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“Gandhi’s ‘Split Selves’: Experimenting with *Experiments with Truth*”

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'Gandhi's "Split Selves": Experimenting with *Experiments with Truth*'

1 Introduction

This paper engages with the phenomenon of “split selves” in narrative, as evidenced in Gandhi’s autobiography *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1927), using a typology put forward by Catherine Emmott, in her 2002 article “Split Selves” in *Fiction and in Medical “Life Stories”* (Semino & Culpeper, 2002: 153 - 181).

Since his death at the hands of Hindu fundamentalists in 1948, countless books, documentaries and indeed films have been written about the life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, and cultural, social and political commentators have studied his writings, the published versions of which run to over one hundred volumes. Gandhi had a holistic approach to life, believing that ‘Life is one indivisible whole’ and this is evidenced in the way he embedded and combined his ideals of *ahimsa* (non-violence), *brahmacharya*ⁱ (restraint, particularly sexual, which leads one to God), and the pursuit of truth into the overarching principle of *Satyagraha* (‘soul force’), the ‘novel weapon’ (411) and ‘sovereign remedy’ (344), akin to passive resistance through civil disobedience, credited with achieving independence for India. Mindful of his holistic vision, and juxtaposing it with the sheer number of “selves” which Gandhi portrays in this text, and the multitude of social roles he adopts, from shoemaker to English gentleman, toilet-cleaner to spiritual leader, I became interested in exploring the possibilities of “split selves” in his narrative, in an endeavour to consider how the reader

interprets the character of Gandhi himself, as articulated and put forward in Gandhi's own words. I will do so with the help of a typology developed by Catherine Emmott, which has resulted from Emmott's consideration and categorisation of the various representations of "split selves" in narrative. This typology seemed so promising in the context of Gandhi's autobiography, that I decided to seek examples of each of Emmott's categories of "split self" in this one text. I am hence working in a rather different manner from that of Emmott: while she derives her categories from an intensive consideration of the various forms in which "split selves" occur across numerous texts, focusing particularly on those texts centring on medical life stories and instances of personal crisis, I have rather applied each of the resultant categories to one text. For reasons of brevity, in this article I will focus on those categories which are particularly evident in Gandhi's text, and hence most successful in informing interpretation.

2. Split Selves

Emmott points out that the theme of "split selves" is pervasive in literature, and found in many different types of narrative text, both fictional and non-fictional. The phenomenon commonly occurs at times of 'personal crisis' (Emmott, 2002: 153), and is seen as reflecting the fragmentary nature of individual human identity. In line with her usage, the term "split self" will also be used here 'very broadly to include all cases of a character or real life individual being divided and/or duplicated in any way in a narrative' (2002: 154). The phenomenon of the "split self" in literature can take many forms and fulfil many purposes, exploring a range of issues around the nature of

identity. It may represent the psychological fracturing of a character, the multitudinous nature of the consciousness within us all, or more simply constitute the doppelgangers of sci-fi and fantasy literature. The phenomenon can be particularly evident in the case of autobiographical literature, since, as Emmott tells us, ‘first-person narratives generally invoke a current self reporting on a past self and since breaks in narrative chronology (such as flashbacks) provide the means of juxtaposing different versions of an individual at different points in time’ (153-4). However, this particular manifestation of “split self” phenomena is just one of many I have identified in Gandhi’s autobiography.

3. Previous Cognitive Linguistic treatment of “split self” phenomena in literature

Emmott points out that cognitive linguistic theory has succeeded in ‘handling’ ‘the range of “split self” phenomena found in narrative texts’ (154) in a number of different ways, most of which relate to reference theoryⁱⁱ. Firstly, it was through the consideration of metaphors of self that Lakoff (1996) illustrated how humans conceptualise their consciousness as a multifaceted entity, comprising many different and often-conflicting aspects. His study revealed that people have ‘not one form of consciousness but many’ (Lakoff, 1996: 101) and that as individuals we ‘sometimes conceptualise different aspects of ourselves or mental processes ... as “people in conflict”’ (Lakoff, 1996 105)ⁱⁱⁱ.^{iv} Secondly, Fauconnier’s work on ‘mental space’ theory further engages with co-referentiality, and endeavours to explain why certain instances of co-referentiality may seem illogical, but are actually comprehensible to the reader. Many of Fauconnier’s examples relate to entities and their corresponding “counterparts”

in other realms, such as in paintings, the imagination etc., and as such have links to stylistic approaches such as ‘Possible World Theory’. Blending theory, and particularly that relating to the presence of counterfactuals, has also been used by cognitive linguistics in investigations of co-referents in text^v, while in the field of narratology, Werth’s ‘Text World’ theory has been successful in offering an explanation of how narrative sub-worlds are created, ‘including the representation of the beliefs, dreams and fantasies of characters’ (Emmott, 2002: 160). I hope to engage further with these approaches in future work, but for the moment will concentrate on the typology put forward by Emmott.

4. The Text

To quote one of his most respected biographers, Judith Brown, ‘Gandhi either played a major role in or expressed trenchant and often radical views on nearly every aspect of his country’s diverse experience of change’ (1989: 2). Moreover, ‘his ideals, whether relating to politics, morals or even wholesome food and natural health care, seem to demand more serious attention, not less, as the years pass since his death.’ (Brown, 1989: 2). As she further remarks: ‘It took nearly half a century of harsh experience, of inner and exterior struggle to forge the public man known later as ‘Mahatma’ or Great Soul, the symbol of India, the father of a new nation” (1989: 7). Some of this ‘experience’ is captured by the man himself in his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. The text was written in 1927, when Gandhi himself was fifty-eight, and although originally written in Gujarati, Gandhi, proficient as he was in English, was greatly involved in its translation into English^{vi}. In

considering the text, it is important to note that Gandhi 'knew that anything he wrote or said, at least in later life, was liable to become public property (Brown, 1989: 3).

To explain the title, Gandhi structures his life story around his spiritual quest, forged through the conducting of 'experiments with truth' in all its manifold forms, with the ultimate aim of *moksha*, or the achievement of salvation in the form of the divine. This analysis of "split self" phenomena in the text endeavours to add to interpretations of Gandhi's narrative, and perhaps even to perceptions of his life, a life extremely well documented, yet which fails to fully dispel the myth surrounding a man who remained, as Brown tells us, 'an enigmatic figure, both irritating and attractive' (1989: 4).

5. Emmott's Model & Application to this Text

As is evident by the title of her article, Emmott focuses on the occurrence of 'split self' phenomenon in both fiction and real-life medical stories and the examples she draws from such narratives effectively shape her categorisation of "split self" representation in literature. Her developing typology (for she does specify that this research provides 'the groundwork' for a 'more comprehensive typology of "split selves" to come' (2002: 154)), can, nevertheless, be applied effectively to other narratives, as I have found.

According to Emmott, "split self" phenomena occur in literature to fulfil four distinct purposes (some of which are further sub-divided): to represent the complex, 'multi-faceted' (2002: 161) nature of the self; to portray an ever-changing selfhood; as a function of the act of narration itself; and finally to represent 'special effects' in the text (the latter applies specifically to the genres of science fiction and fantasy literature,

which can, for example, feature doppelgangers or alternative versions of a self from parallel universes, etc). For the purposes of this article, I will focus on the first category, that is, the way in which representations of the “split self” in Gandhi’s autobiography reflect the complex, multi-faceted nature of India’s “Father of the Nation”.

1. Emotion & Intellect:

The complexity of the human mind can be represented in a number of varying ways, depending on the nature of the split that has occurred. Emmott has found evidence of schisms, involving a conflict between the intellectual and the emotional, effectively, the head and the heart^{vii}.

Interestingly, investigation of the presence of emotion-intellect fracturing in Gandhi’s text reveals very little evidence of such a divide, with what evidence there is only overtly occurring in one context, that is, in his sexual relations with his wife. Having married young, as was the custom in India at the time, the young Gandhi was ‘passionately fond’ (*Experiments*: 28), hugely possessive and extremely jealous of his young wife Kasturba. Gandhi’s remarks that, though his suspicions were unfounded, he persisted in his behaviour towards her, because ‘jealousy does not wait for reasons’ (27); he is acknowledging that his emotions held sway over his intellect. But such moments, or at least such revelations, are extremely rare. Rather, the narrating Gandhi summaries his feelings on this emotion-intellect conflict when he says that, in everything he undertakes, ‘so long as my acts satisfy my reason and my heart’ (15), he will be content. The mature middle-aged Gandhi has hence learned to satisfy both his intellect and his emotion, giving neither precedence over the other, but rather reconciling the two. He prizes both the heart, with its capacity for love and truth, and

the head, with its ability to impose the order and discipline necessary for the physical and mental state essential to the achievement of communion with God.

It is interesting to note that, despite Gandhi's comments on the equality of mind and heart, and the extent to which both are essential to him, his suspicion of his wife is not resolved through a resolution of the emotion-intellect conflict. Rather, Gandhi somewhat displaces possessiveness and suspicion into a more tangible, and resolvable form, that of physical lust. As such he has replaced an emotion-intellect conflict with a body-mind conflict, which he finds easier to reconcile, as we shall see.

2. Body and Mind

Another potential "split" perceived in the self can be that between mind and body. Although, as Emmott contends, the 'Cartesian dualism of mind and body' (2002: 163) has long been a contentious subject, people nevertheless continue to conceptualise their mind as being held inside or within their bodies, as is evident from Lakoff's discussion of 'container metaphors'^{viii}.

There is much evidence of Gandhi's lifelong endeavours to reconcile the conflicts that his physical and mental demands placed on him. He had a very strong awareness of the inter-relatedness of body and mind, and the extreme importance of both to one's spiritual welfare, stating in his autobiography, 'Today I know that physical training should have as much place (in one's life) as mental training' (*Experiments*: 30). It is important to stress that this conflict between body and mind was felt by Gandhi as the chief obstacle to his achieving communion with God, or *brahmacharya*. Ultimately, all of Gandhi's endeavours, whether in the private or public domain, were undertaken to this 'spiritual end which has always inspired every one of my actions' (250). Spiritual

success involved total suppression of the demands of the body, through the application of the mind, or will. This mind-body conflict predominantly takes two forms in the text: the lustful desires which Gandhi admits still being vulnerable to at the time of writing, and his ‘experiments with dietetics’ (66), as he liked to call them.

As a young bridegroom, Gandhi admits being ‘devoted to the passions that flesh is heir to’ (25), speaking regretfully of the oversights resulting from such ‘desire of pleasures’ (25). He wished to educate his illiterate young wife, but allowed his physical needs to take precedence, stating ‘I was very anxious to teach her but lustful love left me no time’ (28); hence in the conflict of mind and body, the body was victor. His ‘carnal appetite’ (256) also led him to neglect his filial duties to his parents, to whom he was ‘devoted’ (25). He tells us of his ill father: ‘Every night I massaged his legs and retired only when he asked me to or after he had fallen asleep’, though admitting ‘I was always glad to be relieved from my duty, and went straight to the bedroom after doing obeisance to my father’ (42). However, one fateful night, ‘blinded’ by ‘animal passion’ (44), Gandhi left his father’s service to go to his wife, only to learn moments later that his father had died. He speaks at length of the ‘shame of my carnal desire’ which ‘even at the critical hour of my father’s death ...demanded wakeful service’ (44). His failure affected him deeply:

It is a blot I have never been able to efface or forget, and I have always thought that, although my devotion to my parents and I would have given up anything for it, yet it was weighed and found unpardonably wanting because my mind was at the same moment in the grip of lust (44).

There is perhaps a link between this experience and Gandhi’s later decision to take a vow of celibacy; in any case, his later abstinence from all forms of sexual pleasure can

be interpreted as an attempt to subdue a powerful aspect of his physical self, of his own physicality, through an effort of the mind, by the assertion of his will. It can be considered the ultimate endeavour of the mind to conquer the body, of the physical self to succumb to the mental self.

Turning to Gandhi's 'experiments with dietetics' we encounter more evidence of the mind conquering the demands of the body. An excellent example occurs during what Gandhi describes as his 'meat-eating period' (39). As postcolonial theorist Ashis Nandy points out, there was a common perception at the time that the British were a masculine, warrior-like race, superior both mentally and physically, and destined to conquer the world. Their masculinity, central to their superior military prowess and intellectual capacities, was seen by the vegetarian Hindus as encapsulated in their proclivity for meat-eating, which in turn gave them the physical strength and aggression necessary to conquer weaker, meat-abstaining peoples like themselves. Such arguments were advanced by a childhood friend of Gandhi's, in line with a 'wave of "reform"' (33) sweeping over Rajkot at the time, where learned men and women began to take meat and wine as the first step towards Indian home rule. The young Gandhi conceded 'I certainly looked feeble-bodied by the side of my brother and this friend. They were both hardier, physically stronger, and more daring.' (34). It may have been vanity, rather than burgeoning patriotism, which spurred him on, although he hastens to stipulate that his mind 'was bent on the "reform"' (35)^{ix}. Gandhi succumbed, and for approximately a year afterwards, 'became a relisher of meat-dishes' (36), his physical self operating in accordance with his patriotic self, but against his religious self. Interestingly, it was neither his religious duties in that regard, nor his political

aspirations which won out over his physical self, but rather his filial duties. He finally abjured meat for love for his parents and a desire not to continue lying to them^x.

This preliminary excursion into meat-eating not only marked his first, though tenuous, engagement with home rule in India; it was equally significant in comprising his first experiment in dietetics. While in London and trying to keep the oath to vegetarianism he had sworn to his mother, he ‘came in contact with those who were regarded as pillars of vegetarianism, and began my own experiments in dietetics’ (67), but admits ‘Health was the principal consideration of these experiments to begin with. But later on religion became the supreme motive’ (60). Gandhi believed that he ‘could not live both after the flesh and the spirit’ (289), and the flesh had to succumb; abstaining from various types of food – such as salt, spices and pulses – or indeed fasting altogether, was a way of imposing restraint upon the self, and restraint, as we have seen, was essential to achieving *moksha*.

3. Social Roles

Social psychologists and theorists have observed that people conceptualise the varying social roles they perform in their personal and professional lives as representing differing aspects of themselves^{xi}. I will limit myself to those social roles he defines for himself, not those applied to him by others, either then or later. A consideration of social roles in relation to this text is particularly illuminating; we will begin by considering the number, nature and purpose for which Gandhi adopts such varying social roles.

In his text, Gandhi purposefully identifies himself with more than *fifty* social roles, with six being referred to on the very first page of the text: public worker,

prisoner, intellectual, writer, spiritual being and social reformer. Generally, these roles can be divided up in accordance with their existence in the private or public domain, and they encompass both the long-term and the more transitory, with a certain amount of overlapping inevitable. His 'private' roles include his familial roles - son, brother, husband, lover and father - along with more unorthodox domestic roles. He acted as medical advisor and nurse to his pregnant wife, and took sole care of his baby sons for the first two months of their lives, indeed contending 'My children would not have enjoyed the general health that they do today, had I not studied the subject and turned my knowledge to account' (*Experiments*: 193). Due to 'the difficulty of getting a trained Indian nurse in South Africa', Gandhi 'studied the things necessary for safe labour' (193), acting as midwife and delivering his youngest son unassisted. He learned to bake bread^{xii}, to cut his own hair^{xiii} and to cobble^{xiv}. He also 'became' a washerman^{xv}. It is interesting here that Gandhi does not merely consider himself to have learned a new skill, but rather to have become a professional exponent of it. Gandhi generally appears to view his social roles in such a way, effectively taking on new selves through the active and purposeful acquisition of new skills.

He adopted such roles for various reasons, and they sometimes fulfilled multiple purposes. While he took on the roles of washerman and baker for reasons of economy, in learning the skill of a lower caste Hindu, he was also identifying directly with those living in a social and religious sphere far below that of the Bania caste of which he was a member. As time went on, and his zeal for public-reform was directed at the plight of the lower castes, such identification became very useful. Interestingly, his decision to 'thr(o)w off dependence on the barber' (202) was rather forced upon him, as he himself became victim, not to caste discrimination but to racial discrimination, when an

‘English hair-cutter’ in Pretoria ‘contemptuously refused’ to cut his hair for fear of ‘losing his custom, if he should serve black men’ (202). As Gandhi acknowledges: ‘We do not allow our barbers to serve our untouchable brethren. I got the reward of this in South Africa, not once, but many times, and the conviction that it was the punishment for our own sins saved me from becoming angry’ (202). It was because of his sympathy for the plight of the Untouchables, or ‘outcasts’, that he took on the role of sweeper (remover of human waste) firstly in his own house, and subsequently at public events such as a Congress conference in Calcutta (1901)^{xvi}.

As can be seen from the last example, some of these social roles simultaneously operate in both the private and public domain. His experience as nurse to his father, wife, and infant sons ‘stood (him) in good stead’ for his part in the Boer War, when he ‘collected together as many comrades as possible, and with very great difficulty got their services accepted as an ambulance corps’ (*Experiments*: 203). Likewise, his early attempts to act as teacher to his ill-educated wife, and later his young sons, prepared him for the role of schoolmaster on his settlement at Tolstoy Farm.

Gandhi distinguishes his roles in the public domain as professional – referring to his career roles as student, then lawyer and barrister - or public, referring to his roles as agitator for social and political reform both in South Africa and in his native India. He tells us ‘Practice as a lawyer was and remained for me a subordinate occupation. It was necessary that I should concentrate on public work’ (146). His role as a public worker took many forms, and was divided into sub-roles: supporter of the poor; inspector of sanitation (a role which became formalised when he was employed by the Municipality during an outbreak of plague); ambulance crew member during both the Boer and the Zulu wars, during which he was also granted the rank of Sergeant-Major ‘in order to

give me a status and to facilitate work' (287); 'clerk and bearer' to an eminent politician during the Calcutta Congress meeting of 1901; journalist and publisher (he founded, wrote for, and published the *Indian Opinion* from 1904-1914); fundraiser (having discovered a 'capacity in this direction' (437-8)); draftsman ("My other aptitude ... was as a draftsman" (438)); and, of course, politician.

Gandhi was also a confirmed Anglophile for much of his life and provides great detail when telling of his early experiments in 'playing the English Gentleman'^{xvii}, an 'all too impossible task' (61) for an Indian, and orthodox Hindu. He took elocution, French and dancing lessons, 'infatuation(s)' which lasted 'about three months'; however 'The punctiliousness in dress persisted for years' (63). His abiding loyalty to the British Crown^{xviii} resulted in many conflicts with his fellow countrymen, for Gandhi assisted on the British side in the Boer and Zulu wars, and wished to do so again in the First World War, in the belief that 'if I demanded rights as a British citizen, it was also my duty, as such, to participate in the defence of the British Empire' (203). It was only as he progressed into middle age that he began to 'see what lengths the British Government is capable of going, and what inhumanities and barbarities it is capable of perpetrating in order to maintain its power' (429).

Other examples of the conflicts experienced by Gandhi in the social roles he adopted are evident from an earlier stage. We have already mentioned how his role of husband and lover conflicted with those of teacher to his wife; likewise he admits

I could not devote to the children all the time I had wanted to give them. My inability to give them enough attention and other unavoidable causes prevented me from providing them with the literary education I had desired, and all my sons have had complaints to make against me in this matter (190).

He also had many clashes with Kasturba, his wife, over his burgeoning beliefs, an instance of a conflict between his roles of husband/father and social reformer. He made her give up the ‘costly ornaments’ (208) given as gifts from his acquaintances in South Africa; and forced her to clean the toilet of a low-caste Panchama living in her house, despite ‘her eyes red with anger, and pearl drops streaming down her cheeks’ (255). He believes he ‘harassed her out of my blind love for her’ (255).

Finally, an evident conflict exists in his role as orthodox Bania, a mid-caste Hindu, with that of public worker and social reformer. For a practising Hindu of Gandhi’s caste, contact with human excrement, dead animals, human hair or unclean garments would be inconceivable, resulting in high levels of ritual pollution and possible loss of caste. Yet Gandhi, as we have seen, took on the role of sweeper, learned how to make shoes, and cut his own hair.

4. Private/Public Self

In his childhood and early teens, Gandhi experienced the difficulties of negotiating between his private and public selves, his internal beliefs and external actions, a category which Emmott does not include but which I feel is of relevance here, though it does admit of overlap with other categories. We have already seen how, torn between his desire to join other “reformers” in their burgeoning endeavours for home rule in India and his sense of duty to his parents, Gandhi hid his meat-eating, hence for the first time in the text betraying a conflict between his outward behaviour - that of a dutiful vegetarian Hindu - and his inner feelings and desires. With this behaviour, and other “transgressions” such as smoking, he created a chasm between his public and his private selves. But with his realisation of the importance of truth, came his desire to

deceive no more, and hence affect reconciliation between his inner and outer selves: ‘one thing took deep root in me – the conviction that morality is the basis of things, and that truth is the substance of all morality. Truth became my sole objective’ (*Experiments*: 47).

The reconciliation of private and public self was the only means by which Gandhi could attain truth, a complex concept, which he elevated above all else: ‘for me, truth is the sovereign principle, ... not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God’ (15). With the exception of his communications with God^{xix}, Gandhi believed all action and thought should be transparent and suitable for the public domain; he wished to collapse the boundaries between the inner and outer selves to engender trust in people, and to encourage them to live as their conscience dictated. Gandhi prided himself on his pursuit of truth in all aspects of life: he tells us ‘it went against the grain with me to do a thing in secret that I would not do in public’ (94).

It is interesting to briefly consider this application of truth to Gandhi’s construction of his autobiography. While at the opening of the text, he tells us that ‘I am not going either to conceal or understate any ugly things that must be told. I hope to acquaint the reader fully with all my faults and errors. My purpose is to describe experiments in the science of Satyagraha, not to say how good I am’ (16), there are, perhaps inevitably, a number of instances where he hides his private self from our eyes. For example, though he tells us of the hold which carnal pleasures held over him, especially in the early part of his marriage, he confides ‘I propose to draw the curtain over my shame, except for a few details worth recording’ (24). Likewise, there are a number of instances in which certain events are vaguely referred to, but of which

Gandhi tells us, ‘To these I shall come later’ (24-5)^{xx}, and yet seldom does. Indeed, his biographer Judith Brown alludes to his “highly idiosyncratic choice of events stressed or lightly touched on” (8).^{xxi} The importance of Gandhi’s reconciliation of his private and his public selves cannot be underestimated, for it is in the domestic sphere that he begins the experiments – in dietetics, healthcare, education, and the spiritual – which he carries on through his work in the public sphere, and on which he based all his thoughts and teachings, and ultimately, the conception of *Satyagraha*.

5. Imaginary Selves

Alternative selves can be created in the world of the imagination too, effectively juxtaposing the ‘real’ self with an ‘imaginary’ self^{xxii} ‘in line with fears, hopes, predictions, etc. about the future’ (Emmott, 2002: 167). This can be an important narrative device for ensuring the forward momentum of narrative action. Gandhi’s imagined self can be equated with that perfect spiritual self which, throughout his life’s journey and his narrative duration, he is aspiring to become, one who finally achieves truth and total communion with God. At the time of writing he has not yet ‘found’ God but continues to endeavour to do so^{xxiii}; as such his imagined self lies simultaneously in both the “actual” world and the “imagined” worlds, inspiring everything he does with a promise of things to come. His mission in life is to conflate his real with his imagined selves by becoming a spiritual being, thereby attaining enlightenment.

Gandhi’s ambition, as we know, did not end with his own spiritual enlightenment, though this was paramount to him, but extended to the hopes and dreams he had for his country, and its people. These can hence be considered “imaginary” versions of their real selves. He strove for an imagined India, an independent country

populated by people possessed of both inner and outer nobility, having gained spiritual strength through improved sanitation, diet, education, and adherence to *Satyagraha*.

Conclusion

Emmott's "split self" typology was developed in order to consider the range of ways in which "split selves" are represented in literature, with particular reference to medical life stories and instances of personal crisis. I hope I have succeeded in illustrating the effectiveness of applying this typology to a wider range of texts, including autobiographies. In our specific context, such an application to Gandhi's autobiography has revealed the myriad of internal and external conflicts which Gandhi struggled to resolve before he could begin to fulfil the holistic vision of life he envisaged for himself and for others; it has made it possible to see that this man, internationally renowned as one who 'looked at life as an entity, not in compartments' (Desai: 2009), was himself endeavouring to reconcile his many "split selves" and hence become the myth that he himself created.

ENDNOTES

Brahmacharya equates to a vow of self-restraint, usually sexual, ie. a vow of celibacy. It literally translates as ‘conduct that leads one to God’.

ⁱⁱ ‘Reference can be defined as a relation between an expression (=referring expression) and an entity (=referent), such that on one or more occasions of use (=referring act) a token of the expression picks out or stands for this entity’ *Encyclopedia of Narrative*, 2004: 493.

ⁱⁱⁱ He argues that “‘co-referential’ terms such as ‘me’, ‘myself’ and ‘I’ “actually denote different sets of properties rather than signalling identical notions” (Emmott, 2002: 156), thus aligning himself with William James’s classic dual construction of the ‘self-as-knower’ versus the ‘self-as-known’, which Lakoff re-defines as the ‘subject’ and the ‘self’ respectively.

^{iv} Split-brain studies such as those found in Gazzaniga (1998) suggest that there may actually be a neurological foundation to this perception, thus adding a physiological dimension to what is a psychological phenomenon.

^v See Dancygier, B. (2005) ‘Blending and Narrative Viewpoint: Jonathan Raban’s Travels through Mental Spaces’, In *Language and Literature* 14: 2, 99-127.

^{vi} The autobiography was translated into English by Gandhi’s close friend and aide Mahadev Desai almost concurrently with being written and published in serialised form by Gandhi in his native Gujarati. It is thought that Gandhi, himself extremely proficient in English, handed over the task of translation due to time constraints. There has been some debate about the faithfulness of the English translation to the original text, but we can be certain that Gandhi would have read and checked Desai’s translation thoroughly before allowing it into the public domain. His one-time friend and contemporary Verrier Elwin tells us: ‘Gandhi read and checked everything that was recorded of him’ (14), and this would most certainly extend to the publication of his autobiography in English, the medium through which it would reach its largest audience.

^{vii} Emmott discusses an example from Joe Simpson’s novel *Touching the Void* (London: Vintage, 1988): “It was as if there were two minds within me arguing the toss. The *voice* was clean and sharp and commanding. It was always right, and I listened to it when it spoke and acted on its decisions. The other mind rambled out a disconnected series of images, and memories and hopes, which I attended to in a daydream state as I set about obeying the orders of the *voice*...” (Simpson, 120)

^{viii} Here Emmott considers “paralysis narratives”, those autobiographical narratives in which the narrator has suffered some form of physical trauma resulting in paralysis. Such narratives can elucidate the nature of the mind-body relationship, and somewhat validate Lakoff’s conceptualisation of the mind as being contained within the body, in this case a paralysed body. Furthermore, such studies explore the extent to which major changes in the body’s functionality can affect the survivor’s sense of identity.

^{ix} It is interesting to note that while Gandhi believes his brother has ‘fallen’ (34) by succumbing to meat-eating, he sees himself as merely ‘beginning the experiment’ (35), simply embarking upon a scientific endeavour in a quest for truth.

^x He concluded that ‘deceiving and lying to one’s father and mother is worse than not eating meat. In their lifetime, therefore, meat-eating must be out of the question’ (37).

^{xi} Billington et al 1998: 49-52; Bosma and Kunnen 2001

^{xii} ‘Instead of buying baker’s bread, we began to prepare unleavened wholemeal bread at home according to Kuhne’s recipe’ (284).

^{xiii} ‘I purchased a pair of clippers and cut my hair before the mirror’ (202).

^{xiv} He states: ‘Mr K went to a Trappist monastery and returned having learnt shoe-making. I learnt it from him and taught the art to such as were ready to take it up’.

^{xv} He relates how ‘I equipped myself with a washing outfit to save it [money]. I bought a book on washing, studied the art and taught it also to my wife ... But I could not make my friends appreciate the beauty of self-help. In course of time I became an expert washerman so far as my own work went, and my washing was by no means inferior to laundry washing. My collars were no less stiff and shiny than others’ (201-2)!

^{xvi} He tells us: ‘The municipal sweeper removed the night-soil, but we personally attended to the cleaning of the closet instead of asking or expecting the servant to do it’. Indeed, he later came to believe that ‘the scavenger’s work would be our special function in India’ (351).

^{xvii} It is interesting to note that, in his autobiography, Gandhi often defines himself by his social roles, as evidenced by chapter titles such as ‘Playing the English Gentleman’ and ‘As Schoolmaster’.

^{xviii} Gandhi admits: ‘Hardly ever have I known anybody to cherish such loyalty as I did to the British Constitution’ (166).

^{xix} He believed: ‘There are some things which are known only to oneself and one’s Maker. These are clearly incommunicable’ (14).

^{xx} Other examples include ‘...an incident happened, ...which I will relate later’ (25); ‘But of these more in their proper place’ (93); ‘I must skip many other experiences of the period between 1897 and 1899 and come straight to the Boer War’ (203); ‘I must needs skip over many a reminiscence of this memorable month’ (223).

^{xxi} Gandhi himself perhaps most accurately explains the gaps that inevitably characterise most autobiographies: ‘I understand more clearly today what I read long ago about the inadequacy of all autobiography as history. I know that I do not set down in this story all that I remember. Who can say how much I must give and how much omit in the interests of truth? And what would be the value in a court of law of the inadequate ex parte evidence being tendered by me of certain events in my life? If some busybody were to cross-examine me on the chapters already written, he could possibly shed much more light on them, and if it were a hostile critic’s cross-examination, he might even flatter himself for having shown up “the hollowness of many of my pretensions”’ He quells his fears in this regard by re-iterating: ‘I am not writing the autobiography to please critics. Writing it is itself one of the experiments with truth’ (257-8).

^{xxii} See for example Weber 2000, chapter 10.

^{xxiii} He tells us ‘I am seeking after Him’ (15).

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