as untouchable, while my own community humiliated me, calling me 'akkarmashi'. This humiliation was like being stabbed over and over again. I have always lived with the burden of inferiority. (Limbale, 2008, pp. ix-x)

It demonstrates the ways in which power and language intersect to shape the experiences of marginalized individuals in society. Through the use of labels, stereotypes, and double standards, those in power maintain their dominance over marginalized groups, perpetuating inequality and oppression.

In *Akkarmashi*, the protagonist is prevented from entering certain temples or participating in certain rituals because of his caste. He notes that "The Brahmins would not allow us to enter the temple. They said that we would pollute it with our presence" (Limbale, 2008, p. 65). This incident illustrates the way in which power is exercised through the control of physical spaces. Yet, another example of power in *Akkarmashi* can be seen in the way in which the protagonist internalizes the norms and values of the dominant caste. Foucault argues that power is not just exercised externally, but also operates on an individual level through the internalization of norms and values. In *Akkarmashi*, the protagonist struggles with his own identity and self-worth because of the ways in which he has internalized the negative stereotypes associated with his caste. He notes, for example, that "I felt ashamed of myself. I felt like an outcast, an untouchable" (Limbale, 2008, p. 13). It suggests that power operates not just through external mechanisms of control, but also through the internalization of dominant norms and values. *Akkarmashi* emphasizes the ways in which power is distributed throughout society and embedded in social institutions and practices. By examining the ways in which language, physical spaces, and internalized norms and values operate as sites of power, we can gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which caste hierarchies are maintained and perpetuated in Indian society.

### **Identification of Power Structures in *Akkarmashi***

*Akkarmashi* explores the themes of caste discrimination and oppression in Indian society. This autobiographical narrative is a powerful portrayal of the power structures that exist in Indian society and the ways in which they perpetuate caste-based discrimination. It highlights the power structures that exist in Indian society based on caste. The protagonist of the novel is an outcaste and is therefore viewed as inferior and unclean by society. He states, "I am an outcaste, a despised creature, an untouchable" (Limbale, 2008, p. 3). It illustrates the physical segregation of the untouchables from the rest of society. This segregation is a powerful tool for maintaining the power structures that exist in Indian society. "The untouchables live outside the village, in their own separate quarters." (Limbale, 2008, p. 12)

*Akkarmashi* unveils the ways in which power relations are constructed and maintained within the school and society more broadly. Firstly, the spatial organization of the temple reveals how power is distributed among different caste groups. The high-caste pupils are given the privilege of sitting closest to the temple entrance, while the lower-caste Mahar students are relegated to the back. The physical separation of boys and girls, as well as the separate seating sections for different castes, also reflects the way in which power is used to enforce social hierarchies.

The fact that the teacher assigned the Mahar students the task of smearing the floor and walls with cow dung paste highlights how power relations are reinforced through the allocation of specific duties and tasks based on one's caste. In this case, the lower-caste students are given menial labor to perform, while the high-caste students are not required to perform such tasks. The teacher's admiration for the narrator's dung-gathering skills also



## Language and Power in Sharankumar Limbale's *Akkarmashi*: A Foucauldian Reading

underscores how power is reinforced through the manipulation of knowledge and expertise. The teacher is impressed by the narrator's ability to perform a task that is associated with the lower castes, which reinforces the idea that the Mahar students are inherently suited to menial labor.

Our school where the pupils came from high castes like Wani and Brahmin, was run in the temple of Ithoba. The girls sat in a separate section. Further down the temple hall sat boys and girls from the cobbler community, and then at the entrance sat we, the Mahar boys and girls. Ariya, a Mnag, never sat with us. On Saturdays the teacher asked us to smear the floor and walls with cow dung paste. The teacher had a particular admiration for me because I was an expert in gathering dung and smearing it . . . I was made to do this duty that was allotted to me. A man from my community had to carry out such duties in the village for the high-caste people. (Limbale, 2008, p. 4)

Foucault argued that power is not simply something that is possessed by individuals or groups, but rather something that is diffused throughout society and operates through a variety of mechanisms and techniques of discipline and control. In this case, the caste system and gender roles are two such mechanisms of power that operate to maintain the social order and reinforce existing power relations. Foucault once said, "Schools serve the same social functions as prisons and mental institutions- to define, classify, control, and regulate people." (Foucault, 1977, p.99)

The book highlights the pervasive nature of the caste system and the ways in which it impacts every aspect of life, including death. The power structures that exist in Indian society are so deeply ingrained that they are difficult to escape. It also illustrates the dehumanization that takes place under the power structures of the caste system. The protagonist is not seen as a person with feelings and emotions but as an object to be used and discarded. He observes, "I am not a human being in their eyes, I am a mere object." (Limbale, 2008, p. 80)

Limbale's *Akkarmashi* emphasizes the destructive nature of the caste system and the ways in which it perpetuates inequality and oppression. The power structures that exist in Indian society based on caste are deeply entrenched and difficult to uproot. He affirms, "The caste system is a cancer that eats away at the very soul of our society" (Limbale, 2008, p.125). By and large, *Akkarmashi* is a powerful portrayal of the power structures that exist in Indian society based on caste. These power structures that perpetuate discrimination, oppression, and inequality, are deeply ingrained in Indian society. Through his novel, Limbale raises awareness of these issues and calls for a more just and equitable society.

### Language Perpetuates Power Structures

*Akkarmashi* is a powerful critique of the ways in which language is used to perpetuate power structures and reinforce social hierarchies. One of the key ways in which language is used to perpetuate power structures in *Akkarmashi* is through the use of derogatory terms and language to describe Dalit individuals. Throughout the book, the term "untouchable" is used to refer to Dalits, a group of people who are considered to be of lower social status. This language reinforces the idea that Dalits are inferior to other members of society, and it contributes to the discrimination and violence that they face. Another way in which language is used to perpetuate power structures in *Akkarmashi* is through the use of caste-based slurs and insults. The characters in the novel use these slurs to demean and humiliate Dalit individuals, reinforcing their lower social status and the idea that they are less deserving of respect and dignity than other members of society. "I am *Akkarmashi*. I was born into this profession. It is the only thing I know" (Limbale, 2008, p. 11). This powerful line highlights how language is used to limit the opportunities available to individuals based on their caste. The protagonist's identity as an *Akkarmashi*, or a member of the lowest caste who

traditionally worked as manual scavengers, is determined at birth and shapes his entire life. The language used to describe his profession reinforces the idea that this is the only thing he is capable of doing and prevents him from accessing other opportunities.

*Akkarmashi* demonstrates how language is used to reinforce the power structures that maintain the caste system. The Brahmins, who were at the top of the caste hierarchy, used language to justify their position of power and to reinforce the idea that Dalits were untouchable and impure. The use of specific measurements, such as one hundred and twenty-three feet, reinforces the idea that there is a clear separation between the Brahmins and the Dalits. Limbale observes, “You have a face that doesn’t look like that of an *Akkarmashi*. How did you get into this profession?” (Limbale, 2008 p. 66)

Limbale demonstrates how language is used to restrict access to education and to maintain power structures based on caste. The library, which should be a place where knowledge is freely available to all, is off-limits to the protagonist because of his caste. The language used to describe the situation reinforces the idea that education is not meant for Dalits and that they should not aspire to learn or to improve their station in life. He writes, “The books in the library were not for us. We were not meant to read them.” (Limbale, 2008, p. 96)

### **Identification of Resistance to Power Structures**

**Resistance to Patriarchal Power:** The speaker challenges the patriarchal power structures by refusing to name Hanmanta Limbale, a man who had deserted the family, as a guardian. This suggests that the speaker is aware of the importance of challenging male authority and taking control of one’s own life.

**Resistance to Caste-Based Oppression:** The speaker recognizes the oppressive nature of the caste system and highlights the plight of Masamai, who is forced to mortgage herself to different Patils, implying that she has little agency and is trapped in a system that exploits her. The speaker thus challenges the caste-based power structures that perpetuate this oppression.

**Resistance to Objectification and Commodification:** The speaker challenges the notion that Masamai’s only worth lies in her sexuality and reproductive capabilities. By referring to her as a commodity, the speaker exposes the dehumanizing effects of patriarchal power structures that reduce women to mere objects. This resistance is particularly significant as it challenges the commodification of women’s bodies that is prevalent in many societies.

I never wanted ‘Masamai Hanmanta Limbale’ named as my guardian in the official record, obviously, because Hanmanta had deserted Masamai these last eight or ten years. Now Masamai was kept by another Patil. What sort of life had she been living, mortgaging herself to one owner after another and being used as a commodity? Her lot has been nothing but the tyranny of sex. (Limbale, 2008, p. 59)

*Akkarmashi* illustrates the protagonist’s determination to assert his own identity and resist the erasure of his voice and experiences. He uses writing as a means of empowerment and self-expression. Limbale emphasizes the humanity and agency of the *Akkarmashi* community, who are often dehumanized and exploited by the dominant caste society. The statement asserts their right to basic human dignity and aspirations. This life narrative also insists resistance to power structures that perpetuate discrimination and inequality based on social class, caste, religion, and other forms of identity. The narrator Limbale questions the notion of a god that favors some people over others, and challenges the legitimacy of systems that lead to the oppression and marginalization of certain groups.

The use of the words ‘rich and poor,’ (Limbale, 2008, p. 62) ‘high caste and untouchable,’ (Limbale, 2008, p.62) and ‘ostracized’ (62) imply a critique of social and



## Language and Power in Sharankumar Limbale's *Akkarmashi*: A Foucauldian Reading

economic inequality, and the caste system as well in India. The questions “why are we kept away from other human beings?” (Limbale, 2008, p.62) and “why this discrimination between one human being and another?” (Limbale, 2008, p. 62), express frustration and outrage at the arbitrary and unjust treatment of individuals based on their identity. In short, *Akkarmashi* reflects a rejection of the power structures that perpetuate discrimination and a call for social justice and equality.

### Conclusion

This paper has provided a detailed Foucauldian analysis of the relationship between language and power in Sharankumar Limbale's novel *Akkarmashi*. By examining the various forms of power that operate within the text, such as the power of the dominant caste and the power of language itself, this analysis has revealed the ways in which language can be used as a tool of domination and control. Additionally, this analysis has highlighted the importance of understanding the social and historical contexts in which language is used, as well as the ways in which language can be used to resist power and challenge dominant narratives. Overall, this paper has demonstrated the enduring relevance of Foucauldian theories of power and language to literary analysis, as well as to broader discussions of social justice and political change.

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