A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN INDIA

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<u>CERTIFICATE</u>

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN INDIA** and sub-mitted by **KONERU ARUNA**   ID.No. 90PHXF018 for award of Ph.D. Degree of the Institute, embodies original work done by her under my supervision.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

English was introduced in India by the British about four centuries ago as an instrument of trade and commerce. Soon it began to be used as a tool of administration also. As the time passed, it became not only an integral part of the educational system but also acquired a significant social role. Today even after 47 years of independence, it continues to be a language of intellection and communication for meeting the specialised needs of education, business, commerce, law, politics, science and technology. In the absence of any Indian language enjoying the status of a common link language in the country, the social environment strongly supports the use of English. The constitutional provision about English as an associate official language of the Union of India is a recognition of the role of English in the country and represents the collective will of the nation. In continuing to accord a place of importance to English, we have accepted a reality and ensured a smooth and workable linguistic contact among our people and between our country and the world outside. It is well-known that English has served as a powerful instrument of thought and communication during the days of struggle for independence and also as an aid to support the upsurge for social and economic growth. After independence the importance of English did not diminish, despite sporadic attempts to decry it as

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a vestige of the British imperialism. Instead, the country responded to the changed situation in a mature way and evolved a correct perspective on the value of English. One can clearly observe that the attitude towards the role of English in our society has now more or less stabilised after the initial turmoil and there are signs of fresh and proper efforts to view it and to use it as a means of serving our national interest.

Whereas one can derive satisfaction from the present attitude towards the place of English in our society, there is no room for complacency so far as teaching is concerned. Even today English language teaching (ELT) appears to be in disarray, largely ineffective and irrelevant. In a developing country such as ours where the need of the hour is rapid social and economic growth and where there are too many heavy demands on the existing meagre resources, utmost economy in every sphere of activity is essential. No less important is the time factor. Unfortunately so far as ELT is concerned, there is hardly any conclusive evidence to show that we have been guided, to the extent desirable, by these important considerations. Despite efforts during the last 47 years, ELT is not yet marked by a spirit of dedicated professionalism.

Because of several political and socio-economic factors, we find a great diversity in our efforts to teach English at different levels and also a great divergence in the proficiency attained by different groups of learners. Even at the university level the teaching scenario does not present a clear picture of what we are doing and what we propose to do. There is no

uniformity of approach or direction. If the purpose is clear, there is confusion about the path on which we should move. Sometimes we know in which direction to move but then the vision of destination is blurred.

It is true that the problem of ELT has engaged the attention of both the Indian and foreign scholars for a long time. Since 19th century language specialists have been trying to improve the quality of language teaching by referring to general principles and theories concerning how languages are learned, how the knowledge of language is represented and organised, and how language itself is structured.

The first models of teaching English in Independent India were based on structural approach (STAP), which was introduced in 1950s and continued to dominate in 1960s. However, in the wake of new developments in the areas of linguistics as applied to language teaching the efficacy of STAP was questioned and the attention was diverted to the importance of creativity in language. Under the impact of this new development the transformational generative approach (TGAP) was evolved and the existing syllabuses were revised by some institutions. As a result there was some improvement in the situation. But the experience soon revealed certain deficiencies inherent in this approach and there was an earnest search for a more relevant and purposeful alternative. In the beginning of 1970's a significant development in the area of 'language as communication' took place. A number of scholars (Widdowson 1978, Munby 1978, Brumfit and Johnson 1979, Littlewood 1981) published the results of their investigation.

A new approach termed as functional approach (FAP) emerged and led to the designing of new syllabuses, and production of fresh teaching materials.

Viewed in the Indian context the question is whether this latest development fully takes into account the social and cultural factors that have exercised a deep impact on English studies. There are powerful forces at work in favour of the recognition of a new variety of English termed by labels such as Indian English, Swadeshi English, Indish, etc. Then there are related questions such as the model of English to be presented to students, the use of the mother tongue (L1) in ELT and the problem of attaining harmony between a foreign language and an indigenous non-verbal code in oral interaction. The fact is that in our multilingual society, the use, development, and teaching/learning process of language in the educational context is riddled with complexities. This study, therefore addresses itself to the central issue of evolving a comprehensive package of ideas and concepts that would take into account the complexity of factors that characterise our heterogeneous, pluralistic society. It has been rightly observed that sociolinguistic situation in India is marked by an extraordinary degree of linguistic diversity[*], which parallels the ethnic and religious pluralism of the society (Kachru 1988).

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[*] *There are 1652 mother tongues in India and over 100 languages are spoken by 662 million people. Ninety of them are spoken by 10,000 people or more. Languages which are used as media of instruction in the schools as of now, are sixty-seven. (Report of the Committee for Review of National Policy on Education (NPE) 1986).*

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Our purpose then in this study is to examine the existing approaches to English language teaching (ELT) and to suggest a new approach keeping in view the present-day needs and requirements of our society. In her study carried out in 1984, Banerji draws our attention to the inadequacy of English language courses to meet the demands of the kind of competence required for functioning effectively in the real-life situations in India. Parasher (1977) and Das (1977) in their studies have also shown the importance of the use of English by the educated Indians in formal domains such as education, government and employment. There is a mis-match between what is being done and what needs to be done. Banerji (1984) has suggested a new approach to ELT syllabus design to meet the requirements mentioned above. But in order to realise the kinds of targets she has set, it is essential to come out with an effective course of action.

Obviously, in suggesting any such thing one has to draw upon the significant developments that have taken place in ELT and also critically review theoretical considerations that influence its teaching. It is because of this reason that we have devoted one chapter (3) for a detailed examination of sociolinguistic developments, which generated two significant phenomena, namely, Bilingualism and Indianisation of English. We have then discussed these in detail in chapters 4 and 5 respectively. Chapter 6 is devoted to the study of the existing approaches. Here , we have made an attempt to identify the linguistic theories which have a bearing on ELT and to show the shortcomings of these approaches. Chapter 7 contains our

answer to the problem; we have suggested a new approach which we propose to call sociolinguistic approach (SAP). To provide a historical background to this study a critical survey of the advent of English in India and its teaching is presented in chapter 2 . The study closes with chapter 8 which embodies the conclusion derived from our analysis and investigation of the problem.

Here it would be appropriate to explicate what we mean by the term approach and to show how it is different from the terms method and techniques with which it is often confused. In this context it is relevant to refer to Anthony (1963) who identified three levels of conceptualization and organization which he termed as **approach, method** and **technique.** He defines them as follows:

> An **approach** is "a set of correlative assumptions dealing with the nature of language teaching and learning... It describes the nature of the subject matter to be taught... **Method** is an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material, no part of which contradicts, and all of which is based upon, the selected approach. An approach is axiomatic, a method is procedural... A **technique** is implementational -- what actually takes place in a classroom. It is a particular trick, stratagem, or contrivance used to accomplish an immediate objective. Technique must be consistent with a method, and therefore in harmony with an approach as well" (Anthony 1963: 63-67).

Thus we see that according to Anthony an approach is the level at which assumptions and beliefs about language and language learning are specified, method is the level at which a theory is made practicable and at which choices are made about the particular skills to be taught, the content to be taught and the order in which the content is to be presented; technique is the level at which classroom procedures are described. Anthony's model serves as a useful way of distinguishing between different degrees of abstraction and specificity found in different language teaching proposals. Strauss (1982) also makes an attempt to distinguish these three concepts but ultimately what he arrives at is merely a rephrasing of Anthony's distinction.

It would then be appropriate to regard an approach as a sort of an **idea-bank** or a **power-house of ideas** and not a path or a destination. Viewed in this light, an approach merely generates action in a particular direction. The ideas provide a conceptual base, which suggests a syllabus that in turn determines the method and materials to be used for the realisation of the goal suggested by the approach. The use of actual procedures in the classroom for this purpose is derived from methods and materials. The interrelation of these concepts may be presented as follows:

Methods

Approach — ·Syllabus   Techniques

Materials

In this study we have confined our investigation to the determination of the first step in language teaching, namely, the specification of an underlying philosophy of English language teaching and learning process. We hope the results of the study would contribute towards the development of a unified theory for achieving a marked improvement in the quality of ELT in India.

Chapter 2

ENGLISH IN INDIA : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Various terms have been used to describe the place of English in India. Some of these are: second language, lingua franca, national language, official language, the associate official language, a unifying language, link language, international language, library language, the language of modernisation and the language for specific purposes. But while some curriculum planners and language specialists have gone in a wrong direction under the spell of one of these terms; the instruction in English has tenaciously clung to the patterns dictated by the history of English in India rather than to the sociolinguistic realities in the Indian speech community. Consequently, one major problem is to relate the goals of instruction to the needs of the society outside the educational system. It would therefore, be appropriate to first look at the role of the English language since the inception of Western education in our country.

Vasco de Gama's discovery of sea-route to India in 1498, brought about new linguistic and literary associations with the West (Sinha, 1978). A number of European countries such as Portugal, Netherland, France and England tried to establish their political supremacy. Thus, Englishmen were not the first to reach and settle in India. For a full century the Portuguese dominated Indian trade. They considered social intercourse and matrimonial alliances with Indians, essential for the spread of christianity and

development of trade. Such social amalgamation led naturally to the birth of a hybrid language which was indispensable for communication purposes. As a result Indian and Portuguese languages enriched their vocabulary[1]. Eventually, this linguistic phenomenon became the new road for the easy flow of loan-words between Indian and European languages that came in contact on this soil.

Thomas Stephens was the first Englishman (in 1579) to settle in India and Anglo-Indian literature had started with him[2]. He was engaged in the rectorship of a Jesuit College at Margao (Law 1915). Probably, Stephens' advices were:

"... the strongest inducements which London merchants had been offered to embark in Indian speculations and certainly they began from this period to fit out expeditions for the East." (Anderson 1854: 3-4).

Gradually, however, the Englishmen were able to edge out the other Europeans from their supremacy and established themselves firmly on the Indian soil.

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1 *Words entered into Indian languages from Portuguese: Alpin, Biscuit, Camera, Istry, Kamiz, Kaju, Gaml a, Tambaku, Sagu, Pipa, Pistol. Quoted in S.P. Sinha, 1978, English in India.*

2 *The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. XIV, Edition 1916, pp. 331-332, Cambridge University Press.*

To regulate the British interest in India, the East India Company was established by a Royal Charter, on 31st December, 1600. Consequently, the British Embassy was established in India with Sir Thomas Roe as the first ambassador. After attaining this position, the Britishers, shrewd and practical minded as they were, studied the factors responsible for the success of Portuguese, such as linguistic factors, intellectual contribution and social amalgamation.

The intellectual contribution of Portuguese to India was highly appreciated by the Moghul Emperors. Some of the significant works which were worth mentioning are as follows:

i)   the translation of evangelical works in Persian, Sanskrit and also in South Indian languages;

ii) works on natural science, survey of land and river, and astronomy; and

iii) treatise on medicinal plants.

These intellectual efforts established the credibility of Portuguese and naturally the Britishers perceived this as a guideline for establishing their own foothold in India. Based on the life style of the early European traders, there were immense opportunities for the fusion of Indian and foreign languages. Hence, the promotion of linguistic contact among the foreigners and with the Indians was a natural consequence. Because of day

to day contacts, words of Portuguese and other European Languages entered into Indian languages. Similarly, Indian and other European words entered into English either directly or through Portuguese. What is important is that English enriched its vocabulary with loan-words from Portuguese and other languages with which it became associated in India. It also followed Portuguese strategies for quite a long time, until the preference for English language and English education was expressed unequivocally by both Englishmen in India and the Indians themselves.

Because of the Portuguese domination, the introduction of English in India was slow and always beset with difficulties. First it entered through the errand boys assisting Englishmen in their trade. Then as the Englishmen slowly organised their own factories, garrisons, and attempted social union, English started to come through the training schemes in nurseries, asylums, orphanages, etc. For sometime Portuguese commanded influence even in these areas but slowly the Britishers established their supremacy. By the middle of the 18th century English replaced Portuguese and strengthened its hold over the Indian people.

The process of entrenchment of English in the Indian educational and administrative system has a long history. We may divide it into two broad periods, namely **Before Independence** and **After Independence**. There was a significant change in our attitude in 1947 when India became free. This departure from the position English enjoyed earlier, is discussed in the second part of this survey.

2.1 BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

A significant historical development began with the treatise by Charles Grant (British Commercial Resident) in 1792. In his treatise he documented his observations on the moral, intellectual and political decline in India. Grant painted a very gloomy picture of Indian life. He prepared the first formal blue print on language and education for India in 1792. It was a treatise called Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals and the Means of improving it. There were two concrete suggestions made in the **Observations**. These are:

i) Introduction of English in India as the medium of instruction in a Western system of education; and

ii) Adoption of English as the official language of the Government to facilitate easy communication between the rulers and the ruled.

He thought that there were three aspects of education namely; religious, commercial and political. There was a fear that due to Western education, the Indians might some day rise in revolt, but Grant dismissed this fear as baseless. He said that if the whole plan was supposed to be risky, the risk was well worth taking (Mahmood, 1895). Wilberforce and Zachay Macaulay, who together with Grant formed the Claphan Sect, stood shoul-

der to shoulder with him in his fight for the inculcation/dissemination of European knowledge in India.

As a result, many schools were opened in India and English came out of the nurseries and asylums, took on a secular garb and entered into affluent and progressive homes. The Calcutta Madrassa was established in 1780 and Benaras Sanskrit College in 1791. After the establishment of these two institutions, the teaching and learning of English progressed rapidly. The Hindu College was established in Calcutta in 1817. Its aim was to modernise the Indian mind. At Hindu College, English was introduced as an important component of the teaching programme. Undoubtedly, the college drew much inspiration from the progressive intellectualism of Rammohan Roy, David Hare and others. This college symbolised dynamism and progressivism, which India needed most at that time. The standard of English in Hindu College was so high that it became the cynosure and example for many other institutions. Rammohan Roy was an example of the synthesis between Eastern and Western cultures. He was an indefatigable advocate of reform. He was of the opinion that the superstitious crust on the Hindu mind and outlook could not be dissolved with anything, but the corroding influence of Western critical thought. He thought that belief in the fantastic creeds and dogmas could be demolished and discarded by a slow, yet vigorous, process and this could be done only with the help of Western literature and science. He, therefore, advocated the spread of western education and supported the teaching of English in India. The

Hindu College created a craze for English studies. To satisfy the demand, more colleges had to be opened.

The Charter Act of 1813 marked another phase in the history. A special provision was made under the East India Company Act for a lakh of rupees to be spent on education annually. This provision called for three important activities, namely;

   i)   for the revival and improvement of literature;

   ii) for encouragement of the learned natives of India; and

   iii) for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.

This Act renewed the East India company's Charter for a period of twenty years. It had two major effects:

"one was the assumption of a new responsibility towards native education and the other was a relaxation of controls over missionary activity in India" (Vishwanathan 1989: 23).

However, there was a deliberate ambiguity in this Act. The debate was, which literature was to be promoted, Oriental or English?. The Act of 1813 did not mention English or the Study of English as either the goal or a means of achieving the goals cited. Then Macaulay appeared on the scene. He noticed that the urge among Indians to learn English increased because

of the importance of English in day to day life. For instance, it helped to acquire good jobs, made one more knowledgeable about Western thought, exposed one to science, etc. When Macaulay observed this trend, he strongly recommended the English education. Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor General, accepted Macaulay's recommendations. He acknowledged that the main objective of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among Indians. The ambiguity in the Charter Act of 1813 was thus resolved in 1835 English Education Act.

Before we move on to the next landmark in our survey, we should analyse the far reaching impact of these recommendations and the decisions which followed. The withdrawal of Government support - these funds grew out of Indian resources - to 'native learning' and to the printing of books in Indian languages meant that these would languish and this indeed became the position. Secondly, we must say that Macaulay did in fact, to a large extent, succeed through the acceptance of his recommendations. Macaulay said :

> *"we must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave the refinement of the vernacular dialects of the country to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from Western*

nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population" *.

As it was not possible to choose one of the many vernacular languages for administrative purposes; it was decided to use English as the medium of education and administration. English then began to replace Persian as the official language in government departments and law courts. The Filtration Theory of Macaulay discussed above was refined by John Stuart Mill. This refinement probably had its origins in a set of practical realities mentioned below:

"Because of the extraordinary costs in training and recruiting teachers of English, a complete education that began with a thorough study of English, was within the reach of only a very small proportion of Indians. But even though only this class would receive an English education, their more important function would be to act as teachers and translators of useful books, through which they would communicate to the native literature and native community 'that improved spirit' they had imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments. The theory required the few to reach the many" (Vishwanathan 1989: 149).

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* *Quoted in Chatterji, K.K. 1976. English Education in India. Delhi: The Macmillan Co. of India Ltd.*

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The next and the most detailed policy statement on the new education in colonial India was Charles Wood's Dispatch of 1854. It was known as Wood's Dispatch. It emphasized the need for using both English (at the higher educational level) and the vernacular (at the lower, mass levels) for the diffusion of European knowledge. Universities were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, but still 'the general education of the people of India' was not taken up seriously. The stress on higher education and training for future administrators, imparted through the medium of English led to a social stratification in the long run. Education in those days meant the knowledge of the English language as English and it was the only language of good appointments (Tulsi Ram, 1983).

The Indian Education Commission (1882) was also called **Hunter's Commission** after the name of its Chairman Sir William Hunter (member of the Viceroy's Executive Council). This Commission (1882) was appointed to enquire into the effects of "Dispatch of 1854" and to suggest such methods, it might think as desirable, to carry on the policy of Dispatch. The Commission too, however, favoured the use of English and did not make any recommendations to help the study of modern Indian languages or decrease the dominance of English. Hence, English brought about a more drastic change in the Indian linguistic situation. English assumed the role of several languages and language families and it became the medium of oral transaction among the elite classes and the vernaculars began to be restricted to the common folk. The main objective set forth by the Commis-

sion was to spread a knowledge of English in India. As a result, the Indian languages came to be neglected.

It would be appropriate to refer to the missionaries' attitude towards the English education in India. In the earlier days of the East India Company, several missionary schools were established. English was one of the subjects. The contribution of missionaries until the end of the 18th century was not significant, but it spread rapidly during the first half of the 19th century. Initially, these missionaries got support from the British government, but later the Hunter's Commission gave it a secondary place. Incidentally, it may also be pointed out that the missionary institutions functioned with the objective of conversion. They equated English education with Christian education. Hence, they contributed very little to the planting of English in India.

When the Senates of the universities noticed that English was getting more and more popular, they stopped permitting the use of Indian languages as the media of instruction. In Calcutta University, the privilege to answer in a vernacular language was withdrawn in 1862. People's interest in science, law, technology and arts and in teaching institutions increased day by day. It seemed that the Indians were in a hurry to discard the old and to adopt the new. The Indian mind blended with Western education quite successfully. This was reflected in the behaviour of aristocratic citizens and the middle class. These sections of society began to conduct their social and cultural affairs in English. Different associations, whether literary or

political, communicated through English only. English in this way became a *"natural vehicle of expression in which erudition was combined with a natural glow of feeling" (Sinha, 1978).*

During the 19th century, after the cultural renaissance, university education became more popular. The demand for more universities increased. As a result Punjab University was established on 14 October, 1882. This university laid stress on oriental learning, but teaching of English was never given a secondary position. The fact that foreign scholars had joined hands with the Indians in bringing to life the oriental lores through exact translations and scientific annotations, also increased the demand for the teaching of English.

Lord Curzon, who became the Viceroy of India in 1899 became deeply interested in the problem of Indian education immediately after his arrival. The different universities, colleges and all the other subsidiary institutions in different parts of the country had not become an organic entity till then. Although different scientific and technological subjects were taught in these universities, there was no systematised approach as to how to teach these subjects. At the same time, no efforts were made for the real advancement of learning. The standardization of curriculum of study was neglected and zeal for research work was also not encouraged. Curzon, therefore, felt that it was hightime that Indian Universities should achieve certain standards in English. He insisted that only trained teachers should teach, so that teaching could develop as a specialised profession. Evidently

Curzon's concern about the availability of education, the quality of education, the contexts of education in terms of the physical environment and more importantly, the rampant learning of bad English and the motivations for learning English unfortunately remain relevant and pertinent even today. His encouragement to the study of modern Indian languages is a significant contribution to the cause of education in India.

Lord Curzon also attached great importance to the task of University reforms and consequently appointed the **Indian University Commission** in 1902. The Commission stated, *"The proper teaching of English must... be regarded as the most important matter in the curriculum of the high schools and of the universities" (Report of the Indian University Commission 1902: 24).* The Commission was against the early adoption of English as a medium and that too before the student could understand the language. However, it did not object to the continuation of English as a medium.

Later the Calcutta University Commission was appointed in 1919. The main issues before the Commission were the position and importance of English language in the context of English education and the relevance and development of the Indian languages in the schemes of Indian education. The Commission recommended English:

"as a means of inter-communication necessary for the maintenance of the unity of India, and in touch with other countries, for

the mutual interchange and stimulation of ideas in the sphere of scholarship and science; and for the promotion of that inter-provincial and international commerce and industry on which the economic future of India will largely depend" (Calcutta University Commission Report: V 27).

Another significant development in Indian Education was **Abbot-Wood Report (1936-37)** which recommended technical education as an integral part of education. The other recommendations of this report are of particular relevance to English studies. These were:

i)   the trained teachers to teach infant classes;

ii)   the education to be based on the natural interests and activities of children;

iii) the plan of curriculum to be related to the children's environment;

iv)   the mother tongue be the medium of instruction upto the high school stage;

v)   English be a compulsory subject; and

vi)   the teaching of English to be made more realistic.

The regionalisation of the medium at the secondary stage was implemented without making proper provision for the teaching of English language. The hours of English study and its use were reduced, though instruction in the universities largely continued to be in English.

In 1944, a plan for Post-War Educational development in India was prepared by John Sargeant, the then Educational advisor to the government of India. Popularly known as the **Sargeant Report (1944)**, it took a comprehensive and realistic view of the development of education. The Report recommended the mother- tongue as the medium of instruction in High Schools and English as a compulsory second language along with other modern languages. It expressed concern for *"a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen"*. It also recognised the pressing need for training teachers and suggested the refresher courses for them.

Mahatma Gandhi expressed more or less the similar view. He was in favour of national education in the medium of modern Indian languages. But at the same time he did not oppose English education. He wanted the Indian youth to learn through English, but at the same time not to discard their own mother tongue.

Apart from the reports of the various commissions, establishment of universities, colleges and schools and the expansion of English educa-

tion, certain other methodological, sociological and linguistic developments that took place during the Raj are worth mentioning here.

By 1900 practically many educational institutions in India used English as the medium of instruction; the diffusion of English was faster than the establishment of the colonial rule. English was used more and more by the 'educated class'/bilinguals; With the increase in the number of English- using Indians, teaching, learning, and the use of English in India began to acquire indigenous flavour. During the early years (1600-1800), English was in the transportation stage, the *Sahib* variety was highly imitative and formal and the *low* variety was a broken variety, variously called *Butler English, Cantonment English, Bazaar English, Babu English, Cheechee English*, etc. But during the later years (1850-1947), with the increase in the number of Indians using English, more varieties appeared.

When the national movement began to gather momentum, during and after the World Wars, English became the dominant language of the Swadeshi movement. Many Indians - Ranade, Gokhale, Naoroji, Tilak, Vivekananda, Gandhiji, Malaviya, Aurobindo, Jinnah, Srinivasa Sastri, Satyamurthi, Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Rajaji, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Tagore, Radhakrishnan and several others used English as a vehicle for the expression of their thoughts and feelings. But the education is not the only field where English played a dominant role. It soon caught the

imagination of creative writers in India who started using it in their writings.

In this context it is relevant to quote Iyengar (1963) who observes: *"Indian writing in English is but one of the voices in which, an Indian speaks. It is a new voice, no doubt, but it is as much Indian as others".* Several Indian writers like Mulk Raj Anand, R.K. Narayan, Kushwanth Singh, Raja Rao and Kamala Das, to name just a few, produced creative literature. All these writers were aware of the fact that they are writing in a medium that is their own. For example Kamala Das (1965) proclaims that:

> *"The language I speak*
>> *becomes mine*
> *Its distortions, its queernesses*
>> *all mine, mine alone.*
> *It is half English, half Indian,*
>> *funny perhaps, but it is honest*
> *It is as human as I am human*
>> *Don't you see?*

<div align="right">
"An Introduction"
A poem in "Summer in Calcutta".
</div>

The redeveloped variations in accent - due to the influence of the regional languages, a number of variations and deviations in the use of English words got institutionalised in social- networks. English too absorbed a number of Indian words. A significant work worth mentioning here

is Hobson-Jobson (1886), a Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, compiled by Yule and Burnell; a classic summary of the interaction of the two cultures. This process of linguistic convergence between English and Indian languages continues even today.

In the teaching and learning of language, there was a good meeting ground between the East and the West. Language teaching in India had largely been based on the **Kavya** (literature), **Vyakarna** (grammar) tradition and grammar translation method. This Indian practice coupled with British Experience of language teaching, influenced English teaching in India. We shall see later in Chapter 6, traditional approach (TAP) was widely used at several levels of education. The objectives, goals and priorities of English education perceived by the rulers and the other strands outlined above shaped the teaching of English in India. Literary texts became the very staple of English teaching, representing both models of good writing and illustrations of the grammatical rules of the language.

2.2 AFTER INDEPENDENCE

With the advent of Independence, the problem of English Education attained new dimensions. The position of English was debated in forums and in different parts of the country. Some considered it indispensable, but some thought it humiliating to continue with it. While one section recognised its importance as a world's language, the other termed it as a vestige

of British domination. But it was realised that after independence the nation should have redefined goals and priorities in education and in English education.

The constitution of India declared Hindi in Devanagari Script as the official language of the Union and English as the associate official language. At the same time it provided for the development and use of regional languages in education and other fields at the state level. As a result an integrated language policy became inevitable. It was decided to retain English to serve as a library language, as a medium of higher education, as a link language and various education commissions and study groups were appointed by the Government of India from time to time with a view to evolving a universally acceptable policy for English language teaching and language use in our country.

The first Education Commission was the University Education Commission, also called the **Radhakrishnan Commission (1949)**. It made recommendations to facilitate the timely switch over to a national medium. It recommended the development of:

i)   a federal language through the assimilation of words from various sources;

ii) development of international, technical and scientific terminology;

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iii) replacement of English as the medium of instruction by an Indian language; and

iv) at the same time retaining English to *"keep ourselves in touch with the living stream of ever growing knowledge"*.

Later, the Committee of Primary Education was appointed in 1951 and the Secondary Education Commission, a year later in 1952. This Commission recognised that a great deal of controversy existed about the place of English in the scheme of Studies. It recommended the adoption of the vernacular as the medium of instruction throughout the Secondary School stage and teaching atleast two languages during the Middle School stage. The introduction of both languages Hindi and English was suggested at the end of the Junior Basic stage but the two languages were not to be introduced in the same year. This Commission was perhaps the first body to concern itself with methods of teaching or with evaluation and the examination system. It made its views more specific as follows:

"The emphasis in teaching should shift from verbatism and memorization to learning through purposeful, concrete and realistic situations and for this purpose the principles of 'Activity Method' and 'Project Method' should be assimilated in school practice..." (Aggarwal 1984: 115-116)

The language planning in India can be said to have arrived at a crucial stage. After more than a decade of independence, the relative status

of English, Hindi and the other regional languages was still not clear in the minds of people or even in official circles. The Central Advisory Board of Education in 1956 recommended a 'three-language formula'. The Conference of Chief Ministers approved the formula in 1961.

The Education Commission (1964-66), popularly known as **Kothari Commission** recommended a *"...graduated three language formula to include:*

i)   the mother tongue or the regional language;

ii)   the official language of the Union or the associate official language of the Union so long as it exists; and

iii)   a modern Indian or foreign language not covered in (i) and (ii) and other than that used as the medium of instruction" (Report of the Education Commission 1966: 192).

It also recommended that both English and Hindi be link languages. This Commission highlighted one of the important distinctions which represented a recognition of the changed goals. The Commission stated that:

"... a distinction has to be made between the teaching of English as a skill and teaching of English as literature". It also stated that "as English will, for a long time to come, continue to be needed as a 'library language' in the field of higher education,

a strong foundation in the language will have to be laid at the school stage" (Report of the Education Commission 1966: 197).

This commission also laid stress on the imparting of communicative competence. About the process of language learning, this commission stated that the creation of motivation for learning languages is a complex social process. This depends more on social and economic factors outside the school than on academic programmes of the school itself. It observed that learning of English/Hindi should be facilitated not in terms of years of study, but in terms of hours of study and level of attainment. In this context, it made two major recommendations:

i)   English should be the medium of instruction in all major universities; and

ii)   special units should be set up for teaching English as language skill.

It emphasized on English as a channel of international communication. Since the status of English as an associate official language stabilised in mid 1960s, a concern was expressed for certain standards in English (Nehru 1963: 6).

Two study groups, both headed by Gokak (1967 and 1971) were appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the then status of the teaching of English in India in the context of the demands for the regional-

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isation of the medium of instruction. The recommendations by these Groups mark a major watershed in the history of English teaching in India. The relevant recommendations were as follows:

i) The regionalisation of the medium at the university level should be planned and carefully phased out[1]; and

ii) The courses should be re-oriented to include comprehension and reference skills, keeping of in view the fact that English has to continue as a medium of instruction at post- graduate centres and all India institutions.

In the meantime, **The National Policy on Education** was formulated in 1968 largely to implement the recommendations of the Kothari Commission. The policy noted that the regional languages were already in use as media of instruction at the primary and secondary stages. It proposed that urgent steps should now be taken to adopt the regional languages as media of instruction at the university stage too. It suggested the promotion of the development of Hindi as a link language. The policy also stated that the study of English deserved to be specially strengthened. These issues continued to occupy the mind of the government of India. Smt. Indira Gandhi, while addressing a gathering of Sanskrit Scholars, eminent writers,

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1 *This process was completed in most of our universities before 1975, the last year of the 'Fifth Five Year Plan'.*

academicians and journalists at the National Museum, New Delhi, (1983) expressed concern at the falling standard of English in the country and emphasized the need for English as it *"had become a vital international language" (The Statesman, 1983).*

Mrs. Shiela Kaul, Union Minister for Education, while addressing CIEFL, Hyderabad, in 1984 regretted that there was a *"general decline in the standards of achievement in English"*. She came up with one more proposal.

"The Education Ministry had evolved a plan of action to meet the situation. It included the setting of district centres for satu-ration level training of school teachers of English, Curriculum Development Units in universities, strengthening of the existing state Regional Institutes of English and the establishment of such special institutions in the state, where they do not exist" (The Hindu, 1984).

The next significant development is the formulation of a new **National Policy on Education** and **The Programme of Action (1986).** This policy merely reiterated the 1968 National Policy on Education (NPE) and recommended its implementation *"energetically"* and *"purposefully"*. This document did not touch the issue of the *"Medium of Instruction"* in higher education, but said that *"a major effort will be directed towards the*

transformation of teaching methods" and that *"urgent steps will be taken to protect the system from degradation".*

In 1987, **University Grants Commission (UGC)** decided to set up **Curriculum Development Centres (CDC)** in selected universities for revamping the higher education in concrete terms and issued the following directions for their working.

"With increasing awareness of the importance of the learning process, a more learner-oriented or enquiry-oriented teaching method should be introduced in the instructional system, which would enable the learner to engage himself in creative and divergent thinking, problem solving, self learning and to explore new avenues of communication, productive work as well as innovation through such methods as simulation, games, project- work and the like. Accordingly, the main thrust of the proposed curriculum should aim at shifting emphasis from teaching to learning, which has to be an important element in the new approach to education. This will necessitate re-organising the curricular packages, possibly in a modular form. Greater emphasis should be placed on the student's motivation to learn then on the teacher's ability to lecture. Further, the curriculum should be so designed that it would make the education more meaningful to the needs and aspirations of its beneficiaries as well as to make

it socially relevant" (Introduction to Report of the CDC in English, CIEFL, 1989).

NPE 1986 outlined the present and future status of English in our undergraduate and postgraduate courses. It dealt with almost all aspects of English studies. The CDC Report specified the objectives, course descriptions, detailed syllabus for each course at every level, the list of books under the three separate heads: required, recommended and background. It also suggested the methodology of teaching, procedures for evaluation, the machinery for the preparation of teaching material, and the need for teacher training and re-orientation.

The **Acharya Ramamurthi Committee**, was appointed to review the **1986 National Policy on Education** and **The Programme of Action**. It submitted its report in 1990. This report observed that, whatever be the difficulties or unevenness in the implementation of the three-language formula, it has **stood the test of time.** It was not desirable or prudent to reopen the formula . Regarding the learning of English/Hindi, it reiterated the stand taken by the Kothari Commission. It, however, made a new suggestion that, the Kendriya Hindi Sansthan (KHS), The Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL) and the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), the three national level institutions charged respectively with the development of Hindi, English and modern Indian languages, should come together and, in consultation with the **Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE)** and the **National Council of**

Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and the state governments, spellout modalities of ensuring uniformity in the matter of acquisition of language competency by the students in the school system. On the problem of medium of instruction for higher education, the Report made specific recommendations about the steps to be taken to effect a smooth change-over from English to the regional languages. Its main recommendations included the following:

(i)   production of university level books in the Indian languages; and

(ii) options to be given to students for examinations at all levels in the regional language media.

After this historical survey, we may now briefly review the role of English in our country:

i)   English is the associate official language of the Union of India and the sole official language of Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman and Diu, Mizoram and Pondicherry.

It is also widely used for conducting all-India competitive examinations and interviews for higher professional positions

and for recording the proceedings of Supreme court and High courts.

ii) English is the medium of instruction in all scientific, technological, medical institutions and military staff training academies.

iii) It is also used extensively for research and higher learning in most of the universities in India.

iv) English is used as an instrument of interaction and discussion among professionals and academicians.

v) It is used for creating pan-Indian English literature which forms part of the world writings in English.

vi) A number of newspapers, periodicals and books are published in English. (According to the estimate in 1989, one third of all the published books and one fifth of all the periodicals were in English. Total number of periodicals were about 5650) (Krishnaswamy and Sriraman, 1994).

vii) English is used for broadcasting and telecasting news and several other important programmes at the national level.

Thus we see that though English is so much a part of intellectual life, it has not elbowed out our native regional languages. As it has done in

countries like U.S.A., Canada and Australia, bilingualism in India is of a stable nature. To use Haugen's (1972) terminology English is neither replacive nor supplementary but complimentary. It co-exists in cooperation with the individual's bilinguals native language. Thus, it is in a state of symbiosis with roles and functions of other Indian languages (Bayer 1991: 141). The historical retrospective that we have presented in this chapter shows that English in India has had a long tradition and that this tradition would be carried on for an indefinite period of time.

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Chapter 3

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

During the last three decades there has been an increasing concern for the study of the social aspects of language and attempts have been made to integrate the views on language and society. This concern has led to the emergence of a new body of knowledge termed as **sociolinguistics**. Initially, it was considered merely to be a branch of linguistics but now it has acquired the status of an autonomous discipline. This development is significant inasmuch as it shows the amount of information gathered through numerous sociolinguistic studies all over the world and the insight that has been attained into the importance of the data collected through these studies.

In this chapter we shall first discuss the origin of sociolinguistics as a branch of linguistics and then trace the factors that have led to its developments as a full-fledged discipline. Later we shall examine the various aspects of sociolinguistics keeping in view its impact on language teaching and learning activity. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters, major developments have been generated through sociolinguistic studies and it is at the core of the latest views in the field of English language teaching.

3.1 ORIGIN AND GROWTH

The interaction of language and society is the subject matter of an interdisciplinary field and it has become known in recent years as **Sociolinguistics**. The term **Sociolinguistics** appeared for the first time in the International Linguistic Bibliography in 1967. Even though the need for the analysis of language in its social context was felt by many authors, mainly linguists but also sociologists and psychologists as early as the beginning of this century but the term sociolinguistics was coined by Haver C. Currie, a teacher of English at Houstan University in Texas, in 1952. His intention was to encourage investigation into relation between speech, behaviour and social status. Ten years later the terms **Sociolinguistika** and **Socialnajal-ingvistika** came into use in the USSR. It was first introduced among American linguists by William Bright and Ramanujan in a paper at the **Eighth International Congress of Linguistics** at Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1962 (published in 1964).

The growth of sociolinguistics took place mainly in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This does not mean that the study of language in relation to society is an invention of the 1960s. On the contrary, there is a long tradition in the study of dialects and in the general study of the relation between word meaning and culture, both of which form part of sociolinguistics by our definition. To some extent, the work of linguists earlier in this century, and specific examples would include Sapir (1921), Malinowski (1923), Jesperson (1925), Firth (1937), Weinreich (1953) and Haugen

(1956) helped to pave the way for the emergence of this new field. These earlier works, however, hardly anticipated the sudden growth of sociolinguistics.

The reasons for the sudden explosion of interest were varied and interrelated. First, in the U.S.A. and Europe (Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheier 1987), educationalists and sociologists had shown concern about the relationship between language and society. For example, issues related to language and social class in Britain, language and race in the USA and language and immigration policies in West Germany had contributed for its further growth. In India, the growth is observed by an extraordinary degree of linguistic diversity which parallels the ethnic and religious pluralism of the society (Kachru, 1988).

Second, there was the growing interest in sociology itself, both in USA and Europe. Sociology as an academic discipline experienced a rapid development in the 1960s and early 1970s. The growing interest in the social problems of this discipline influenced the adjacent academic fields, of which linguistics was one. Thus, the growth of sociology legitimized the interests of linguists in socially important problems, such as language and social class, language and sex, language and race, language and immigration, and language and diverse linguistic groups.

Third, in the 1960s, with the ascending of Chomskyan linguistics the dissatisfaction was increasing significantly among many linguists. Saussure's (1916) earlier distinction between langue and parole, Chomskyan's central dichotomy between competence and performance precipitated a strong reaction to the generativist orthodoxy of the day. As Lavandera puts it, *"a sizeable number of linguists struck out on their own, as it were, and devoted themselves to building alternative conceptions of language, in which its social function was regarded as paramount". (Lavandera, 1988).* Soon linguists began to question the Chomskyan conception of linguistic competence, and to posit alternative theoretical concepts. The most significant of which was Hymes model of **Communicative Competence.** This has been discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

What is important to note is the widespread interest in sociolinguistics and the realisation that it can throw fresh light both on the nature of language and on the nature of society. The work that was done earlier has been systematised and brought under the broad umbrella of this science. A number of scholars soon applied their minds to the in depth study of different aspects of sociolinguistics.

The publication of specialist academic journals in the field, namely, **Language in Society,** and the **International Journal of the Sociology of Language,** together with the large body of published work on the study of language and society for example Hertzer (1965); Bright (1966); Le Page (1964); Denison (1970); Fishman (1972a); Giglioli (1972); Pride and Hol-

mes (1972); Labov (1972a); Bernstein (1972); Hymes (1974); and Trudgill (1974a) brought about significant developments in the field. It would be appropriate here, to refer to some of these studies. As the discussion would reveal, there is a slight overlap in their conceptualisation of different dimensions of the subject. Each one, however, makes a significant contribution in the understanding of various aspects of sociolinguistics.

Hymes first described the analysis of language in its social context as the ethnography of speech (Gumperz and Hymes, 1964). He claims that sociolinguistics is the main area of interest for anthropologists. He says further: *"Indeed the main foci of interest... would seem to be semantic description or sociolinguistics or both", (Hymes 1964a:11)*. The first conference actually on sociolinguistics under that name took place at the University of California in Los Angeles, in 1964. Later, a number of scholars worked on different aspects of sociolinguistics and published the results of their analysis.

Let us look at the contributions of some scholars if not all in this area. Gumperz (1964) works on verbal repertoire. Fishman's (1972a) contribution is on domains. Grimshaw (1966), Hymes (1967 a and b) and Fishman (1968 a, b) are concerned with a programmatic discussion of linguistic, anthropological and sociological contributions to sociolinguistics. Hymes (1974) makes a plea for an integrated field of research that goes beyond the discipline itself. Fishman (1968b), Denison (1970) and Le Page (1969) study the problems of multilingualism. Fishman aims to extend his

interest in the sociology of language whereas Labov (1970b) extends his interest by linking linguistic analysis to social context. Labov (1966, 1970) discusses this in sociolinguistic structure.

In recent years, emphasis has been laid on the empirical work. Thus, there are empirical investigations into reading and speech in the works of Levins and Williams (1970). Gumperz and Hymes (1972) study the strategy of social communication. Hymes (1971) inquiries into the Pidgin and Creole languages. Bernstein (1972) works on codes. Ervin-Tripp (1972) investigates on sociolinguistic rules. So far Indian sociolinguists are concerned, they have been mainly preoccupied with the analysis and description of the process of Indianisation of English in sociolinguistic terms.

As we indicated in the beginning the term sociolinguistics immediately suggests an interconnection between two separate and distinct disciplines namely linguistics and sociology. According to Crystal (1985) sociolinguistics is a **branch of LINGUISTICS which studies all aspects of the relationship between LANGUAGE and SOCIETY.** Many sociolinguists might accept this interpretation as a starting point. Others recognise it as a discipline in itself and define as **the study of language in its social context** (Labov, 1972, a), or **the study of language in its socio-cultural context** (Lavandera, 1988). Some challenge the sub-ordination of sociolinguistics to **Linguistics proper** and argue for its recognition as a discipline in its own right (Ammon, Dittmar and Mattheier, 1987). In fact, since its origin, there has been a noticeable diversity related to the adequate

definition of sociolinguistic terms and frequent debates about its status as a field of study. Some regard it as an independent discipline others as an interdisciplinary endeavour; view it as a part (or field or sub-field) of general linguistics, while others perceive it as central focus of all linguistics and argue, as Le Page does that in some senses, *"all sociolinguistics is linguistics and all linguistics is sociolinguistics" (Trans, 1988)*.

Hymes (1974a) views sociolinguistics as a multidisciplinary field which includes not only sociology and linguistics, but also social anthropology, education, poetics, folklore, and psychology. Hymes (1974a) has made an interesting observation that linking linguistics with the social sciences and in particular, anthropology has quite a long history. Terms such as **ethnographic philology, philological ethnology, linguistic anthropology** , etc., have been used right from the nineteenth century. Until World War II these mixed terms were generally phrasal formations, either, coordinate - linguistics and anthropology; genitaval - the sociology of language; or adjectival - anthropological linguistics. Slowly the compounds with linguistics as the second element have come into use. Hymes concludes that this usage signifies that it is linguistics and linguistic concepts and methods which have become central to the theme.

Since many disciplines' interests converge into sociolinguistics, it seems reasonable to consider it as a multidisciplinary field. This raises an issue whether sociolinguistics has an independent status in linguistics or whether it is merely an eclectic amalgam of ideas and procedures from

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different disciplines. It is obvious that there should be common understanding among the specialists about a particular field. In simple terms we may say, that the description of language is the subject matter of linguistics, just as the description of human cultures constitutes the enterprise of anthropology. However, the question is whether sociolinguistics has reached such a level of definable autonomy. Let us briefly examine this issue.

Sociolinguistics has gained a great deal from sociological methods of research. Fishman promoted the use of the term **Sociology of language** (1969, 1971, 1972a, b, c etc.) which almost covers the entire field of sociolinguistics. He rightly points out :

> *"... the sociology of language focuses upon the entire gamut of topics related to the social organisation of language behavour including not only language usage per se but also language attitudes and overt behaviour toward language and toward language users." (Fishman 1969: 45).*

His studies comprise main issues such as survey work, language policies and language planning. In practice, the sociology of language has been typically associated with topics such as bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia, verbal repertoire, code-switching, code-mixing, language maintenance, language surveys and sociolinguistics of society (Fasold 1984) and has produced in recent years a substantial body of literature (Fishman 1967;

Cooper and Canrad 1977; Spolsky and Cooper 1976; Fasold 1988 a and b;
and Spolsky 1988).

It is not surprising to note that sociology has a long standing
connection between theory and empirical investigations. In linguistic de-
scriptions, however, the intuitive evidence is used to justify the data. It is
thus clear that an independent sociolinguistics cannot rely merely on meth-
odological perspectives drawn solely from one of these disciplines. An
independent sociolinguistics, to have a proper interdisciplinary perspective
cannot be merely an additive it must be integrative. Hymes (1976) has
repeatedly subscribed to an integrated theory of sociolinguistic descrip-
tion[1]. He aptly remarks:

> *"It should be clear that a mechanical amalgamation of standard*
> *linguistics and standard sociology is not likely to suffice... Add-*
> *ing a speechless sociology to a sociology free linguistics can*
> *yield little better than posthoc attempts at correlation between*
> *accounts from which the heart of the relevant data will be miss-*
> *ing" (Hymes 1974: 76).*

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1 Labov (1965, 1973a, b), for example, has shown how such an integrated approach is possible
and necessary with regard to sound change and social dialect in New York City.

It is thus clear that simple amalgamation of two disciplines namely sociology and linguistics cannot provide explanations which an integrated approach is capable of applying. A sociolinguistic theory goes beyond the bounds of these two disciplines and is thus able to provide an explanation for the generation of fresh data.

The discussion and debate about the interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics have continued upto the present day. Significantly, however, Grimshaw (1987a) remarks that up to the 1970s, if not to the present, the cross fertilization of sociology with linguistics has been far more noticeable in linguistics than in the field of sociology. By the late 1970s, moreover, the term **sociology of language** had come to be seen, especially in Britain, as referring to a sub-field of sociolinguistics. (Bolton, 1992). It has been noticed that sociolinguistics was increasingly recognised as the superordinate term to refer to the wide range of studies concerned with the relationship of language and society.

From the above discussion we can infer that the main focus of sociolinguistics, is language in use. Linguistics differs from sociolinguistics in taking account only of the structure of language to the exclusion of the social contexts in which it is learned and used. Hence, it can be argued that language structure constitutes the subject matter of linguistics, where as sociolinguistics deals with language use. The task of linguistics according to this view is to workout the rules of language, after which sociolinguistics may enter the scene and study any points at which these rules make

contact with society; for example, alternative ways of expressing the same idea are chosen by different social groups, as shown in Chapter 6.

At this stage it would be appropriate to discuss briefly Trudgill's (1978 a) detailed taxonomic framework for describing the scope of sociolinguistics. It is shaped largely by the recognition of different objectives within the field of sociolinguistics. He suggests that it is possible to divide studies of language into three groups:

> (i)   those where the objectives are purely sociological or social-scientific;
>
> (ii) those where they are partly sociological and partly linguistic; and
>
> (iii) those where the objectives are wholly linguistic.

According to this classification, the first group of the studies comprises the work of those linguists interested in the study of language and society. The main purpose of these studies is to make statements about society. This category would, then include Bernstein's (1971) studies of codes.

The second group of studies includes the work of those concerned to make statements about both language and society. Thus, this group covers a wide range of sociolingustic studies including discourse analysis,

the ethnography of speaking, anthropological linguistics, the sociology of language, and the social psychology of language.

The third group of studies encompasses the work of linguistics whose objectives are to make statements about language and society chiefly to inform and illuminate areas of linguistic inquiry, such as linguistic change, linguistic variability and the structure of linguistic systems. Fishman also views sociolinguistics as a means of widening the contextual horizons of linguistics, beyond the phrase, beyond the sentence, beyond the utterance to the speech act, the speech event and the speech occasion. Hymes (1974) offers a different perspective on the scope of sociolinguistics. What he terms as goals of sociolinguistics are discussed briefly as follows:

i) The social as well as the linguistics: It means social problems involving language and use of language, that is, socially oriented work with practical goals.

ii) Socially realistic linguistics: It means the work concerned with socially oriented approaches to 'main-stream' linguistic issues such as linguistic rules and sound change etc. It recognizes dependence of the analysis of meaning and speech acts on social context[*].

* Labov, W. 1970. 'The study of Language in its social context.' In Giglioli, R.P. 1972. (ed.) **Language in Social Context.** Harmondsworth: Penguin.

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iii) Socially constituted linguistics: This phrase according to Hymes (1974) *"... is intended to express the view that social function gives form to the ways in which linguistic features are encountered in actual life"*. It aims at a theory of grammar.

A socially constituted linguistics is concerned with social as well as referential meaning and with language as part of communicative conduct and social action. Some of the themes that have emerged from this point of view are mentioned below:

i) Linguistic theory as a theory of language, entailing the organisation of speech;

ii) Speech communities as organisations of the ways of speaking;

iii) Competence as personal ability;

iv) Performance as an accomplishment;

v) Language as shaped by its users; and

vi) Speech variation as regulated in social life.

Thus *"...the greatest challenge for sociolingustic research is to develop methods, concepts and findings that will enable one ultimately to approach language from the linguistic sides not*

only as grammar, but also as language organised in use; from the social side, to approach social structure, cultural patterns, values and the like, terms of their realisation in verbal and symbolic action" (Hymes, 1972).

3.2 SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS

Let us now look more closely at what sociolinguistics is. As the term itself indicates its two central concerns are language and society. As we stated earlier, sociolinguistics investigates and theorises on the relationship between language and society. The study of this relationship has remained neglected for a long time. It was Firth who used the term **sociological linguistics** in 1935 and discussed the study of language in a social perspective. For some time sociologists, anthropologists and social psychologists interested in speech as an indicator of certain social, psychological or anthropological factors continued to look at language from their point of view. That is why to some extent most of the efforts in anthropology, sociology, social psychology and linguistics converge in sociolinguistics. In fact, we are all familiar with the complex links between language and society. It is common knowledge that people speak according to their background. It is possible to relate a person's speech to his place of origin or education or social group or generation or even occupation, among others and the tone of conversation indicates the intimacy of interlocutors.

We judge people not only on the basis of what they say but how they articulate. Although this popular knowledge about language and its speakers is really a collection of stereotypic associations which may be more fiction than fact, we apply it constantly in our daily encounter. Such knowledge of linguistic behaviour was however, long considered unworthy of study by linguists and teachers of non-native languages. The reason seems to have been the result of exaggerated emphasis for the written form of language on the one hand, and an over-narrow interest in the historic development of language on the other. Then in the middle of the 1960s, as we have already discussed earlier in this Chapter, there was a new discovery and new awareness for the inextricable links between language and social behaviour. Till then, people were interested in establishing language as an absolutely independent entity.

As we know, linguistics has restricted its focus upon the formal aspects of language. It has treated each language as a coherent, autonomous and self-sufficient system. Unfortunately it did not realise the problems of multilingual societies such as language interference, identifying speech functions, switching rules and attitudes towards language diversity.

In recent years, there has been an increased interest in understanding the relation of linguistic forms to social meanings. With the exception of dilectologists and anthropologists, in fact, linguistics has never really kept in very close contact with language as it is actually used. The separation of langue (language) and parole (speech) made by Ferdi-

nand de Saussure has been well preserved by scholars. Saussure thought of langue as the dimension of language shared by all its speakers, was considered so general that linguists could speculate about it from limited source of speech (even their own) while parole, the individual dimension was considered so variable that it would take large scale surveys to measure.

According to Chomsky (1965), linguistic theory is primarily concerned **with an ideal native speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community**[1]. This attack on the formal features of an idealised langue had been extremely powerful in the analysis of language. The formal linguistic assumption that linguistic descriptions and theory should investigate homogeneous language structure has come under serious attack during the last three decades. Scholars realised that it was not possible to account for linguistic realities with speakers who were not ideal and speech communities which were not homogeneous. More and more linguists have begun to realise that in order to understand human communication, an investigation of only formal and structural features is not sufficient. Attention must therefore be paid to extra-lingual factors like context of situation, addresser - addressee relationship, role of participants, function of speech events, kind of discourse, topic of discourse, socio-cultural features and so on. The related recent developments in this area have been noticed in sociolinguistics.

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1 *Further discussion on this is given in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.*

The fact that linguists have been primarily concerned with the homogeneous form of language, does not mean that there has been no awareness of linguistic diversity and variable linguistic behaviour. The attempts of generative semanticists and socio- linguists to view language in its social context have been in line with the British school of linguists (Firth 1957, Halliday et al. 1964).

Firth derived his idea of the **content of situation** from Malinowski (1923). Halliday and his followers have developed Firth's principles much further. Halliday's (1973: 49) remark that *"the linguists' interests have always extended the language as a social behaviour applies to linguists and sociolinguists"*. Thus the tradition of looking at language as a social phenomenon has been there. But it is in recent past that there has been a remarkable shift in emphasis from the form of language to its functioning, from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from language bereft of context to language in sociocultural context. Labov (1971: 43) has recently observed that despite the historical separation of language and social meaning, there has been a *"noticeable movement away from the extreme asocial position in theoretical work towards a view of linguistic structure and evolution"* which includes everyday speech in a community. It is generally felt that the motivating factors for this growing rapprochement of language form and social meaning are:

i) the desire to find a sound empirical base for linguistic theory;

ii) the conviction that social factors influencing language are legitimate topics for linguistic investigation;

iii) the linguistic analysis of language of multilingual societies; and

iv) the response to the growing feeling that such linguistic knowledge should be applied to the problems of language teaching and learning activity.

It is interesting to note that linguistics from Saussure to Chomsky, emphasized some of these factors in the abstract form of leaving out an important aspect that is a study of infinite varieties of language in use. As against Sassure's option for the study of langue and Chomsky's for the study of competence as the subject of linguistics, the sociolinguistics made the opposite choice. For sociolinguists it is the variability of parole or performance that constitutes the substance of linguistics. Labov (1971: 153) rightly says:

"It seems natural enough that the basic data for any form of general linguistics would be language as it is used by native speakers communicating with each other in every day life".

Some of the social aspects of sociolinguistics have been identified as follows:

i) the variation of speech in different social settings and various conventions we follow to organise our speech acts;

ii) individual's communicative activity in its social setting;

iii) speech functions;

iv) linguistic diversity;

v) the intricate patterns of language use in multilingual societies; and

vi) the use of English as a non-native and L2 variety in multilingual and pluricultural societies.

The variation of speech in different social settings and the various conventions we follow to organise our speech together constitute one of the aspects of sociolinguistics. Recently, several thorough and perspective studies on language use in particular situations or of a particular speech act have been made for example, classroom discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975); medical diagnostic interviews (Candlin, Bruton and Leather 1976); a therapeutic psychiatric session (Labov and Fanshel 1977) and analyses of the speech act of explanation (Weinstock 1980). Such studies reveal the extraordinary complexity of ordinary language use in that utterances fulfil

several functions simultaneously. In fact, many conversational and interactional structures have been found to exist as part of sociolinguistics for instance, telling joke, narrating stories, participating in the classroom talk/discussions between students and teacher, establishing and maintaining social relations, seeking and giving information, learning or teaching how to do or make something, expressing one's reactions, talking one's way out of trouble, sharing leisure activities, conversing over the telephone, entertaining others, displaying one's achievements, acting out social roles, discussing ideas and opinions, playing with language and so on. It is generally believed that the social reality cannot be interpreted by statistical table but is actually constructed in the process of interaction. The study of myths, folktales, riddles and rituals with reference to the society in which they are produced also form a part of sociolinguistic studies. It is, thus clear that the **language in use** is the main focus of sociolinguistics.

The study of the individual's communicative activity in its social setting which is referred to as **ethnography of speaking,** or more widely as **ethnography of communication** (Sherzer, 1977) is another aspect of sociolinguistics. This aspect of sociolinguistics extends the area of linguistics beyond the study of formal properties of utterances to the study of the social contexts and of the speakers in acts of communication. Therefore, in the speech act, we can notice less emphasis on the formal properties of language and on the mental properties of language use (psycholinguistics), and more stress on the interpersonal functions of speech acts and on the

relationship between linguistic form and social meaning. The act of communication is therefore seen not as basically an exchange of linguistic messages, but rather as a socially meaningful episode in which the use of language, social rules and functions and social settings play a prominent role. Thus, in a given situation, it is the sequence of interpersonal events that provides the context for the given message.

The task of the ethnography of communication is to develop a conceptual scheme for the analysis of speech events in their social setting. If we take models developed by a linguist, Jakobson (1960); a social psychologist, Robinson (1972), and a linguist and anthropologist, Hymes (1972, 1972a), we can see that they have much in common as shown in the following table.

Table I

Categories of Language (Speech) Events

Jakobson (1960)	Robinson (1972)	Hymes (1972, 1972a)
1. addresser	addresser/emitter	speaker/sender/ addresser
addressee	addressee/receiver	receiver/audience/ addressee
2. message	message/message form verbal act	speech act/message (key/genre)
3. contact	contact social relationship control	channel
4. context	extralinguistic world situation	situation/setting/ scene
5. -	topic/prime focus of verbal act	topic/message content
6. code	language	code/forms of speech: language/dialect/ variety
7. functions	functions	purposes/outcomes/ goals/ends

Source: Stern. H.H. 1983. Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 221.

Let us broadly illustrate each concept of these models:

i)   The essential set of concepts in these models always identifies the **participants** in the speech act; the speaker and listener, writer and reader or in more general terms, addresser and addressee, or emitter and receiver.

ii) The next major concept is the **message**. In most cases it is a verbal utterance, but sometimes non-verbal communication also accompanies the verbal utterance. The smallest unit of speaking is usually referred to as the **speech act.** The next larger socially recognised unit of speech activity -- conversation, discussion, lecture, etc. -- constitutes a speech event. Hymes uses the literary term **genre** to describe generally different speech events such as *"poem, myth, tale, proverbs, riddle, curse, prayer, oration, lecture, commercial form, letter, editorial" (Hymes 1972a: 65).* Speech acts and events can also be distinguished by their tone or style or in Hymes terminology, the key, for example, serious, solemn, ironic, comic, formal and informal.

iii) A speech act is carried by **contact/channel.** In physical terms it establishes a relationship between participants. But the relationship can also be viewed psychologically as a **social contact** or **role relationship** between the participants. Social interac-

tion reflects differences in social role among individuals: thus, a child is likely to talk differently to his parents, a friend or a teacher.

iv) The **context** is another concept in communication. The speech event takes place in a setting, or scene, or the speech situation. The situation, may determine the topic, the verbal behaviour and expectations of the participants. Malinowski (1923), as we have already noticed, emphasized the importance for an understanding of language of the **context of situation**. This concept is adopted by Firth (1935) and many other linguists.

v) A message is further distinguished by its **topic or content** which is the prime focus of verbal content. Though this Table does not contain any item in column No. 1 at S.No. 5, obviously what we can draw by implication is the subject of the speech act.

vi) The variety of **speech, dialects, languages, codes, registers** are likely to depend on the situation, topic and the relationship between the participants. As we have seen, sociolinguistics attributes importance to varieties of speech and the systematic speech variations among speakers which differs from linguistics. The study of social roles, situations, or functions that

control the use of different speech varieties has therefore played a major role in the development of sociolinguistics.

vii) The different speech acts have different **purposes or functions**.

Several attempts have been made to define exhaustively the functions of speech acts. Table II represents five such schemes represented by five scholars namely Buhler (1934), Jakobson (1960), Searle (1969), Robinson (1972) and Halliday (1973). Buhler's threefold division of the functions of speech is one of the oldest categorisations. Wilkins (1976) also offers a similar set of categories. It has not been included in the tabulation but will be referred to in the discussion. As we know, any utterance may fulfil more than one function at a time. Thus, the functional elements can be identified in the following way:

Table II

Functional categories of speech acts

(lines indicate approximate conceptual equivalence)

Buhler (1934)	Jakobson (1960)	Searle (1969)	Robinson (1972)	Halliday (1973)
Expressive	emotive	expressives (express feelings and attitudes)	regulation of self expression of affect marking of emitter including avoidance conversations	expression of identity personal (Here I come)
	phatic		role relationship marking encounter regulations	interactional ('me and you')
Representational	referential	Representatives (Tell people how things are)	Reference to non-linguistic world	Representational ('I've got something to tell you')
	poetic		aesthetic	Imaginative ('let's pretend')
		Commissives (commit myself to doing things)	Performatives	Instrumental ('I want')
Conative	Conative	declarations (bring about changes throughout utterances)	regulation of self and others	
		directives (get others to do things)	instructing	regulatory ('Do as I tell you')
			enquiry	heuristic ('tell me why')
	metalingual		metalanguage functions	

The **expressive** function of speech act is common to most schemes. Halliday calls it **Here I come** function. The speech act serves to express the speaker's personal or emotional state of mind, or express feelings or attitude and social identity of the speaker. Wilkins (1976) also identifies personal emotions as one functional category.

The function of speech act is to bring the interpersonal communication. This function has been described as **interactional** or as **me and you** function given by Halliday. It may therefore serve to identify role relationships or regulate encounters (Robinson). Another aspect of this function is simply to maintain social contacts, the **phatic communion**. This concept is given by Malinowski (1923) and adopted by Jakobson. Probably Wilkins' category of **emotional** relations (greetings, sympathy, gratitude, flattery and hostility) covers the same concept.

Representational and **referential** function of speech act (Searl's representatives) occur in all the schemes. Even a child with his intuitive knowledge can convey *"a message which has specific reference to the processes, persons, objects, abstractions, qualities, states and relations of the real world around him"* (Halliday 1973: 16). Halliday considers this **I've got something to tell you** function. This model considers language to be used as a means of communicating about something. The referential function relates the speech acts specifically to the context (Jakobson) or the

non-linguistic world (Robinson). Wilkins includes this speech function partly **Argument** (information) and partly under **Rational Enquiry** and **Exposition**.

The use of language for its own sake, or for giving aesthetic pleasure is described as **imaginative** (Halliday, 1973) or **poetic** (Jakobson, 1960) or **aesthetic** (Robinson, 1972). In Buhler's model this function is subsumed under the **expressive** category.

Another function of speech act has been termed as **instrumental** which Halliday terms as **I want** function. The language is used to advise, warn, congratulate, curse, or promise Robinson has identified these speech functions as **performatives**, whereas Searle termed as **Commissives**.

The speech function which helps the language user to adopt himself to the society by regulating of his behaviour is termed as **regulatory**. This is according to Halliday **Do as I tell you** function. Robinson's **instructing** and **regulation of self and others**, and Searle's **declarations** come under this category. The speech functions of Robinson's **performatives** and Halliday's **regulatory** come under Buhler's and Jakobson's common term **conative**.

The use of language for **enquiry** or **questioning** is identified as a separate category. Halliday uses the term **heuristic** whereas Robinson as **enquiry**. Wilkin's category **Rational, Enquiry** and **Exposition** partly covers the same ground. Halliday calls this function as **tell me why**.

The use of language to discuss language is termed as **metalingual**. It gives explanations and comments about speech acts. (For example I repeat, I must emphasize).

As the discussion reveals, this categorisation relates language functions to social situations and characterises the main uses of language. The different categories, we have outlined above attempt to create an idea that a native speaker's language proficiency implies the ability to act as a speaker and listener in diverse ways. According to Hymes (1972) and others the competence that the native speaker possesses to use and interpret language appropriately in the process of interaction and in relation to social context has been interpreted as communicative competence. This concept has in recent years been widely accepted in language pedagogy which we have discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Let us now turn our attention to the discussion of variety and diversity of language related to the social framework of its speakers. There are many linguistic markers providing social information ranging from an accent to choice of vocabulary as well as grammatical system. Broadly speaking, sociolinguistics may be characterised as a field of study which deals with language as a means of human communication in certain socio-cultural settings. Bright's (1966) claim that **linguistic diversity** is precisely the subject matter of sociolinguistics. Hence it is argued that no community is linguistically homogeneous. Many people belong to two or more than two language communities and many people use concurrently different styles of

the same language. Martinet (1962: 23) rightly says: *"Language varies because it suits the varying needs of many"*. In other words, diversity is in the very nature of language. Therefore, as Weinreich et al. (1968: 100) maintain, *"the generative model for the description of language as a homogeneous object is itself needlessly unrealistic and represents a backward step from structural theories..."*. Labov (1970) pleads for studying language in its social context. His studies like the relationship between language and social class (Labov 1966), mechanism of linguistic change (Labov 1965) justify the same aspect of sociolinguistics. Bernstein's study (1971) also looks at the problem of communication in a social matrix.

The intricate patterns of language use in multilingual speech communities and the relationship of bilingualism to special factors have been the focus of attention in sociolinguistic studies. The social problems of being multilingual are, without doubt, very important for learners of non-native languages. Many insights into the social meaning of language have been the result of sociolinguistic research into bilingualism and multilingualism. This sort of work has revealed clearly some of the ways in which linguistic variation serves to reflect and clarify sociocultural values. Dialectical and stylistic variation will always tend to convey different social meanings. It may on the whole be easier to identify the object of study in the case of languages as such within bilingual or multilingual speech communities. Moreover bilingualism and multilingualism are characteristic features of present-day societies. Sociolinguists have been interested in the

way non- native speakers switch around their languages using one only for a particular activity. Sociolinguists are also interested in studying how the non-native speakers mix the different codes which we have discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

The study of the problems of the use of English as a non-native and L2 variety in multilingual and pluricultural society such as ours is one of the aspects of sociolinguistics. Sociocultural and regional language linguistic problems and intralanguage analogical processes characterise English by a particular verbal repertoire which is specific in Indian context. This complexity can be interpreted by observing the specific use of language in various social settings. The use of English in a bilingual context is conditioned by multiplicity of complex factors. English in India, therefore, represents a network of relationships arising out of the function of English in the settings of Indian languages and Indian sociocultural relations. Thus Indian English is a product of linguistic convergence between English and mother tongue of a bilingual society. This process of Indianisation of English has been discussed in Chapter 5.

What we have done in this Chapter is to provide glimpses of different aspects of sociolinguistics relevant to this study. As we have stated the field of sociolinguistics is vast and its various aspects have not yet been fully and firmly laid. From the discussion, it is evident that the role of language in society and the relationship between language and society have become the central subjects of study. There is a trend towards

the integration of different views resulting from the accumulation of knowledge on the inseparable interdependence of language and society. And this has exercised an impact, sometimes imperceptible, on English language teaching certainly more than meets the eye on the surface. In the next two chapters we have picked up for detailed examination two developments directly resulting from sociolinguistic investigation.

Chapter 4

PHENOMENON OF BILINGUALISM

The use of English as a second language in several countries has resulted in the rise of bilingual societies, in which the indigenous languages and English have assumed different and sometimes overlapping societal functions. In such countries (India is one such instance) the issue of teaching English is closely interlinked with the various aspects of bilingualism. We, therefore, propose to look at the concept of bilingualism; types of bilingualism and the impact of bilingualism on language use in India.

4.1 CONCEPT OF BILINGUALISM

Bilingualism has come to be regarded as a central topic in sociolinguistics. It is extremely difficult to give a precise definition of bilingualism. First of all, we have to decide what the term bilingual means. The layman's understanding of the term is that the bilingual is a member of two speech communities by virtue of his dual competence. There is no generally accepted linguistic definition of the term but it does seem to refer to anyone with more than the beginner's knowledge of a non-native language. There are some languages for which no written forms have been developed. By learning L2 one cannot practically achieve or maintain an absolutely equal level of competence in two systems simultaneously. Hence, it would be

quite idealistic to restrict the term to those who can speak, read and write two languages equally well.

When people of widely different cultural and linguistic background live together in a geographical region over a considerable period of time, sharing common socio-cultural and political activities of the community, stable bilingual or multilingual societies are created. In bilingual communities, a significant number of people can communicate effectively in more than one language. Bilingualism is thus a standard term for *"the practice of alternately using two languages" (Weinreich 1953: 1)*. More strictly defined *"it is native - like control of two languages". (Bloomfield 1933: 56)*. Fishman (1966: 122) defined bilingualism as a *"demonstrated ability to engage in one communication via more than one language"*. Generally, however, the term bilingualism is used in a broader sense to refer to a person who speaks two languages, irrespective of the level of competence in them. Haugen (1970.b) has suggested that one can adopt either a wide or a narrow definition of bilingualism:

> *"A wide definition would include virtually every one who has learned a smattering of a second language and is therefore of less interest, but a narrow definition as native competence in more than one language limits to a very small number of persons"*
> *(Haugen. 1972: 127).*

The term bilingualism is often applied to whole societies. Here there is a clearly metaphorical transfer of meaning. It makes sense to say that an individual has dual language competence, but a society as such cannot have any competence whatever. Calling a society a bilingual means that it is composed of more than one speech community, but the lingua-franca must be one common language in that society. Switzerland, Canada, Belgium and Finland are well known examples of bilingual nations but India does not fall under this category, as it is a multilingual society. According to Fishman (1967) any society that tolerates and even encourages the use of two languages in complementary use is diglossic. He adopted 'diglossia' as a sociolinguistic term for a societally determined bilingual-ism, where a marked difference between formal and informal style in a language that produces a kind of bidialectism and where each of the two varieties are assigned a definite social function. Thus we can interpret 'diglossia' as a particular kind of language standardisation where two distinct varieties of a language exist side by side throughout each commu-nity.

Since the publication of Weinreich's 'Languages in Contact' in 1953, there have been several attempts to study the phenomenon of bilin-gualism. As Dittmar (1976) outlines, the inquiry into bilingualism has concentrated on the following four aspects:

i)   the bilingual individual's proficiency in each of the languages he uses;

ii) the bilingual individual's switching from one language to the other;

iii) the influence of one language on the other; and

iv) the functions of languages in use.

In the past, scholars belonging to the disciplines of psychology, linguistics and sociology were concerned with the study of bilingualism. Studies in psychology treated it as a test of intelligence and a problem in educational achievement. Linguists look upon the phenomenon as languages in contact and study the interference (phonological, lexical, syntactical and semantic) between the two languages without considering the context-specific reality of language use. Hence the focus of attention is centered more and more on its social aspects. Purely sociological inquiries into the phenomenon of bilingualism yield enormous data. As a result, such studies tend to become purely statistical. Fishman (1968) proposes that the codes in use in a community be studied in relation to the identification of its members with the speech community and with its language-related community values. He suggests a form of microanalysis of social relationship which distinguishes various domains in which certain behaviour is appropriate (e.g. family, church, work place). Social relationships are to be seen in terms of networks of communications in which individuals play various roles in various situations.

Thus, an isolated disciplinary approach to bilingualism -- psychological, linguistic or sociological -- is subject to the limitations of the discipline concerned. That is why several sociolinguistic studies (Fishman, 1968; Gumperz, 1970; Kachru, 1978; Kumar, 1986; and Sridhar, 1989) have provided an interdisciplinary perspective on the study of complex phenomenon.

4.2 TYPES OF BILINGUALISM

The situation is more complex in multilingual societies such as in India, which has perforce to use more than one language for academic, social and professional purposes. An attempt has been made by sociolinguists to identify different types of bilinguals. Let's briefly look at this effort a little more closely. The most common distinction is the separation between coordinate and compound bilingualism. The coordinate bilingual, contrary to what the term might suggest, is not supposed to have the ability to coordinate between his languages. He possesses two completely independent and mutually exclusive language systems which do not allow for cross referencing. The compound bilingual, in contrast, fuses his two language systems, resulting in his constant recourse to the classification of experience in one of the languages, which is usually his first acquired one. However, it is possible to imagine the case of someone who is so immersed in an L2 environment that he comes to use his L2 as his principal system of reference, even when speaking his L1. The compound bilingual has a single semantic base connected to two input and two output mechanisms, while

the coordinate has two semantic bases, each connected to language specific input-output systems. The figure 1 gives an outline of these two types of bilinguals.

Compound Bilingual   **Coordinate Bilingual**

Compound Bilingual	Coordinate Bilingual
Semantic Base	Semantic Base-1 Semantic Base-2
Transformational Rules	Transform Rules-1 Transform Rules-2
Switching mechanism	Readjustment Rules-1 Readjustment Rules-2
Code-1 Code-2	Phonological Rules-1 Phonological Rules-2
Readjustment Rules-1 Readjustment Rules-2	Sentences Sentences
Phonological Rules-1 Phonological Rules-2	
Sentences Sentences	

Figure 1

A LINGUISTIC MODEL FOR BILINGUALISM

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Exactly how valid the psychological aspects of these terms are, has been the subject of extensive research. Many studies have in fact, demonstrated that the best way to consider these two states of bilingualism as extreme points on a continuum if they are relevant at all.

There are a few other terms which are sometimes used to discuss the types of bilingualism. The most widely used terms are briefly explained below. It would be noted that these terms are based on some of the thoughts ingrained in the various definitions of bilingualism given earlier.

BALANCED BILINGUALISM: Balanced bilingualism describes speakers who are fully competent in both languages. This is more of an ideal than a fact since most bilinguals are more fluent and at ease in one of the two.

SUBTRACTIVE BILINGUALISM: Subtractive bilingualism refers to the situation of a bilingual minority (frequently immigrants) who are dominated by a society speaking a different language which can lead to the deterioration and eventual loss of their L1. This is what the original American concept of the **melting pot** hoped to achieve in its a priori postulate of the minority's adoption of the majority's language and life style. This phenomenon can be observed also in India. There are numerous families of one linguistic region which have settled in another linguistic region. If conscious effort is not made to retain L1 as a vehicle of communication, after one or two generations, the competence of L1 may be completely lost.

ADDITIVE BILINGUALISM: Additive bilingualism is a recent term used to describe speakers of two socially useful and prestigious languages, both of which are viable and are considered complementary and enriching. Hindi speakers in Lucknow often switch over to Urdu which is equally prestigious.

REGISTEREL BILINGUALISM: In a bilingual society, the speakers use their mother-tongue in various situations but when they have to use a technical register, they usually switch to English. This kind of register-oriented bilingualism may be labelled registerel bilingualism (Verma, 1969). It is quite common for the speakers of Indian languages to switch to English when discussing scientific principles or describing the working of some complex machinery.

4.3 IMPACT OF BILINGUALISM ON SOCIETY

The linguist always considers bilingualism as a form of **language contact** (Weinreich, 1953). The interference occurs in the speaker's performance in either or both languages. From the point of view of sociolinguistics, the bilingual is of interest since some of his roles are identified with a specific language. Moreover, nearly every bilingual feels that he can express himself in certain situations and at certain periods better in one particular language than the other. Bilinguals who employ their languages in daily life have been found to use them to express particular feelings such as solidarity or social distance. In performing his social roles the bilingual

is more successful if he strictly separates his languages by role or domain, e.g., using one only at home, one only at the market place. As we are aware, Indians have a definite preference for reading their newspapers and magazines in English. Generally at the market place and among friends, they prefer local dialect, at home the mother tongue and in the formal context, English.

In principle the problems of bilingualism are the same as those of multilingualism. Since language is like any other form of social activity, it has to be compatible to the speakers using it. Many features of the social situation are involved in determining which language is to be used. Language, in other words, varies not only according to the social characteristics of the speaker (such as his social class, ethnic group, age and sex) but also according to the social context in which he finds himself. The same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations and for different purposes. The totality of linguistic varieties used in this way by a particular community of speakers can be called the verbal repertoire of that speech community. Many social factors come into play in controlling the choice of verbal repertoire to be used in a particular situation.

A situation may be defined by the co-occurrence of two (or more) interlocutors related to each other in a particular way, communicating about a particular topic, in a particular setting. Members of social networks sharing a common linguistic repertoire must (and do) know when to shift

from one variety to another keeping in view the requirements of a given situation.

CODE-SWITCHING: Let us now look at the way in which social factors influence and are influenced by bilingual verbal behaviour. One of the basic effects of bilingualism is code- switching. It takes place like style-switching, dialect-switching and register-switching in consonance with the social situation and communicative intentions. Sociolinguistic studies on code-switching (Gumperz, 1970; Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Verma 1972a; Scotton 1979; and Kumar 1986) claim that this bilingual phenomenon takes place according to the topic of discourse, setting (local/All India), ad-dresser-addressee relationships. Thus, the notion of code-switching is directly connected with language choice. Language choice refers to the selection of a particular language as against another by an individual for inter-personal and inter-group communication. In the words of Gumperz (1968: 220).

"... the choice of one language over another has the same significance as the selection among lexical alternates in linguistically homogeneous societies".

The speaker's choice is also conditioned by his concept of appropriateness that finally determines the effectiveness of his verbal interaction. The choice of one language in place of another is an indicator of the social meaning since *"speakers in any community share rules regarding usage of*

language which allows them to interpret the social meaning of alternate linguistic choices" (Sankoff 1979: 34). This implies that *"... no normal person, and normal community, is limited in repertoire to a single style of speech" (Hymes 1974: 30)* and it is for the speaker to make the right selection for the right function.

A shift from one language to another is determined by the domains of verbal interaction and the specific functions that a particular language is required to perform. The assessment of the sociocultural setting, prompts the shift from one to another linguistic variety. We must, however, recognise a very important contemporary sociolinguistic movement in India. The various regional languages of India are being consciously expanded in vocabulary, standardized in terms of their spelling and grammar, so that they can increasingly function as the inclusive languages of government and of higher culture and technology (Fishman, 1972).

In India there are two types of situations from the point of view of code-switching. One, in which the speakers can communicate through the medium of English. In such a situation there is no question of code-switching. Two, the situation in which the speakers can use both English and Hindi although neither is their mother tongue. In such a situation we can discover instances of code-switching. In Delhi, there exists a very interesting sociolinguistic situation. There are many linguistic groups living in the city, most of them speak different languages. This means that many people in Delhi are often confronted with the problems of language choice. The situation is

complex since many people can speak English and Hindi as well as their mother tongue, but the social situation is naturally, once again a determining factor. Tenants association meetings, for example, are conducted in Hindi and the language choice for an official meeting is English and the preference of language at home is the mother tongue.

According to Pandit, (1975) no society is perfectly bilingual. Languages are not used with the same flair in all spheres of activity. The use of different languages is not congruent. On the contrary, the patterns of use of language in a multilingual community are largely complementary. Pandit, (1975) also discovered that the bilingual situation in India is stable. A second or even a third generation Telugu speaker in Rajasthan speaks Telugu at home, Hindi with the neighbours, Marwadi at the shopping place or with servants and English at the working place. This stable bilingualism is a very important feature of the grassroot multilingualism in India. An interesting feature of sociolinguistic situation is that the same person switches automatically from one code to another in the same discourse or even within the same utterance or uses a mixture of two or more codes. In each instance he wants to identify himself with a speech network different from that to which he belongs. In a bid to do so he uses lexical items, phrases, clauses and sentences of one language in another.

This bilingual phenomenon of regularly alternating between two linguistic systems in the same speech event sometimes creates confusion. **Borrowing, Code-mixing** and **Code-switching** are some of the labels used

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in linguistic literature (Bloomfield, 1933; Haugen, 1950; Kachru, 1978; Sridhar, 1978; and Gumperz, 1982) to describe various kinds of mixtures of languages resulting from language contact. These linguistic processes are so confused and intermingled and the differences so subtle that it becomes problematic for the linguist to provide explicit definitions for them. It is, therefore, more useful to consider these linguistic processes as constituting a continuum and denoting varying degrees of mixtures in bilingual communication rather than classifying them into categories. However, for a better understanding of code-switching, it is appropriate to discuss how this bilingual phenomenon is distinguished from borrowing and code-mixing in the existing literature on bilingualism. Both borrowing and code-switching are products of linguistic and cultural contact between two speech communities. The difference of the two phenomena relates to the speaker's competence in the two languages. If the speaker has competence in one language, he resorts to borrowing, but code-switching obligatorily requires competence in both languages. Borrowing, the attempted reproduction in one language the patterns previously found in another, (Haugen 1950: 212) occurs due to a number of factors which lie outside the linguistic domain (e.g. need-filling, prestige of the foreign language). Sometimes the structural system of the borrowing language is bound to be affected by the linguistic and socio-cultural norms of the borrowed language. Borrowed items are often solitary, established loan words (e.g. loot, bangle, Aryan, Sutras, Vedas) which get firmly rooted in the system of the borrowing language. Borrowing generally takes place at the lexical level

only. The non-native structure of the borrowed words is altered to suit the phonological, syntactic and semantic matrix of the borrowing language. English language has shown a marked tendency to go outside her own linguistic resources and borrow from other languages. In the course of time, it assimilates these words linguistically. As a result it contains borrowed words from many other languages (Wrenn, 1964; Baugh, 1968; Wood, 1969). To give a few examples, English has borrowed words: from Italy: balcony, piano, umbrella; from Greek: anthology, elastic, magic; from Persia: Khaki, shawl, sherbet; and from India: nirwana, swastika, yoga, karma, bangle. We have discussed in detail the borrowed Indian words in English language in Chapter 5.

Code-switching, on the other hand, takes place at lexical and syntactic level. It is a process of code-preservation, wherein the distinctive feature of the non-native elements is retained. The items switched are not assimilated into the borrowing language and hence maintain their non-native identity. As already pointed out, it depends on factors such as the topic, participant-relationship and sociocultural setting. At the lexical level it is difficult to draw a line between borrowing and code-switching.

CODE-MIXING: Code-mixing is another feature of bilingualism in India. According to Kachru (1978), code-switching and code-mixing are linguistic consequences of the process of language dependency. Kachru (1978), Sridhar (1978), and Sridhar (1989) have tried to distinguish between code-switching and code-mixing. Kachru (1978) considers code-switching as the

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use of one or more than one language system in different functional contexts. Code- mixing, on the other hand, refers to the *"use of two or more languages for consistent transfer of linguistic units from one language to another, and by such a language mixture, developing a new code of verbal interaction" (Kachru 1978: 28)*. Sridhar (1978) and Sridhar (1989) are more categorical in that they consider language alternation in code-mixing to occur intra-sententially without a shift in the speech situation, whereas code-switching occurs inter-sententially and brings about a situational change. According to them the distinction relates primarily to the influence of situation on linguistic alternation. It does not take into account other factors such as topic, relationship between interlocutors[*], sociocultural settings that determine the linguistic behaviour of a bilingual. The confusion between these two concepts can be removed by interpreting the two terms in their literal connotation. Code-mixing refers to use of lexical items or phrases from one code, in the stream of discourse of another, whereas a switch from one language system to another in a unit of discourse is code-switching.

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[*] *The degree of formality between the interlocutors decides the linguistic level of the mixture. In informal situations lexical and phrasal mixtures are more common than they are in the formal ones.*

Let us now look more closely at the reasons for code-mixing in Indian context:

i)   Generally a bilingual uses native words or phrases in English discourse because of lack of equivalent English words or phrases for expressing ideas, notions, objects which have got a typically Indian socio-cultural flavour. For example:

Come on **yaar**; let us complete the task.

Give me a glass of **lassi**; it is so hot.

ii)   Though certain words or phrases do exist in English to express similar meaning, yet their use would not convey the emotive and connotative overtones that Indian words have. Here are some examples:

Puja, Devasthanam, Darshan, Kirtan, Haldi-kumkum, Munden, Lagna, Muhurt, Asan, Mantras, Mahassaya, Sadhu, etc.

iii) A bilingual in certain specific contexts prefers to use English words or phrases to neutralize the identities. The linguistic strategy used to unload a linguistic item from its traditional, cultural and emotional connotations by avoiding its use. Choosing a word or phrase from another code is termed as

neutralisation. In Kashmiri the native word **minda** (widow) and in Telugu the native word **munda** and in Hindi, **vidhava** invoke the traditional connotations unlike the neutral English word **widow**. Their use is restricted to abuses and curses, not occuring in polished conversation in all the three languages. Interestingly enough, in Hindi, the English word **brother-in-law** may be used to hide, intentionally or unintentionally the true relationship of a speaker with the person being referred to as brother-in-law.

iv) A bilingual sometimes uses English words or phrases to hide the caste identity. As shown by Annamalai (1978) **maccaan** and **attimbeer** reveal the caste identity of the speaker. Therefore, a Tamilian may use the English word brother-in-law instead of these words.

v) English words are also used in place of native words in order to avoid stylistic restrictions. A lexical item may be associated with a specific style in the native languages. For example, **manaivi** (formal) and **pendathi** (colloquial) in Tamil; **bharya** (formal) and **pellamu** (colloquial) in Telugu, but the English equivalent **wife** has no style restrictions. The English word has only referential meaning. Hence in using it the speaker avoids cultural overtones and connotations.

We find numerous examples of code-mixing in Indo-Anglian litera-
ture. The authors in order to give a local colour or to suit the situation often
use Indian words in their writings. Here are a few examples culled from
fiction and poetry written by Indians.

From fiction:

i) Mulk Raj Anand's *Two Leaves and A Bud* :

    a) **Jungli** folk

    b) **Salaam Huzoor**, no **huzoor.**

    c) It was in our **kismat.**

ii) Mulk Raj Anand's *The Big Heart*:

    a) By **parmeswar**, those boys will be crushed and broken.

    b) **Aoji, Sadanandji**, sit down.

    c) that will create some **raunak** and bring the guests from
    bazaar and other ones'.

iii) Kushwant Singh's *Delhi*:

    a) **Goondas**, miscreants and antisocial elements have been
    rounded up.

    b) You are doing all the **bakwas** not I .

    c) **Sahib**, I owe to pay my respects and congratulations to you
    for your great **bahaduri** .

From Poetry:

i) Henry L. Devozio:

   a) *Chorus of Brahmins* , p.2

   "Shall, ere **surya** sets, expire".

   b) *Song of the Hindustani Minstrel*, pp. 3-5

   "With **Surma** *tinge thy*

   black eye's fringe...

   .

   .

   .

   And with our sweet **sitar:"**

ii) Kashiprasad Ghosh:

   The Shair's Farewell Song, p.7

   "Where **surya** *from his throne above"*

iii) Gooroochurn Dutt:

   Introductory Lines, p.9

   "Unlearned in thy mysterious **shastras** *lore,..."*

iv) Joseph Furtado:

   The Old Irani, pp. 124-125.

   "By mixing milk with **pani** .

   .

   .

   .

   Beware of **kala pani**

   .

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She thinks I be some **rajah-**

Wouldn't mind a little **majah**;

But wait a bit, my **rani,"**

v) Manjeri S. Isvaran:

  (a) *Again*, p. 217

    "Asato ma sad gamaya

    Tamaso ma jyotir gamaya,

    Mrityor ma amritam gamaya"

  (b) *Practical*, p. 218

    "Rice and **dhal** *for me*

      And **cuticura** *for my face".*

vi) Annaji:

What Care I for Lajpat Rai?, p. 131

"If the **Bengalee** *is closed today*

  And **'Bande Mataram'** *tomorrow-*

If the **Hindu** *is brought to pay*

  And **'swadeshimitram'** *to dire sorrow,*

What care I?"

vii) Sarojini Naidu:

Village Song, p. 108

"Ram Re Ram! *I shall die .*

  . **The Jamuna's** *water are deep..."*

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viii) Kamala Das:

In Love, p. 239

"Road, the corpse-bearers cry 'Bol

Hari Bol', **a strange lacing** .

.

.

The **Verandah** *sleepless, a..."*

ix) Nissim Ezikiel,

Very Indian Poem in Indian English.

"Are not following **Mahatma** *Gandhi*

.

.

.

How one **goonda** *fellow*

Throw stones at Indira **behn** .

.

.

You want one glass **lassi?** .

.

.

In India also

Gujaraties, Maharashtrians, **Hindu wallahs**

.

.

One day. **Ram Rajya** *is surely coming."*

Now we give two tables (Table 4.2 and 4.3) containing samples of code-mixing.

Table III

Indian Words used in English : A Sample

Words used in political field	Words used in socio-cultural context of Indian life	Words used in religion	Use of registere based words	Words used for articles of food & clothing	Words used in Trade & commerce	Words used in Indian flora and fauna	Miscellaneous
Ahimsa	Jai Hind	pooja	raga	methi	vepari	pipal	banya
Satyagraha	gharana	darshan	swara	roti	vyaj	tulsi	bandobast
Swarajya	mohalla	rishi	thumri	chapati	badla	teak	bungalow
Swadeshi	jatra	pandits	krithi	vada	seeda-	bulbul	kothi
bandh	shamiana	dharma	tarangam	chutney	badla	cheeta	cashmere
dharna	mela	karma	pallavi	idli sambar	unda-badla	sambhar	cheroot
gherao	lepan	moksha	talam	masala	band ke bhao	chital	dingy
dadagiri	gharry	slokas	veena	paan	khangibhao	gour	dhow
rajah	guant	kirthan	urad	pakodi	khel	krait	pariah
sepoy	palanguin	stupa	moong	ghee	khela	jute	polo
sabha	punkah	ashram	krishi	curry	khoka	sandal wood	punch
panchayat	namaste	guru	kisan	kabab	mandi	bandicoot	(drink)
darbar	jatakam	nirvana	jawan	zinger	(bearish)	mangoose	maidan
hartal	dosham	juggernaut		pulau	uplachali		indigo
rally	kundali	bhakti		dhoti	teju		lac
raj	gotra	veda		sari	(bullish		asthma
dakoos	srimathi	yoga		lungi	vyaj badla		dhum- dhum
	kumari	swastika		kurta	teji badla		mali
	nautch	avatar		calico	rupee		shampoo
	bandana	gopuram		fullvoil	chowkidar		coolie
	karishma	sutras		khadi			cartoon
	vihara	aryan					
	cushy	amrit					
	bangle	granth					

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Table IV

Mixed Morphemes and Indian English Collocations : A Sample

Indian words with English suffixes	English words with Indian languages suffixes	Indian Words with English prefixes	Indian collocations of English words	Hybrid collocations
goondaism	policewala	non-brahmin	Military hotel	Janta meal
brahminhood	thank youji	anti-jat	tiffin carrier	masala tea
gheraoved	Helloji	pro-Hindu	mid-day meal	jibba pocket
brahminish	Mandiwala		non-vegetarian	British sarkar
colliedoom	Superstarni		restaurent	Tanga driver
Delhite			wedding season	Ladies sangeet
Hinduvising			creamation	religious diwan
Ayurvedic			ground	palm pandits
Babus			nose-ring	Ganapathi-
Vedic			goodday	festival
			bedding-roll	badla system
			sacred-thread	havala sheet
			salt-march	sauda book
			intercaste	holy mantras
			marriage	partial bandh
			dining-leaf	riskshaw-fellow
			caste-mark	paan shop
			cow-worship	lathi charge
			England-	burning ghat
			returned	vishwa cup
			English-	vishwa bank
			educated	choli-piece
			foreign-	durri wearing
			travelled	beedi smoking
			non-violence	marriage-
			untouchables	pendal
			teacheress	jutka driver
			co-brother	company sahib
			kerb-trading	doctor sahib
			broker-clients	purdha system
			annualised-rates	aadarsh deposit
				pragati cash
				certificate
				savings bank
				khaata
				dhrid-market
				thofa-shares
				udarat-shares
				muhurat-
				transaction
				majboor-selling

A lot of systematic and comprehensive work needs to be done to explore the variety and complexity in code-mixing in India. It would be interesting to find out the pattern of code-mixing by different linguistic groups in India and to arrive at common features that exists across the country.

To sum up, bilingualism is not native like control of two languages nor is it a minimum proficiency in the second language. It is a continuum between these two extremes and one can properly speak about degrees of bilingual usage within a community corresponding to the speaker's differing linguistic proficiency and social usage of the two languages. Thus, a multiplicity of social and linguistic factors must be considered before arriving at a total picture of language usage and language choice. Only from this total configuration the degree of bilingual usage can be measured and described.

Chapter 5

INDIANISATION OF ENGLISH

An outflow of bilingualism in India is the emergence of what several scholars (Kachru 1986, Verma 1993), have termed as **Indian English** (IE). In a situation like India the emergence of this variety is inevitable. It is the result of a long term process which we may call as **Indianisation of English**. In this Chapter we propose to look briefly at this process and discuss the domains/areas of activity in which its impact can be clearly observed.

It is a universal phenomenon that language grows out of the socio-cultural environment in which its users live. This is precisely what has happened in the case of English. As we know, English is used as a mother tongue in several countries such as Australia, New Zealand and U.S.A. In each of these countries a standard form of English peculiar to that country has emerged. Thus, a reference to English does not necessarily mean a reference to British English. It could be to Australian English, New Zealand English, American English, etc. These Englishes are well established and universally accepted in the English-speaking world. The situation in countries like India where English is used as a second language, is different. Since in such countries English performs a variety of important functions and also serves as a means of interpersonal, inter-institutional and interna-

tional communication, it is but natural that there should emerge a fresh dialect, imbibing the native flavour and the local idiom. The development of such a dialect does not find ready support from the English speaking community as it does not happen to be the native language. The process, therefore, is prolonged and the claim of such a dialect to be recognised as a standard variety is not easily accepted. However, that such a process exists is recognised by scholars. According to Halliday et al.

"...The most important development of all is seen in the emergence of varieties of English that are identified with and specific to particular countries from among the former British colonies. In West Africa, in the West Indies, and Pakistan and India... it is no longer accepted by the majority that the English of England, with R.P. (Received Pronounciation) as its accent is the only possible model of English to be set before the young" (Halliday et al 1964: 294).

This is true of India also. The English language being taught in Indian schools and colleges is not wholly the native British English. It is largely the Indian variety of English which is distinctly a product of the influence and interaction of several languages of India. This variety of English is full of Indianisms in the same way in which American English is full of Americanisms, Australian English is full of Australianisms, African English is full of Africanisms and so on. Kachru (1989) expresses a similar view and asserts that IE is one of the non- native varieties of English. It is

indeed true that a large number of phrases and expressions used by world famous Indian writers of English are unintelligle even to those who are well versed in British English or for whom the non-Indian English is L1. It is not that only a few expressions or phrases of English are Indianised, but also the syntax and structure of Indian English are highly influenced by the Indian way of thinking. Indian culture, Indian sense of values, Indian conduct and Indian psyche together have contributed to give to the English used in this country a local colour, character and flavour.

In the beginning this variety was viewed with sneer or cynicism. It was disparagingly called **Babu English, Kitchen English** and by a host of other names - all to underscore its non-nativeness and hence by implication its inferior status. But of late it has come to be claimed as one of the major non-native varieties of English. Idioms, phrases, clauses, expressions, structures, syntax, pronunciation, lexical and semantic items being used in Indian English are steadily acquiring international acceptability. They are no longer being labelled as deviant expressions, much less faulty ones. In the words of Narayan (1974) English must *"adopt the complexion of our life and assimilate its idiom"*.

Indian scholars have made a strong plea in favour of IE as a standard language for India and they do not consider Indianisms in any way deviant. In this connection, it is noteworthy to the view of Jha (1940 : quoted in The Times of India, 1980) expressed while addressing a conference of English professors, playwrights and critics in Lucknow, he said:

*"May I in this context venture to plead for the use, retention and encouragement of Indian English? Is there any reason why we need to be ashamed of Indian English? Who is there in United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) who will not understand a young man who had enjoyed a freeship at college and who says, he is going to join the teachery profession and who after a few years says he engages in **headmastery**? Similarly why should we accept the English phrase **mare's nest** and object to **horse's egg** so familiar in the columns of **Amrit Bazar Patrika** ? Why should we adhere to **all this** and **this all** in the natural order suggested by the usage of own language? Why insist on yet following **though** when in Hindustani we use the equivalent of **but** ? Must we condemn the following sentence because it does not conform to English idiom, even though it is a literal translation of our own idioms? **I shall not pay a paise what to say of a rupee.** Is there any rational ground for objection to **family members** and adhering to **members of the family** ? ... A little courage, some determination, a wholesome respect for our own idioms and we shall before long we will have a virile, vigorous Indian English."*

Jha's assertion was almost prophetic. Verma (1969) expressed similar sentiments 29 years later when he said that English in India has to meet the demands that the local users make on it and serve functions which are specific in Indian culture. Narayan put the same idea more vividly:

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"Bharat English will respect the rule of English and maintain the dignity of grammar, but still have a swadeshi stamp about it unmistakably, like the Madras handloom checkshirt or the Thirupathi doll." (Narayan 1974: 57)

Every dialect is a socio-culturally determined variety of a language. It is marked by socio-regional features. Language change is a continuous process of adjustment between us who use language and the situations in which we use it. What makes a variety a non-native, second language variety is not individual linguistic variations or idiosynchrasies of the writer but mother tongue variations reflected in the use of that dialect.

Following the natural process of change, IE has imbibed a marked socio-cultural local colour. As we are aware it has for long interacted with a variety of Indian languages and has been in co-existence with them. It has thus developed and absorbed a complex network of socio-cultural features of the speakers of different Indian languages. It has become (some may say it is the point of becoming) a set of coherent homogeneous linguistic systems and can be described as the speech of identifiable social group. At this stage it may not be wrong to say that IE has become a viable and legitimate variety of English. Quirk rightly considers, IE expressions to be *"the distinctive parts of a worthy and serious whole, a self respecting established variety of English."*

Raja Rao's view (1978) that *"we shall have the English language with us, one of our own, of our caste, our creed, our sect and of our tradition" (Raja Rao 1978: 420)* is probably the most realistic statement valid for India today. English in multilingual India is a product of complex communicative acts cutting across linguistic boundaries (Bayer 1991).

Indian languages have influenced this non-native and Indian variety of English at phonological, lexical, syntactic and semantic levels. In fact, similar changes have taken place in all non-native varieties mainly due to the influence of the native languages of the countries in which these varieties of English have developed. This process yields new expressions which do not emerge in societies where English is used as L1. In India, one can observe this process in action in almost all fields of activity; political, legal, religious, social or cultural. The English literature written by Indians has not remained uneffected. One can discern these new expressions with typically Indian flavour in their writings. Even the authorities using English as L1 and residing in countries where English is used as L2 cannot help but to use such expressions for describing faithfully the local situation in their works. One need not be apologetic about it. The colonial tradition has now grown into a mutual cooperative culture of common wealth. In both, in British and American fiction and drama the English of the native illiterates has been given a literary acceptability. Educated Indians thus have all the justification to use IE for their self- expression.

Gumperz (1964) highlighting the Indianness of IE says:

"An Indian may speak English with near-native control; he may read it, write it and lecture in it with great success. But when he uses English in India his speech will share many of the features of the other Indian codes with which English alternates in the daily round of activities. Indian English will thus deviate considerably from the norms current among native speakers of English in the American Mid-west. This kind of deviation represents not a failure to control English, but a natural consequence of the social conditions in the immediate environment in which Indian English is spoken" (Gumperz 1964: 1116-1117).

In this context, it would also be relevant to quote Gokak (1964) who observes that those:

"Who are true to Indian thought and vision cannot escape the Indian flavour even when they write in English. Their style is, in a great measure, conditioned by the learned vocabulary of the subject on which they write philosophy, sociology, literary criticism and the like. Even when they write fiction, they depend for their effect, on picturesque Indian phrases and their equivalents in English" (Gokak 1964: 162-163).

It would thus be fair to regard the emergence of IE as a natural consequence of the language evolution and development. It is because of

this reason that for making an analysis of IE and for teaching it in the classroom, the role of the Indian languages and of native Indian culture is of direct and indispensable relevance.

At this stage it would be appropriate to discuss the features of IE at different linguistic levels. We would like to refer to such features in creative writings. We have categorised the linguistic features of IE at the following four levels; phonological level; lexical level; syntactic level; and semantic level.

5.1 PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL

We may classify some noteworthy general characteristics of the sound system of IE on the basis of: series of substitution; distributional properties; and prosodic differences.

SUBSTITUTION: Some of the twenty-four English consonants sounds are often pronounced differently by Indian speakers. These are as follows:

The alveolar plosives / t / and / d / tend to be replaced by the retroflex plosives / ʈ / and / ɖ /.

Seven of the nine fricative sounds of English are modified by the Indian speakers. While / f / is often confused with the aspirated / pʰ /, its voiced counterpart / v / is substituted by the Indian sound /ʊ /, which is a labiodental frictionless continu-

ant. The Indians do not differentiate between / v / and / w / and they use labiodental frictionless continuant /ʊ̯/ for both. So, the initial sounds in the minimal pairs like: vest and west; vary and wary; and vine and wine sound similar in their pronunciation.

The dental fricative sounds / θ /, / ð / in words like **thin** and **then** are replaced by dental plosives /t̪ʰ/ and / d̪ / in Indian English. Some Indians cannot differentiate between **sip** and **ship** where the initial sounds are different. The pronunciation of palato-alveolar voiced fricative /ʒ/ in **pleasure** and **vision** is difficult for some Indian speakers of English. The initial sounds in **jam** and **zero** are confused by Indian speakers as there is no fricative / z / in some Indian languages. The / r / sound in the word **red** in many Indian languages does not correspond to the English / r /. Indian speakers have a tendency to use their variety in English words.

Let us now take the vowel sounds. In R.P., / ʌ /, / ə: / and / ə / are separate phonemes, but corresponding to these, Indian speakers use only one phoneme / ə / as in the words like **cup, bird,** etc. The Indian speakers use different vowels like / ɔ /, / o:/, / a:/ for the R.P. back vowel / ɔ: / as in the words like **all, court, quarter,** etc.

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The diphthong / eɪ / as in **gate** and / eə / as in **fair** are replaced by a single monothong /e:/. The diphthongs such as: / əu / as in **go**, and / uə / as in **poor** are replaced by long vowel / o: /.

DISTRIBUTIONAL PROPERTIES: Distributional differences entail a different type of change. The consonant clusters sk-, sl-, st-and sp-are present in Indian languages but do not generally occur in the word initial positions in most of the Indian languages (Hindi, Urdu). Therefore, IE speakers use i infront of these consonant clusters. A few examples are given below:

	R.P.	G.I.E.
School	/ sku:l /	/ ɪsku:l /
Slate	/ sleɪt /	/ ɪsleɪt /
Speech	/ spɪtʃ /	/ spɪtʃ /
Station	/ steɪʃn /	/ ɪsteʃn /

The vagaries of English spelling sometimes mislead the speakers in the pronunciation of words like: comb, peas, piece, benches, rendezvous, chagrin, palm, indict, close(adj), close(v), ritzy, douche, used(adj), used(v).

PROSODIC DIFFERENCES: This feature makes IE markedly distinctive. Indian languages have syllable timed rhythm, where as British English has the stress timed rhythm. IE speakers replace the British stress timed rhythm by syllable-timed rhythm. Moreover, Indian English speakers are not aware

of vowel reduction, distinction between strong and weak forms, long and short vowels, stressed and unstressed syllables, division of sentences into proper groups and correct location of the intonation and nucleus. In locating the accent in continuous speech, Indian speakers ignore the context. A large number of pronouns and a few structural words which are normally unaccented in R.P., are accented in I.E. (Prabhakar Babu, 1971).

In BE stress occurs at regular intervals, where as in IE, it is conditioned by the syllable timed rhythm of Indian languages. Most of the Indian speakers are not aware of the fact that in some of the disyllabic words, the grammatical distinctions are determined by changing the place of the stress. Here are a few examples:

Noun	Verb
'record	re 'cord
'digest	di 'gest
'subject	sub 'ject

Noun/adjective	Verb
'absent	ab 'sent
'abstract	ab 'stract

Sometimes the shifting of stress changes not only grammatical function but also the meaning of the word. Let us look at the following examples:

'compact : (n) agreement or contract between two parties.

com 'pact : (adj) closely packed together.

'digest : (n) short, condensed account, summary.

di 'gest : (v) change (food) in the stomach so that it can be
used by the body

'invalid : (n) person weakened through illness or injury.

in 'valid :(adj) not properly based or able to be upheld by reasoning.

'minute : (n) one sixtieth part of an hour.

mi 'nute : (adj) very small in size or amount.

5.2 LEXICAL LEVEL

At this level there has been a large number of variations and the lexical items have a distinct Indian flavour have contributed to the Indian-ness of IE. In fact, as Kachru observes (1965) a study of lexis can often be used as an instrument to identify this variety. Further, he distinguishes two characteristics of the vocabulary specific to IE. One is, the Indian English

vocabulary is used essentially in the Indian context and is restricted to use in IE. The second is generally assimilated in the lexicon of the English language. (Wilson 1855, Whitworth 1885, Baugh 1968, and Wood 1969). We now give a few examples of typically IE divided into three categories usage, collocations, and coinages.

USAGE: Some words are used in the Indian contexts in which the native speakers do not use them. Let us now look at some examples which are typically Indian in usage.

i) IE   : He saw the **drama.**

   BE : He saw the **play.**

ii) IE : He lives back **side** of my house.

   BE : He lives back of my house.

iii) IE : I **gave** a speech.

   BE : I **delivered** a speech.

iv) IE : I **gave** an examination.

   BE : I **sat** for an examination.

v) IE : The **flash point** of each approach is noted.

   BE : The **highlight** of each approach is noted.

vi) IE : The opposition brings to light the **loopholes** in the admini stration.

BE: The opposition brings to light the **drawbacks/ defects/shortcomings** in the administration.

vii) IE : She is **carrying**.

BE : She is **in the family way**. or

She is **expecting a baby**.

viii) IE: He went to **foreign country**.

BE: He went **abroad**.

ix) IE: Several rounds of talk failed to **bringforth** a solution.

BE: Several rounds of talk failed to **produce** a solution.

x) IE : My **wife/family** is at home.

BE : My **Mrs.** is at home.

xi) IE: I went to **medical shop/medical stores** to buy medicines.

BE: I went to **chemist's shop** to buy medicines.

xii) IE: Give me that **purse**.

BE: Give me that **handbag**.

Phrases

i) IE: boarding and lodging.
BE: board and lodging.

ii) IE: street dogs.
BE: stray dogs.

iii) IE: Members of the family.
BE: Family members.

iv) IE: bunch of keys.
BE: key bunch.

v) IE: standard of living.
BE: living standard.

vi) IE: My sir/madam said.
BE: My teacher said.

Sometimes English words are used to describe some typical socio-cultural features of India. For instance, the sentence **what is your good name?** is derived from Indian social or cultural life. There are numerous examples of the use of English in the matrimonial context, which are typically Indian. In the matrimonial advertisements we often find the phrase like **a long hair-beauty**. This is so because the possession of long hair is one of the requirements of beautiful woman in our society. In certain parts of the country marriages are performed in a temple. This has given rise to the phrase **temple marriage.** Usually the marriage of sons/daughters is fixed by parents. But sometimes if the boys and girls themselves settle their

marriage. To distinguish the former from the later the phrases like **arranged marriage** and **love marriage** are used. In BE, the phrase **love- match** is used in place of **love-marriage.**

In the Indian context of matrimony, the groom and the bride are always referred to as the boy and the girl irrespective of their age. Hence, we come across the phrases like: **a university professor boy** and **professionally qualified girl.**

The use of the word **gentleman** is another interesting example of Indian English. Instead of saying **a tall man,** we often say **a tall gentleman.** In native language **gentleman** is used for direct address in a formal speech or for referring to a person in his presence. It is not used for a third person who is not actually present. But servants and lower classes use this term for the higher class people. But Indians as a general rule do not follow this practice.

COLLOCATIONS: In the Indian matrimonial context a number of collocations have been coined. For illustration let us take a few examples and discuss the significance they have acquired in the Indian context.

The word **match**[1] is a very common constituent of the collocations

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[1] An interesting example of the formation of collocation with the word match is matching center which is typically Indian, means a shop which sells matching blouse pieces for sarees.

such as follows: **vegetarian match, clean shaven match, good looking match, brahmin match, medico match, professional match, lecturer match.** (Mehrotra 1975). These are totally unintelligible to a native speaker eventhough, they do not show any structural deviations.

We find numerous examples with the word **gentleman** as a constituent of collocations in the matrimonial advertisements. Here are some examples: **young sikh gentleman, suitably placed gentleman, clean shaven gentleman, professional gentleman.**

Similarly, the use of the word **lady** as a modifier is not normally found in native language. And in Indian usage the same kind of liberty is taken with regard to lady as is shown in the case of gentleman above and as illustrated in the examples: **lady teacher, lady professor, lady doctor.** In British English for the indication of sex they use **woman:** as **woman teacher, woman doctor,** but in Indian English **lady** takes the place of women.

Other commonly used collocations are **businessman bachelor** and **businessman boy.** It is not clear how a person could be both a boy and a man at the same time. Perhaps, here, the term **businessman** refers to the qualities one usually finds in a businessman.

The formations of collocations using the word **girl** is an interesting phenomenon. For instance, the following are such collocations: **ordinary girl, vegetarian girl, brahmin girl.** Further the following collocations with the word girl in them are deeply rooted in the Indian way of life: **family girl, serving girl, household girl, domestically acquainted girl,** etc..

Some other collocations worth mentioning are: **professional degree holder, fairly middle complexion, a fair handsome Dr. girl, foreign returned doctor, innocent divorcee, milk-white complexion, dim complexioned,** etc. which generally occur in matrimonial advertisements.

In other fields too there are collocations which are typically Indian. Some of these are: **communal riots, secular ideals, salt-march, indulge in arson,** etc.

COINAGES: The creation of new words is one of the features of the living language. The Indians who have been using English for a long time have not lagged behind in contributing to the English vocabulary. Some of these have been observed by the English speech community, whereas some others have yet to attain acceptability. Here, we are giving a few examples of the second category because they are found in IE.

The word **prepone** does not exist in the English; in IE it means decide to do something earlier than expected. Similarly, the expression **pin-drop-silence** does not exist in B; it is used in IE to mean absolute silence.

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A number of coinages have emerged to express the typically Indian concepts relevant for matrimonial purposes. A number of following examples culled from the matrimonial advertisements of the newspapers: **subsect, Delhite, teacheress, irwinite, pre-student, lecturer-ship, convented** etc. Before we close we would like to mention a few other coinages: **Co-brother-in-law, Co- sister-in-law, Freshner, expenseless, black money, bed-coffee,** etc.

5.3 SYNTACTIC LEVEL

IE is a self contained system (Verma, 1993) which is closely related to the core grammar of BE. Its Indianness lies in the fact that, within the overall general frame work of the systems of BE, it displays certain distinguishing syntactic deviations. In terms of linguistic efficiency these deviations are not corrupt, but different forms of the same language. Acceptability is a matter of social convention. Grammaticality, on the other hand is rule governed. When we say that a particular sentence is well-formed, we mean that it is well-formed in the particular dialect being described. It is generally considered that somebody speaking or writing in his mothertongue is allowed to take liberties with his language since after all it is his own language. But somebody who had acquired the same language as a second language would be felt by many to be wrong.

The characteristics presented here are only indicative of the tendency to take liberty with BE. They are not in any way codified. It will be

difficult, if one may say so, to distinguish a deviation from what may be considered to be a mistake. In fact, the characteristics of IE may not get the general approval of the prescriptive grammarians.

Several scholars (Verma, 1993, Kachru 1986, Dustoor 1968 and Nageswar Rao 1992) have dealt with the characteristics of IE at the syntactic level. Here, we classify and present them in the following categories:

USE OF PREPOSITIONS:

(a) Prepositions used where they are not necessary. Here, are some examples:

i) IE: We discussed about this question.
BE: We discussed this question.

ii) IE: He accompanied with his friends.
BE: He accompanied his friends.

b) Prepositions not used where they are necessary. Let us look at the following examples:

i) IE: He gave me a gun to shoot.
BE: He gave me a gun to shoot with.

ii) IE: When this was searched it was found.
BE: When this was searched for it was found.

Here are some examples from matrimonial advertisements in which the propositions are not used: belonging respectable family, working reputed institution, willing go abroad.

PROGRESSIVE FORM: The influence of the grammar of Indian languages seems to have exercised a great impact on the grammar of English being used in India.

a) Verbs of inert perception and cognition such as **see, hear, feel, understand, desire, taste,** etc. are seldom used in progressive tenses in BE. For example the constructions like: **I am seeing, I am understanding this problem,** and **I am listening** are literally transferred from the first language of Indian bilinguals which are unacceptable to a native speaker of English.

b) Relative verbs such as **cost, contain, fit, have, need,** etc. also do not appear in the progressive form. But in IE sentences like: **It is costing me a lot of money,** and **I am having a headache,** are very common.

USE OF TENSE IN COMPLEX SENTENCES: English language imposes certain tense and pronominal restrictions on the choices in the embedded sentences; IE tends to relax these restrictions:

a) IE: Tell me clearly are you coming.
   BE: Tell me clearly if you are coming.

b) IE: I asked Karun where does he work.

BE: I asked Karun where he worked.

In the free type interrogative sentence, BE applies subject- Auxiliary Inversion rule but in the embedded interrogative sentences, the inversion transformation is not applied. In IE this distinction between embedded and non-embedded interrogatives is not maintained.

c) IE: If they will be here by this afternoon, we may go out.
BE: If they are here by this afternoon, we may go out.

British English uses the simple present tense in the sub- ordinate clause after a verb in the imperative in the main clause, whereas IE uses future indefinite tense in the sub- ordinate clause.

d) IE: See that you will come for the meeting in time.
BE: See that you come for the meeting in time.

e) IE: Take care that you will not be cheated.
BE: Take care that you are not cheated.

In BE, when the verb in the main clause is in the future tense, the sub-ordinate clause takes the present tense, but in IE we use future tense.

f) IE: I shall call you when the dinner will be ready.
BE: I shall call you when the dinner is ready.

g) IE: They will come if you will invite them.
BE: They will come if you invite them.

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BE has a complex system of rules to generate question tags[1]. IE has reduced this complex network of rules to one simple rule i.e., suffixation of isn't it or na. Here are a few examples:

h) IE: He is tired, isn't it?
   BE: He is tired, isn't he?

i) IE: She can't swim, can't she?
   BE: She can't swim, can she?

THE INTERROGATIVE TRANSFORMATIONS: The interrogative transformations in English shifts the first constituent of the auxiliary to the pre-subject NP position. If the auxiliary is not present, it creates the dummy 'do' to act like the auxiliary. In wh-question, the item to be questioned is replaced by an appropriate word and shifts it to the front. IE has a very simple method of transformations. It does not use the subject Auxiliary Inversion rule, but rather intonation or intonation plus the structure of a statement. Here are few examples:

a) IE: Why he is going?
   BE: Why is he going?

b) IE: What he sees?
   BE: What does he see?

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[1] In such structures, there is contrasting polarity; a positive main clause is followed by a negative tag and vice versa.

c) IE: What you are leaving?

BE: Are you leaving?

THE PERFECT FORM: In English the present perfect establishes a link between the past and the present. In BE it is not used in place of the simple past In IE this situation is sometimes neutralised. Here are a few examples:

a) IE: I have written to him yesterday.

BE: I wrote to him yesterday.

b) IE: I have read this novel yesterday.

BE: I read this novel yesterday.

The use of the present perfect with an adverb of time (definite past) is so very common in English in India that is seen even in such important and formal documents as the following:

i) Biographical Notes: *(Current Trends in Linguistics V):*

"He (i.e. A.K. Ramanujan) **has taught** *English in Indian Colleges and Universities from 1950 till 1957 and is now professor of Linguistics and Dravidian Studies at the University of Chicago."*

ii) From the will of late V.K. Krishna Menon (published in *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, Sunday, No. 10, 1974):

"I, Vengalil Krishna Menon son of late Sri Kamath Krishna Kurup residing at 19, Teenmurthy Marg, New Delhi, do hereby

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execute this will and testament, which is in addition to and apart

from **the will I have executed in April, 1974,** *in respect only of*

my taravad and tavazhi, properly, movable and immovable. "

iii) From Indira Gandhi's letter to Mr. Morarji Desai (***The Hindustan Times***, Saturday, April 5, 1975, p. 10):

"... We are ourselves most anxious that elections to the Gujarat Assembly should be held as early as possible. In fact the process will be set in motion immediately after the monsoon in September. My colleague, that Home Minister, **has already made** *such an announcement a few days ago..."*

It is interesting to note that, because of intense interaction between native and non-native varieties of English, even the native speakers sometimes use these forms (Trudgill 1978).

5.4 SEMANTIC LEVEL

As we know a living language always remains in a state of flux. The words that constitute its vocabulary often change their meaning when used in different socio-cultural context. This has happened with English lexicon too. Some English words convey a slightly different meaning when used in Indian context. The discussion that follows is divided into the following three categories such as semantic extension; semantic restrictions and semantic transfer.

SEMANTIC EXTENSION: This is the process where a word retains its native meaning[1] but acquires additional meaning in IE.

Batch: In BE the word batch means a number of persons or things receiving attention as a group. In IE semantic range has been extended to refer to any group of students who are studying or may have studied together. Thus in IE **a batch of students** is what in BE is **a group of students.**

Colony: In BE the term colony means a group of people from another country, or of people with the same trade, profession or occupation, living together. In IE it is used to refer to any group of people living together and not necessarily those sharing the same trade, occupation, profession etc. It also means in the Indian context a residential area. For example: New Colony, Janata colony, and Shanti colony.

Compound: This word in BE means (sth) made up of two or more combined parts. This word is used in IE to mean an enclosed area with buildings and also a commercial or trading centre; an area for prisoners of war.

Cot: In BE the word cot is restricted in reference to a small, narrow easily moved bed usually with sides to prevent the child from falling out, bed for a young child, or a camp bed, or a bunk bed on boardship. Whereas in IE it refers to what is called bed in BE. Sometimes in IE, cot and bed are in free

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1 The relevant meanings of all the words in this section have been taken from Advanced Learner's Dictionary.

variation. Some IE speakers make a distinction between the two. The former is used to refer to the bed-stead alone, while the latter refers to the bed-stead plus mattress.

Chit: In BE this word means a young child, young, small, slender woman (often used rather contemptuously) a mere chit of a child, only a chit of a woman. Whereas in IE it means a short note or letter, a note of sum of money owed (e.g. for drinks, etc. at a club).

Rank: In BE it means a line of persons or things, the first one in the line, a number of soldiers placed side by side position in a scale, distinct grade in the armed forces. In IE it is used to refer to 'the position obtained by a person in an examination.

Teasing: This word in BE means make fun of somebody playfully, unkindly or annoy. But in IE, this word has acquired a special sense in the cultural context of Indian life. It refers to a form of harassment of women. It presupposes some amount of familiarity or interaction between the person teased and the teaser.

SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS: It is a process of reduction or narrowing of the range of context in which a word is used in IE. Speakers of IE restrict the meaning of a word to only a limited area within the semantic field.

Fetch: In BE this word is used to go for and bring back (sb or sth). For example: **Fetch a doctor at once**. Whereas in IE, it is sometimes used as a

synonym for **bring** and **get**. Here is an example; Fetch a pen immediately.

Guy: In BE this word refers to the figure in the form of a man, dressed in old clothes or person dressed in oddly. In conversational IE it is used to refer to a man.

Tuitions: In BE, it refers to teaching in a general sense. It means fee for teaching, have private tuition in mathematics. In IE, it is often used in restricted sense to mean private tuitions, a synonym for coaching where one gives private lessons to prepare students for an examination.

SEMANTIC TRANSFER: It means the use of words in Indian context with a different meaning. In this section we give a few examples of this feature of IE.

Amount: In BE this word is used in place of money, which has already been mentioned in the discourse. Let us look at the example: He owed me Rs. 100/- but could pay only half the amount. In IE sometimes this word is used as a synonym for money. For example, in the sentence 'bring the amount' refers to the cash/money.

Bogie: In BE it refers either to a trolley or four wheeled undercarriage fitted under a railway engine or wagon to enable it to go round curves. In IE a bogie means what native speakers would normally call a railway carriage or coach.

Convent School: In BE it refers to an institution for education and training of nuns, whereas in IE, it is used to refer to educational institutions run by christian missionaries.

Goggles: In BE this word has a specialised meaning. It means large round glasses with hoods to protect the eyes from the wind worn by racing motorists. In IE it is commonly used to refer to sunglasses.

Hike: In BE this word means (colloq) (go for) a long walk in the country, taken for pleasure or exercise. In IE it means an increase in the price of a commodity.

Hosteller: In BE this word refers to a person travelling from hostel to hostel (esp. youth hostels). But in IE it refers to a person residing in a hostel.

Kerb: In BE this word means stone edging to a raised path or pavement. In IE this word in the collocation kerb trading refers to unofficial trading after the normal trading hours of the stock exchange.

Kerchief: In BE this word has a restricted meaning. It means a piece of cloth or lace used as a head covering. Whereas in IE this word and hand kerchief are used as synonyms which mean a cloth for blowing the nose into or wiping the face.

Weightage: This word belongs to the register of shipping in BE where it is used with tonnage to denote the weight of the goods being shipped. In IE, however, weightage is used to refer to the degree of importance or to

indicate the percentage of marks for a particular assignment or test. We come across statements such as you are not giving any weightage to what I am saying. Here, this word means importance.

CREATIVE WRITINGS: The process of Indianisation has permeated in creative writings too. To provide evidence we are giving a few examples from such writings. Creative writers use a number of devices to make their English express feelings and sentiments deeply rooted in the Indian soil. First let us look at some of the expressions which are literal translations from the Indian languages.

a) Bless my home with the good dust of your feet.
  (S. Bhattacharya: *So many Hungers*)

b) O! Maharaj, we are all lickers of your feet
  (B. Bhattacharya: *He who Rides a Tiger.*).

c) What honourable noun does your honour bear?
  (Kushwant Singh, *Train to Pakistan*).

d) May she have a hundred male issues.
  (Raja Rao: *The Cow of the Barricades and other Stories*).

e) My professor will eat me up.
  (R.K. Narayan, *Bachelor of Arts*).

f) Here are few examples from Mulk Raj Anand's works:

my counterfeit luck, is this any talk, nothing black in the pulse, made my, sleep illegal, spoiler of my salt, and foxes finding the grapes sour,

g) **Miscellaneous**: Now we give a few examples collected through personal observation : frog in the well, fall at your feet, life companion, life partner, owner of my house, the mother of my daughter, God's son, God fearing man, family protector, caste-dinner, horse's egg, cow dust hour, dung wash, raw fruit, rain bringing ceremony, hair cutting ceremony, and greha pravesh ceremony, etc.

What we have discussed so far in this section were instances of isolated words, phrases and sentences that occur in creative writings. Now we give a few examples from Indo-Anglian fiction in which we can find typically Indian flavour. Here is an extract from MulkRaj Anand's novel, **Untouchables** in which he has translated the emotional feeling and experience into English.

"You know, when you were a little child, I had a nasty experience too. You were ill with fever and I went to the house of Hakim Baghwan Das, in this very town. I shouted and shouted, but no one heard me. A babu was passing through the Dawai Khana (dispensary) of the Doctor and I said to him:

Babuji, Babuji, God will make you prosperous. Please make my message reach the ears of the Hakimji. I have been shouting, shouting and have even asked some people to tell the Hakim Sahib that I have a prayer to make to him. My child is suffering from fever. He has been unconscious since last night and I want the Hakimji to give him some medicine.

Keep away, keep away, said the babu. Don't come riding on at me. Do you want me to have another bath this morning? The Hakim Sahib has to attend to us people who go to offices first, and there are so many of us waiting. You have nothing to do all day. Come another time or wait.

And with this he walked into the dispensary'. I remain standing."

We give one more extract from the same novel in which we find instances of transcreations of native lexical items, hybrizations, new collocations and contextually marked translations of native languages:

"Aii you bitch. Do you take me for a buffoon? What are you lauching at, slut? Aren't you ashamed of showing your teeth to me in the presence of men, you prostitute" shouted Gulabo and she looked towards the old man and the little boys who were of the company.

"Sohini now realized that the woman was angry. But I haven't done anything to annoy her", she reflected. She herself began it all and is abusing me right and left. I didn't pick the quarrel. I have more cause to be angry than she has."

"Bitch, why don't you speak. Prostitute why don't you answer me?" Gulabo insisted.

"Please don't abuse me", the girl said. "I haven't said anything to you".

"You annoy me with your silence, you illegally begothen. You eater of dung and drinker of urine. You bitch of a sweeper woman..."

Raja Rao's novel, **Kanthapura** contains many instances of transcreations of Kannadian speech into English. Let us take an example from this novel:

"Akkamma had people come to visit them. You know coffee planter Ramayya is the cousin of her sister-in-law. And when he is on his way to Karwar, he sometimes drops in to see them and even spends the night there. ... For a midday meal he will have vermicelli payasam, and patwari Nanjundia, and his son-in-law are both invited there. The others are coming too. The temple people and the fig tree-house people, and Dore the University

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*Graduate, as they call him. He lost his father and is still young.
...Some two years ago, when he had come back from Poona, he
had given up his boots and hat and suit, and had taken to dhoti
and khadi and it was said he had even given up his city habits of
smoking. ... He was not like corner-house Moorthy who had gone
through life like a noble cow, quiet, generous, serene, and Brah-
manic, a very prince. I tell you. We loved him of course, as you
will see".*

Obviously, here the manner in which the narrator talks is derived
from the habit of using the mother tongue.

Here is another example taken from Raja Rao's fiction in which we
find functional motivisation of the English language.

*"The day rose into the air and with it rose the dust of the morning
and the carts began to creak the bulging rocks and the coppery
peaks and the sun fell into the river and pierced it to the pebbles,
while the carts rolled on and on, fair carts of the Kanthapura fair
- fair carts that come from Maddur and Tuppur and Santur and
Kuppur with chilies and coconut, rice and ragi, cloth, tamarind,
butter and oil, bangles and kumkum, little pictures of Rama and
Krishna and Sankara and the Mahatma, little dolls for the young-
est, little kites for the elder, and little chess pieces for the
old-carts rolled by the sampur knoll and down into the valley of*

the Tuppur stream, then rose again and ground. ..." (Raja Rao 1963 : 39).

At times, in creative writings we find the spelling, distortions to suggest uneducated speech. Here are a few examples from Anand.

Yus for **yes**

notus for **notice**

teeme for **time**

Before we conclude we would like to mention another feature of IE. We know that reduplications of items belonging to various word classes is a common feature of Indian languages and is used for emphasis. We can notice this phenomenon in Indian English too. A few examples follow:

hot hot coffee

small small pieces

"With these very eyes, very eyes, I have seen the ghosts of more than a hundred young men and women, all killed by magic by magic". (taken from Raja Rao's Short Story - 'Javni').

It is thus clear that English language is now being moulded by Indians to express Indian cultural expressions and ways of life. It has undergone and continuous to undergo a process of acculturation as a result

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of its transplantation in the Indian soil. Acculturation is natural in language contact situations and is inevitable when the language of one culture is made to function for people whose culture is vastly different. IE cannot be and is certainly not designed to be a component of British, American or Canadian culture. It is used as a medium of communication for the culturally determined network of activities that are typically Indian. In this cause IE is what Kachru calls a **culture-bound code of communication**, and has now become a part of the Indian way of life.

Raja Rao also thinks that *"English is not really an alien language to us"*. It would be appropriate to end this Chapter with what he said about it:

> *"It is the language of our intellectual make up - like Sanskrit or Persian before but not of our emotional make up... We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will someday prove to be as distinctive and colourful as the Irish or American. Time alone will justify it"* (Raja Rao 1963: vii).

Chapter 6

EXISTING APPROACHES

This Chapter attempts to categorise the various approaches of second language teaching and to highlight the advantages and shortcomings of each approach in terms of its general applicability to the existing situation. It reviews the major concepts and assumptions that underlie each approach. At the outset let us admit that in an activity like language teaching and learning it is not possible to draw a clear and firm line between one approach and the another. Though in actual teaching, a particular aspect may be emphasized, the learning is that of the **whole** language Some of the activities manifest the process and the results are perceptible while in some others, though learning goes on, the process is imperceptible.

Generally, an approach to language teaching is derived from a view of language and a theory of learning. Whenever a new perspective on language emerges, the applied linguists and language teachers begin to think afresh about the theory of learning. A particular approach gets its label from the emphasis that it puts on a particular set of activities, claiming better results. Thus the approaches are to a large extent complementary rather than mutually exclusive. In fact, some of the concepts and assumptions, or atleast their nuances, overlap. Nonetheless, unless we analyse each approach separately, it would be difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclu-

sion. This is what we propose to do now. As we shall see, a clear understanding of what each approach offers, how it gets modified under the impact of new researches in language education is essential for comprehending the process of language teaching and learning.

6.1 TRADITIONAL APPROACH (TAP)

As the term itself indicates, this approach is not based on any scientific theory of language or language learning. Instead, it derives its inspiration from the language learning traditions that had been prevalent in India for decades.

This approach thus, basically emphasizes the grammatical explanations and rules, mechanical memorisation of these rules and the translation of L1 to L2 and vice versa. For a long time, teachers have used these explanations, rules and techniques with innumerable variations and modifications for teaching English in India. TAP is based mainly on what is termed as **Traditional English Grammar**. As we know, English grammar is modelled on Latin grammar which itself is greatly influenced by Greek grammar (Dykema 1958). Despite the fact that many modern grammarians have condemned, the classification of language into various parts of speech as identified by this grammar, it has still its sway over the thinking of scholars concerned with language teaching and learning (Hartung 1958). The main reason for this is that parts of speech classification has a *"tradition of over two thousand years of practical use" (Hartung 1958).* The

history of the traditional classification of words into parts of speech begins with Plato. He first introduced two classes namely, noun and verb. Aristotle added a third class namely conjunction. The stoics attempted to separate linguistic study from philosophy and proposed a classification of words into four categories: noun, verb, conjunction and article. The system of eight parts of speech first appeared in the work of great Greek Grammarian, Dionysius (the late second century B.C.), are noun, verb, conjunction, article, adverb, participle, pronoun and preposition. Grammarians of Latin dropped the article as it is inapplicable to Latin and added the interjection. English grammarians dropped the participle and added adjective.

Finally, influenced by the classical language studies, grammarians set up a classification of seven to nine parts of speech, eight of which are still used: namely noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction and interjection (Harsh, 1968). In addition to defining these parts of speech the traditional grammar describes in great detail their functions in a sentence: for example a noun, serves the following syntactic functions: subject, object of a transitive verb, subjective complement of a linking verb, objective complement, objective of a preposition, appositive noun of direct address (Harsh, 1968).

As a result, this approach was primarily concerned with formulating and fixing rules for correct use of English (Harsh 1968). Language learning had thus, become grammar recitation and dictionary thumbing (Lado 1964). The learners were made to learn the definitions of parts of speech and

memorize the grammatical rules and spellings and translate selections of the target language, using a bilingual dictionary and glossary. In the process of translation the learners had to learn the equivalents of English words, phrases and sentences in their native language. In this context it would be appropriate to refer to Menon and Patel (1957) claiming that:

i) Translation interprets foreign phraseology in the best manner;

ii) In the process of interpretation the foreign phraseology is as-similated; and

iii) The structure of a foreign language is best learnt when com-pared and contrasted with that of the mother tongue.

Obviously, therefore, a syllabus based on this approach consisted of groupings of rules and paradigms under parts of speech with some arbitrarily selected syntactive patterns and passages for translation. It de-manded the application of memorized rules of grammar and identification of the category to which individual words/phrases belong.

The basic assumption behind this approach is that the mastery of grammatical system will enable a learner to generate correct sentences. it also assumes that the L2 phraseology and structure can be best understood and assimilated through translation. Though this approach has been widely used for teaching English in India, it is deficient in many respects. Its inadequacy is due to the fact that it emerges from two bases which are

inherently weak in the context of language learning activity. Both the traditional grammar and translation which the approach uses for building its philosophy are not based on any scientific principles of language learning

In the very definition of parts of speech one can discern contradictions. The definitions of parts of speech are arbitrarily designated, unsystematically defined and mixed. For instance, the definitions of three parts of speech are based on meaning: noun, verb and interjection; four on the basis of function: adjective, adverb, pronoun and conjunction, and one on partly function partly form: preposition. Naturally this method of description leads to confusion. Let us illustrate this by taking an expression as **stone building**, there can be an endless futile argument about whether **stone** is a noun or an adjective. It is a noun from the point of view of form and an adjective from the point of view of function and hence falls into both classes. No wonder, the learners are likely to be puzzled in their attempt to master the grammar. The problem in using mixed criteria for classification is that sometimes we cannot decide whether a word is a noun or an adjective.

This kind of fallacy is applicable to the definitions of sentences also. For example an interrogative sentence is one that asks a question. But the fact is that all interrogatives are not questions. The sentence: *"Would you mind closing that door"?* is an interrogative but it is not a question, it is a request. Again, not all questions are interrogatives. *"You are working*

at BITS?" with a rising intonation would be an echo question but it is not an interrogative, it is a declarative. In brief, the system of grammatical analysis of traditional approach interprets a sentence according to meaning and the intention of the speaker. Thus we have categories: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory.

Further, traditional grammar concerns itself almost exclusively with the written language and fails to take into consideration such functional varieties of language as formal written, formal spoken, colloquial, literary and so on and so forth. By implication, it regards the spoken form of a language as inferior to the written form. As a result, the descriptions were based on written language.

As far as translation is concerned it is claimed that translation helps the learners to compare their language with the foreign language and is thus a useful linguistic activity. This claim has been refuted by Halliday, Intosh, and Strevens (1964: 266).

"The use of isolated sentences, lacking any linguistic or situational context, other than the artificial situation of the translation exercise, renders the translation process meaningless as linguistic activity and leads to a concentration on formal equivalence at the expense of contextual equivalence"

The task of comparing two languages, no doubt, can be a useful and stimulating but it is not likely to promote language skills. It has been rightly pointed out that:

"The job of a foreign language teacher is to impart to the learner the skill in using it and not to dwell upon the similarities and contrasts between the native and the foreign language in the class-room" (Mohan 1965: 40).

Further, according to Gatenby (1945) translation may give meaning, but it does not teach. It perpetuates the time-wasting habit of always associating L2 with L1 and in fact, actually hinders full comprehension. As a skill, the proper time for practising it is when an equal command of both languages has been obtained. But this is done not with a view to teaching L2 but has an entirely different purpose. Thus, we see that this approach is deficient in many ways. It neglects activities on fluency of speech and pronounciation. The systematic nature of language learning is completely ignored. Grammatical categories and lexical items of target language and the learner's mother tongue are equated in an atomistic way, *"as if they were directly equivalent instead of being units deriving in commensurable values from the different systems of L1 and L2" (Catford 1959: 158).*

Let us now abstract from the above discussion the traditionalists' views on the nature and function of language:

i) The study of language helps one acquire mental discipline.

ii) It develops intellectual abilities.

iii) It promotes intrinsic moral values.

The TAP is in fact the first known approach to ELT. Let us list the main features on which it is based. These are as follows:

i)   The goal of L2 study is to learn a language in order to read its literature.

ii) The learning of language means learning the grammatical rules followed by application of this knowledge to the task of tanslating sentences and texts into the target language vice versa.

iii) Reading and writing are the main skills to be acquired in learning a language.

iv) Vocabulary selection is based solely on the reading texts used, and words are taught through bilingual word list, dictionary and memorization.

v)   The sentence is the basic unit of teaching and learning practice.

vi) Accuracy in sentence construction is emphasized.

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vii) The learner's L1 is the medium of instruction.

This approach dominated the L2 teaching for a long time, and in modified form it continues to be widely used in some parts of the world even today. It is mainly used in situations where understanding literary text is the primary focus of L2 study and there is little need for speaking skill. Though this approach is still practised, it has no advocates. It has no theory. There is no literature that offers a rationale or justification for it or that attempts to relate it to issues in linguistics, psychology or educational theory. Before we conclude the discussion let us summarise the shortcomings of this approach.

i) It is based on a grammar which draws heavily from Latin and Greek grammars and is not systematic in its description of language.

ii) It emphasizes rules instead of practice. It prefers analysis to synthesis, deduction to induction and parts to the whole. It substitutes grammatical recitation for language contact and translation for language use.

iii) Translation as a classroom activity is viewed as an instrument of teaching all the four language skills.

iv)   It ignores the psychology of language learning and encourages mechanical memorisation of rules.

v)   It does not take notice of language as a social phenomenon.

6.2 STRUCTURAL APPROACH (STAP)

The shortcomings of TAP continued to agitate the minds of scholars and motivated some of them to provide a more reliable, scientific base for language teaching. There were significant developments in the description of nature of language and scientific analysis provided detailed information about the mechanics of language. As a result of advance studies and research in linguistics an enormous amount of data became available for use by language educationists. This resulted in a systematic description of language (descriptive linguistics), (Harsh 1968) leading to the development of what is termed as structural grammar (Fries 1971). The STAP draws heavily from this new grammar and is therefore, by its very nature considered to be an improvement on the TAP.

The origin of this approach can be traced back to the work of British applied linguistics in 1920s and 1930s (Harold Palmer and Hornby). They evolved systematic principles of selection, gradation and presentation, which can be characterised as a type of **British Structuralism**. Often they referred to this approach as oral approach. Simultaneously, there were similar developments in linguistics in U.S.A. Though the basic concepts

and principles of structuralism were the same. Americans preferred to term this approach to language teaching as **audiolingual method** .

Before we take up the basic concepts on which STAP is based it would be worthwhile to quote Fries (1971: 38):

"Linguistic Science is here understood to be a body of knowledge and understanding concerning the nature and functioning of human language, built up out of information about the structure, the operation, and the history of a wide range of very diverse human languages by means of those techniques and procedures that have proved most successful in establishing verifiable generalisations concerning relationships among linguistic phenomena".

The term structuralism can be traced back to Ferdinand de Saussure (1916). His three dichotomies (synchronic versus diachronic; language versus speech, form versus substance) paved the way for this scientific approach. As we know, for the evolution of a scientific approach it is essential to discover an adequate and proper data base. And this by no means was an easy task. As Richard (1975: 15) rightly says:

"One answer to the data-base problem, first proposed by Bloomfield and Sapir in the 1920s and later embellished by such scholars as Bloch, Hockett, Y.R. Chao and Joos was that grammatical analysis should start from actual sounds produced by

speakers of human languages. The analysis should proceed as far as possible in the direction of meaning, but the rigorous analysis of the meanings themselves would have to await further developments in other disciplines especially psychology. For the time being the best psychological model would appear to be behavioural one".

The scholars who followed and advocated this grammatical theory eventually became known as structuralists. By **structure of a language** we mean the interrelations of the linguistic units like sounds, words or meaning in a language and the ordered relationships that exist between the patterns and structures of a language. Stern (1964) rightly says that all languages represent an ordered system of symbols. A language does not form an indiscriminate jumble of sounds or combinations of sounds. The way people speak presents regularities. The language as a whole is a system or structure. Within this larger system one can discover smaller sub-systems at different levels right down to phonetic patterns.

Thus, we see that the way in which the individual elements of a particular language are related determines the structure of the language with reference to these elements. Since this interrelationship differs from language to language, separate items in a system can be understood only in the light of the system as a whole. Thus, a language should be described in its own terms and not in terms of universal categories.

The emphasis on language as patterned human behaviour by the structuralists got incorporated into STAP. Language began to be considered a skill that can be acquired by **analogical habit formation** (Cosgrave 1971). The application of this idea to the methodology of language teaching has brought about great changes in traditional classroom procedures. Grammar, for instance, is to be learned no longer through memorization of rules but through intensive oral practice on specific patterns, which have been determined and described by linguistic analysis.

Let us now be more specific and look at one major aspect which has deeply influenced the structural view of language teaching. Structural Linguists, in addition to being concerned with description of actual written language are concerned with entire phenomena of language (Fries 1971). In analysing the language they begin with form and work towards meaning, in direct contrast to the TAP of working from meaning to form.

Structural linguistics analyses the structural meaning in language as distinguished from lexical or notional meaning. Newsome described the word, form and word patterns or structures. He says (Newsome 1962: 4):

"Language has a lexical meaning carried by the words and a grammatical, or structural, meaning carried by the system. The isolated words boys-dog-liked convey certain notional meanings which are recorded in a dictionary; they also convey certain grammatical meanings; plural-singular-past tense. When the

words are combined in a sentence - the boys liked the dog or the dog liked the boys - the structure reveals a further grammatical meaning of Actor - Action - Goal, or Receiver of the Action. The word order determines who the actor is. Thus the total linguistic meaning of an utterance includes both the lexical meaning of the individual words and the structural meaning. It is the system of the language with which the structure of grammar is concerned: the recurring formal signals which reveal the structure of words and the structure of groups of words".

Grammar is thus a set of formal patterns in which the words of a language are arranged in order to convey meanings. Based on this the descriptive linguists have concentrated on four devices to indicate meaning; namely, word form, function words, word order and intonation patterns.

The structuralists emphasized that language is systematic, that every language has its own unique grammar, and that any living language changes. They have stressed particularly that speech is the primary form of language and further pointed out the differences between spoken language, written language and the variations that exist between different dialects and different functional varieties of the same language. The STAP, therefore, takes into account the fact that *"the speech is the language. The written record is but a secondary representation of the language"* (Fries 1940: 26). The notion of various parts of speech underwent a change under the impact of structuralism. According to them the words can be classified into

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two categories (i) form class words and (ii) function words (Harsh 1968).
Form class words carry the primary lexical meaning and inflect or change
form to indicate meaning. Function words have little or no lexical meaning,
do not change in form, belong to closed classes and indicate structural
relationships and grammatical meanings.

From the above discussion, we can abstract the following four key
axioms regarding the structuralistic view on the nature of language:

i)   Language is speech.

ii) Language has system of system.

iii) Language symbols are arbitrary.

iv) Language is parole[1].

As a direct outflow of structuralism a number of pedagogic notions
were generated and these constitute the staple substance of the structural
approach. Let us now look at them one by one:

i)   The concept of language as habit formation is reinforced by the
     instructor by means of controlled repetition and manipulation.

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[1] *Language is total number of sentences produced by a speech community (Bloomfield 1933).*

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ii) The learning is often what Stevick terms *"reflective"* or *"echoic"* (Stevick 1979).

iii) Both the lessons and the materials are teacher-centred. They are based on teacher's presentation of structures in a meaningful context (often a dialogue or narrative) and then they move to teacher controlled practice in the form of exercise or drill (Salimbene, 1983). The teacher controls the learner and prevents him from doing anything that conflicts with the theory. The teacher is expected to specify the language that learners are to use.

iv) A learner's understanding of the structure often depends on the adequacy of the teacher's presentation.

v) The goal of language teaching is identified with the acquisition of the underlying structural system of the target language and identification of linguistic elements and their classification.

vi) The emphasis is more on structure and form than on meaning.

vii) The mastery of structure is more important than the acquisition of vocabulary.

viii) Memorisation of structure based practice is required from the learners

ix) Drilling of patterns is central to the teaching and learning process.

x) Language learning is primarily the learning of structures, sounds and words.

xi) The teaching of correct pronunciation (R.P.) is emphasized

xii) Reading and writing are deferred till the speech is mastered

xiii) The interest in the structure of the language is expected to motivate the learner.

xiv) The way in which these patterns are presented, the order in which they are taught, and the amount of practice required to master them are determined by comparison of the language to be learned with the learner's native language.

xv) It fully integrates the teaching of grammar and composition with the reading material.

xvi) The vocabulary and structures at each level are specified.

xvii)The sequence of units is determined solely by principles of linguistic complexity (Wilkins 1976).

xviii) Linguistic competence is the desired goal.

xix) Varieties of language are recognized but not emphasized.

xx) Accuracy in terms of formal correctness is expected.

xxi) Translation is forbidden at early stages of learning.

xxii) Communicative activities are recommended only after a long process of rigid drills.

As we said earlier, the emergence of STAP was an improvement on the TAP. Nevertheless, soon it was found that there were chinks in the apparently integrated view of language teaching. The use of this approach over a wide variety of situations and the results arrived have proved that there was a need for deeper thinking on the issue of second language teaching. Some of the shortcomings, as we shall presently see, emanate from the theory on which structuralism is based, while others result from its inability to achieve the expected results. Let us now look at these shortcomings in some detail:

i) With its concern for imparting competence in the use of structures, this approach proceeded in a way that leads to artificial learning In other words, instead of using language texts from real-life situations, for teaching it advocates the creation of meaningful contexts and situations for the selected structures (Salimbene, 1983).

ii) The repeated practice in the use of structures does not necessarily lead to a mastery of grammatical system.

iii) Even if a learner masters the grammatical structures he may fail to communicate successfully. Many learners are unable to acquire grammatical system itself (Prabhu, 1979). The communicative function of language is often ignored because of over-emphasis on the mastery of grammatical structures.

iv) It fails to come to grips with the problem of meaning and lacks guidance on questions of correctness (Noss 1979).

v) It regards teaching a matter of imitation and reproduction, thus failing to take into account the creativity of language use (Munby 1978).

6.3 TRANSFORMATIONAL-GENERATIVE APPROACH (TGAP)

In late 1950s, there was a strong challenge not only to the STAP but also to the psychology of language learning and teaching associated with it. This challenge reoriented the view on the nature of language towards a more mentalistic philosophy, rationalist scientific method when applied to language teaching a cognitive psychology (Bell 1976).

So far as the data base is concerned a second answer (the first being the structuralism) was proposed by Chomsky and his followers in the late 1950s. In his first work Chomsky (1957) proposed a new grammar called transformational generative grammar (TG grammar). This grammar showed the inadequacy of structural grammar in handling problems of syntax, especially syntactic ambiguity and the generally accepted concept of patterning in language. They have thrown much new light on the theory of language and its acquisition, exercising a deep impact on language teaching.

Let us look more closely at this view on language. TG grammar as Chomsky (1965) illustrates that language is based on a system of rules **makes infinite use of finite means**. The purpose of grammar is to select the theory or system that best explains these rules. In formulating such a grammar, Chomsky used the term **generate** to refer to a rule that exemplifies or provides a **rule of substitution** for all possible instances. The term transformational refers to a rule that rearranges various elements in a

sentence when it is changed from one type to another. This theory, *"prom- ises to tell us more than we have previously known about how people learn a language and how they use it to produce the infinite variety the language offers to its speakers"* (Harsh 1968).

Chomsky, himself modified some of the concepts and methods outlined in **Syntactic Structures** (1957). He states (1965) that language has phonological, syntactical, and semantic components that an adequate gram- mar must describe. English sentences have both an underlying or deep structure and phonological or surface structures; the native speaker under- stands both. Even though he may not represent it in terms of physical signs (or surface structure), the speaker has the deep structure in the mind as he produces the surface structure. The relationship between the deep structure and the surface structure is established by what Chomsky calls **Transfor- mational Rules**. For example the deep structure of the following two sentences is the same:

i) Karun has read this novel.

ii) This novel has been read by Karun.

The difference between them is because of the application of a transformational rule to the first sentence.

Further, Chomsky points out the difference between a speaker's intuitive knowledge (competence) and actual ability in using language

(performance). According to him (Chomsky, 1967: 8) a theory of language is:

"... *a system of rules that determine the deep and surface structures of the language in question, the relation between them, the semantic interpretation of the deep structures and the phonetic interpretation of the surface structures. The generative grammar of a language, then, is the system of rules which establishes the relation between sound and meaning in the language".*

The two terms, namely, **competence** and **performance** need to be understood properly to arrive at a full understanding of Chomskyan theory. **Linguistic Competence** is generally equated with a person's overt proficiency in the four language skills. Briefly stated, a learner is considered **competent** if he understood a native speaker reasonably well, made a few or no errors in grammar or vocabulary (Finocchiaro 1977). The difference between competence and performance may be explained as follows: Competence is defined as the *"internalised system of language rules which enables a person to recognise deep and surface structures, to distinguish between well-formed and deviant sentences and to understand sentences he may never have heard or said before. Performance may be defined as the ability to 'produce well-formed unambiguous sentences that the speaker may never have heard before" (Finocchiaro 1977).* Linguistic competence, according to Chomsky, is the ideal native speaker- listener's

knowledge of language and performance is the actual use of language in particular situations. Linguistic theory, he says, is concerned primarily with a homogeneous speech community where factors like memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest and errors have no effect on the application of an ideal speaker-listener's knowledge, in actual performance. By an ideal speaker-listener Chomsky means one who knows his language perfectly, that is, one who has complete mastery of the abstract system of its rules. With the help of these rules he is able to understand and produce well-formed sentences of his language. Linguistic performance is the actual use of language affected by factors such as those mentioned earlier, which are grammatically irrelevant.

Another significant observation of Chomsky is that language is universal - universal in two senses. First, all normal children acquire their mother tongue unconsciously. Second, at a highly abstract level all languages have key characteristics and this enables us to level them as human languages. Incidentally, this observation is in sharp contrast to the views of structuralists, who believe that languages could differ unpredictably and infinitely. To assert that the structures of all human languages have something in common was hear se for them.

Thus we see that Chomskyan theory provides significant information about the complexity of human language and the creativity of the speaker-listener, besides giving a psychological orientation to Saussure's (1916) notions of langue and parole.

Let us now list the basic concepts on the nature of language on which TGAP is based.

i) Language has a system (relates meanings to substance).

ii) Language is a mental phenomenon.

iii) Language is innate.

iv) Language is universal.

These notions collectively gave birth to new approach which may be termed as Transformational Generative Approach (TGAP)[1] also termed as **Cognitive Approach** (Verma 1989: 345). According to him, this approach "views language not as a set of habits acquired through stimulus-response- conditioning, but rather as a creative activity utilising mental processes in a conscious, analytical manner". Obviously, therefore, language learning is to be considered a creative- generative activity as distinct from a mere manipulation of linguistic elements in a mechanical way. The kind of language exercises envisaged by this approach would, necessitate, among other things, an understanding of the meaning that could be used in all relevant situations.

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[1] *Interestingly enough the notion of language as meaning ties TG grammar with traditional grammar and as such, may be seen as re-asserting a much older view of the nature of language.*

The conceptual frame work of the theory suggests a number of assumptions which we may formulate as follows:

i)   Language is rule-governed creativity; it is not just behaviour.

ii)   The behaviour is controlled by cognitive processes involving understanding; the skills acquire that are first voluntarily, become automatic later.

iii) It is meaningless to practice language without understanding the underlying principles; mechanical repetition is likely to weaken understanding.

iv)   Language means understanding valid generalisations, discriminations, and relationships, largely drawing out what is innate in the mind.

v)   The relationship among various types of sentences and parts of sentences is to be clearly understood.

vi)   Languages have a great deal in common; hence learning a second language is, in some measure, a repetition of an old experience.

This new way of looking both at language and language learning has had important influences on the attitudes of teachers towards the issue of the nature of language and the means by which human beings acquire it.

This brings to notice a serious flaw in the techniques of language teaching based on STAP which laid too much stress on the mere surface structure of patterns, neglecting the deeper layers of meaning that may underlie them. An often quoted example is:

John is eager to please.

John is easy to please.

On a superficial level, these two sentences illustrate the same pattern. But this identity of pattern (word order) gives no clues to the wide difference in meaning that exists between the two sentences. No doubt the relationship between structural patterning and meaning sometimes obscure. But here, we can make effective use of TG grammar in describing more deeply the points of similarity and contrast between various grammatical structures in terms of underlying component structures. As far as teaching and learning process is concerned STAP and TGAP approaches complement each other (Cosgrave 1971).

They derive their inspiration from the application of linguistics to language teaching. Applied linguistics has been mainly concerned with finding answer to the question *"What is language?"* (Bell 1976) rather than to the question, *"How is language learnt?"* (Bell 1976). That is why new developments in linguistic studies invariably influence the existing approach to language teaching.

Though TGAP was an improvement on STAP it soon became clear that it too had several shortcomings. Language being a social affair, has had to be looked in a different perspective. With the spurt in sociolinguistic studies a new body of knowledge became available to the language teacher. This development naturally led to bringing certain more socially relevant factors in language teaching activity. More specifically, we may summarise the main shortcomings of TGAP as follows:

i) It lacks emphasis on functional and communicative potential of language.

ii) It neglects the socio-cultural significance of language.

iii) It stresses on only linguistic competence.

iv) It ignores the importance of contextual appropriacy.

v) It is inadequate in its treatment of language use and language functions.

The concepts underlying the above mentioned short-comings constitute the base for the development of another approach called **Communicative Approach or Functional Approach**. Before we take up the discussion of this approach, it would be appropriate to briefly refer to a development in ELT which takes into account the psychology of language learning and bilingualism in India.

6.4 BILINGUAL APPROACH (BLAP)

In Chapter 4 we have discussed the concept of bilingualism and its meaning, types of bilingualism and finally its impact on language use, in terms of borrowing, code-mixing, and code- switching. In the Indian context the concept of true bilingualism refers not merely to the ability to use two languages but also to the ability to switch easily from one to the other. This is because the learner is faced with a single environment which forces him continually to hop from one language to the other when expressing the same concepts. It is therefore, wrong to assume that L2 can be taught effectively by keeping out the L1 (Dodson 1967). Any attempt to do so would prevent the speakers from switching from one system to the other while code-mixing and code-switching are inevitable when two languages come in contact. So far as teaching is concerned, the use of L1 in L2 teaching has been the matter of debate and discussion. Obviously those who are against it take the cue from the process of L1 learning. The other viewpoint which allows the use of L1 is based on the argument that the linguistic system already acquired by the learner should be taken into account to build in him the competence to use L2. In fact, ignoring it would be to miss an opportunity for exploitation of the cumulation of language learning rules, procedures, and techniques which form part of the intellectual equipment of the learner. This emphasis on using L1 in teaching L2 led to a new development in English language teaching. We may term this as **bilingual approach** (BLAP). Dodson (1967) advocates that both in theory

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and practice, supported by experimental proof, the use of L1 not only enhances the learner's oral proficiency in L2 learning, but also gives an opportunity to learn how to switch from one language to the other.

As Verma rightly pointed out, it advocates the judicious use of native language (1989). Normally it is not possible to establish a direct link between the words etc. of L2 with the objects or ideas experienced by the learner. Obviously, L2 will interpose. This interposition has to be reckoned with. While the interposition which is an interference in linguistic terms has to be recognised as a natural fact when two languages come in contact.

It has been pointed out (Dodson 1967; Sastri 1967) that the teaching and learning based on this approach make the task less elaborate and complex, both for the teacher and the learner. For the former, the preparation requires less time and it is more convenient. For the latter, there is an immediate return on the learning efforts made and pedagogically it is a sound principle to show the benefit that accrues from a language activity.

To make it clear what it would mean to implement the approach we will be well advised to discuss briefly some of the main activities required by the approach. Among these the main activities are: immitation, interpretation, and substitution and extension. BLAP also envisages independent speaking of sentences simultaneously with the written work. As we know

immitation is an accepted activity in almost all situations of language learning.

Let us then turn our attention to a brief comment on the other two activities mentioned above. In an interpretation exercise L1 is used only as a cue for concept causation but not as an instrument. When the learner is provided with L1 stimulus a concept is conjured up in the learner's mind. It is this concept, not the L1 words which the learner expresses in L2 terms. The real cue for the correct verbalisation of the response in one language is not the spoken sentence in the other language but the concept which is common to both languages. The learner's response follows immediately the teacher's L1 interpretation. Thus, this approach saves a great deal of time by referring to the concepts through L1 rather than through contrived situations in L2. It takes into account the knowledge acquired already, thus obviating the need for the reproduction of the same situation in the class-room. This is a great advantage in inasmuch as *"the need of the learner is not to learn about the situation which he has any how already learnt - but to express its equivalent in the foreign language" (Sastri 1967: 24)*. This makes the learner free to concentrate exclusively on the new linguistic items with in the limited period. The interpretation activity helps the learner to develop the skill of Cross-referencing in both languages. It ultimately leads to the enrichment of the knowledge of the learner.

The substitution and extension activity generates sufficient tension and concept variety to hold the learner's interest. It gives the learner

exposure to the world order and the basic pattern and develops the skill of ability to produce utterances without prompting.

The basic assumptions of this approach are to achieve fluency in speech and accuracy in writing (however limited the range) and thus to achieve true bilingualism. The use of L1 is generally restricted to the teacher only for the explanation of words, phrases and structures of L2. It is claimed that in doing so it would be easier to impart fluency of speech and to develop simultaneously all the four skills of language.

The effort to explain difficult abstractions and concepts by using plain and easy language to understand L2 is ineffective. In fact it is a struggle for the teacher, a challenge to his knowledge and competence to explain complex abstract thoughts in a restricted language. There is a strong force in this argument and without admitting, teachers have been using L1, wherever imperative for the purposes mentioned above.

One of the functions of languages is to perceive the reality and to express what is perceived through a medium. The ultimate goal of L2 is to impart to the learner another medium for this perception. If we take Dodson's (1976) view to its logical conclusion, it is obvious that quick and better results can be achieved by the use of L1 in the classroom. In a recent study Gulia (1982) has made out a strong case for the use of L1 in the teaching of English. The meaning is in most cases revealed in proper light and the learner feels more at home with, and gets more deeply involved in

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L2. Once the ability to comprehend is developed, half the battle is won. With the deep involvement of the learner in learning activity he can devote his time to more creative aspects and acquire quickly the ability to communicate. Hence, it can be claimed that the BLAP is learner-centered ensuring the accelerated learning.

There are however, situations where the learners of heterogeneous linguistic groups have to be imparted L2 proficiency. Further, the teacher himself may not be proficient enough in both the languages. Establishing equivalence between two words or phrases belonging to L1 and L2 is a difficult task. In addition to these demerits of this approach there is a danger - the danger of reverting to the TAP, in a bid to quicken the process of learning. There is always a temptation to use L1.

Let us now summarise the basic concepts on which this approach is based:

i)   It ensures satisfactory progress of learning.

ii) It brings about a balance between the spoken and the written word.

iii) It advocates a proper balance between the imparting of accuracy and fluency.

iv) It suggests the exploitation of the linguistic habits already acquired by the learner in the process of learning L1.

v) Though the use of L1 is made, a lot of emphasis is laid on the practice of structures and patterns of L2.

Though this approach has certain merits, we can discern the following shortcomings in it:

i) It ignores the learners' heterogeneous linguistic competence.

ii) It expects the teachers competence in both the languages.

iii) An overemphasis on L1 to quicken the process of learning L2, may degenerate it into TAP.

iv) It does not fully take into account the socio-cultural factors which influence the language learning and teaching activity.

As the above discussion suggests, this approach is the result of developments in the fields of psychology of language learning and English language teaching pedagogy. It recognises a fact which often is ignored in the heat of arguments strongly supporting or condemning the use of L2 for L2 teaching. However, the facts speak louder than the notions derived from certain theories. It is not advisable to close our eyes to the reality which has to be viewed both in terms of individual and societal needs. We have to look for new avenues and firmer grounds to build up a more solid edifice

for ELT at the university level. In the quest for more effective teaching of L2 a new approach called **Communicative Approach** or **Functional Approach** has emerged. Let us now turn our attention to a discussion of this approach.

6.5 FUNCTIONAL APPROACH (FAP)

A fundamental dimension of language that was inadequately presented in earlier studies is the **functional** or **communicative potential** of language. It was Halliday (1973) who first emphatically drew the attention to this rather neglected aspect. He points out that without the functional aspect of language it would be difficult to understand fully what language is . What it does and how it is shaped by the various functions it performs in society. According to him the study of language means *"... first of all, investigating how language is used; trying to find out what are the purposes that language serves for us and how we are able to achieve these purposes through speaking and listening. reading and writing" (Halliday 1973).*

Bell (1976: 112) has expressed similar views on this aspect of language. According to him,

*"By **functionalism** we mean a view of language as a dynamic open system by means of which members of a community exchange information. This is in contrast with the static, closed-system view of language which has been until recently, the*

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commonly accepted orientation since de saussure (1915), seeing language as a code made up of elements and their relationships with each other".

These explorations gave a new dimension to the language teaching and learning process. Similar ideas were expressed by scholars such as Candlin (1976), Widdowson (1978), Hymes (1972), Gumperz (1972) and Labov (1966). A rapid application of these ideas by syllabus designers and text book writers and equally rapid acceptance of these new developments by British ELT specialists, curriculum development centres, and even governments gave impetus to what has come to be referred to as **Functional approach (FAP)**[1]. Another factor which has given further push to the evolution of FAP is the growing concern for needs based education.

In fact as we shall see in Chapter 7, these developments led to the formulation of a number of ways of designing ELT syllabuses. The ultimate goal of this approach is to impart communicative competence to the learner. This notion of communicative competence is a modified version of Chomsky's concept of linguistic competence discussed earlier. A detailed discussion of this is given in Chapter 7. It implies the development of procedures

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1 The terms 'Notional, Functional Approach' and Communicative Approach' are also sometimes used to refer to this approach. In this discussion we have used the terms 'Communicative Approach' and 'Functional Approach' interchangeably.

for the teaching of four language skills that acknowledge the interdependence of language and communication.

It is worth mentioning here, that the linguistic methods took shape from the linguistic investigations which initiated the specific movement towards mathematisation and formalism, focussing on the internal structure of language without reference to its social framing. *"Metaphorically put, they have concentrated on the way the machine is assembled without looking at how it works when people use it"* (Loveday 1982: 59). Yet we know that to participate in social activities we acquire language and it is mainly through linguistic experience that we learn how to live with others. The ultimate goal is to use language as an instrument for effective participation in myriad situations and encounters of everyday life. Any linguistic theory which claims to describe language cannot be considered powerful and adequate without taking care of this important aspect.

In this context Halliday's (1973: 104) functional theory of language:

"...attempts to explain linguistic structure, and linguistic phenomena, by reference to the notion that language plays a certain part in our lives; that it is required to serve certain types of demand".

The Functional varieties of language and their use in the society have been given importance in the Prague and British schools of linguistics.

It shows a definite departure from the mere structural analysis of the early American structuralism which is bereft of the role of language in the society. Let us look more closely at the functional theory of Halliday where in he shows a definite correlation between the functional varieties of language and their linguistic features.

In the context of the language learning of a child, Halliday (1973) notices the language functions in the linguistic behaviour of a speaker. We generally under- estimate the functional diversity of the language and its influence on child's learning a language. He enlists seven functions of language which we have discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Halliday (1978: 122) further expresses:

> *"Language serves for the expression of content; it has a repre-sentational or an ideational function; language serves an inter-personal function-language as expressing relations among participants in a situation; language has a textual function; here it is limited to the establishment of relations between sentences. The ideational function represents the speakers meaning poten-tial as an observer; the interpersonal component represents the speaker's meaning potential as intruder; the textual component represents the speaker's text-forming potential; it is that which makes language relevant. "*

It is clear that the use of language determines its nature and it would be a simplistic view to take if we confined ourselves to the study of language in terms of its internal relationships only. Verma (1976) also touches upon this aspect and draws our attention to the complex network of roles played by language in a society. In his own words, (Verma 1976: 153)

"...*every member of a language-using community appears in a net-work of institutionalized roles and selects role-worthy varieties of a language or languages, which typically and situationally appropriate. Through out the course of a day he changes his linguistic personal and interpersonal relationships.*"

This discussion would not be complete unless we take into account certain other views about functionalism. As we shall see, there has been an attempt to emphasize one or the other, aspects of the same thought. Nevertheless, the accumulated scholarship on the subject would help us in providing a solid data base of opinions which were responsible for bringing about a new approach to ELT.

The fundamental feature distinguishing the FAP is its view of linguistic structure. It is concerned with the reduction of grammatical structures to functional notions. In this context it would be useful to refer to the categorization of the functionalist approach provided by Nichols (1984). She labels the first type as **conservative** and says that it merely

acknowledges the inadequacy of structuralism but does not propose a new analysis of structure. Thus, it fails to tackle the crucial question of the nature of structure in language particularly syntactic structures. The next category the **moderate type**, goes a step further inasmuch as it proposes a functionalist analysis of structure in place of the inherited formal accounts of the structure. The last category, termed as **extreme functionalism**, denies the reality of structure as structure. It argues that the structure is only coded function. Whereas, there are well-defined syntactical rules for the codification of language. It is difficult to arrive at a rigid set of rules and constraints in the development of a theory of language based on functionalism.

The extremist view of functionalism has yielded several important generalisations about the discourse structure, information flow, discourse functions of grammatical form, all of which have become the focus of scholarly attention. As a matter of fact, there is no inherent conflict between formalism and functionalism. Newmayer in a number of his recent papers (1990, in press) argues that,

"... formal linguistics is concerned with the system internal structures and principles, while functional linguistics is concerned with extra-systemic constraints and principles dealing with language use."

Vanvalin (1991: 7) expresses a similar view:

"If language is a system of forms for conveying meaning in communication, then inorder to understand it, it is necessary to investigate the interaction of structure, meaning and communicative function."

This new emphasis on the communicative function of language strengthen this approach. The learning and teaching process has to take into account not only a knowledge of language in terms of basic grammatical forms, but also in terms of its functions, and its effective use for meeting the needs of user in an appropriate social context.

Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983: 90) state two assumptions that underlie this approach:

"The first assumption is that we are concerned in the classroom with language use, not language knowledge, the second is the view that we learn language most effectively by using it in realistic situations".

Let us now briefly discuss certain aspects of language learning which have a bearing on this approach.

KNOWLEDGE AND SKILL: Language is a skill to be acquired, not merely a body of knowledge to be learnt. The acquisition of language has

always been considered to be the acquisition of a set of skills. In this approach, the concept of skills gets a new orientation. Acquiring a language has been compared to learning to drive a car. It is not enough to have only theoretical knowledge of how an engine works: one must know how to use the gears and other instruments and how to interact with other road users. Similarly, simply knowing parts of speech or how to convert the active into passive, for example, does not mean that one is proficient in a language. One must be able to apply knowledge practically to natural use. As the driver has to know the rules of highway and driving, the learner also has to know some rules.

It is realised that a native speaker's communicative competence (Hymes, 1971) has both the rules of linguistic usage and language use. It is, therefore, argued that what we should emphasize in L2 teaching is not just the rules of usage but also the rules of use. In fact the proponents of FAP to language teaching give more importance to use than usage. Hence the teaching of usage does not appear to guarantee the knowledge of use. The teaching of use, however, does seem to guarantee the teaching of usage. This is because the knowledge of use is a necessary part of usage (Widdowson 1978: 19).

The primary objective of the structural approach is to build language competence through usage -- knowledge of linguistic rules (Widdowson 1978) - whereas the primary goal of the functional approach is to build language competence through use - the ability to use this knowledge for

effective communication. (Widdowson 1978). The starting point of structural materials is HOW utterances are formed, and the starting point of the functional syllabus is WHAT is being expressed and WHAT communicative purpose the utterance fulfills.

This view opens up a wider perspective on language learning. The learners must develop strategies for relating the structures to their functions in real situations. Ample opportunities must be provided to the learners to use the language themselves for functional purposes. The ultimate goal must be to develop the learner's ability to exploit functional potential of language rather than the perfect mastery of individual structures (Littlewood 1981). In effect it means that the L2 learner has to know how to make and understand utterances which express certain concepts perform certain speech acts, and in general enable the learner to participate in the interactional processes of normal language use (Pitcorder 1973).

FORM AND FUNCTION: Recognising that language is a man made system, we must understand clearly its implications. Earlier, perhaps an overemphasis on the analysis of the structural aspects of language and the various systems that underlie it have to be some extent diverted our focus from taking into account the function of language. Just as within an analysis of the structure of the grammatical system we cannot use a single fundamental concept like word or sentence but we must use both. So any analysis of the total system and how it works must relate structure and function (Robinson 1980). Structures being arbitrary, can only derive their signifi-

cance in function. This does not mean that the two are inextricably inter-locked so that a conceptual distinction between them cannot be made. Any utterance qualifying as a communicative act will have both a structure and function. Structural analyses have never in fact eliminated notions of meaning and function (Robinson 1980). The emphasis on structures has often been so strong as to lead the unwary of an impression that function is irrelevant. If we are to succeed in understanding how language works in practice, we shall have to show how these two interrelate and that will mean an analysis of functions as well as structures (Robinson 1980).

Littlewood (1981) rightly points out that both functional and situational aspects of language deserve systematic attention in any attempt to evolve an approach to language teaching. It is well known that a native speakers intuitive knowledge of linguistic facts and operations enables him to produce new sentences. Savignon (1978: 131) also emphasizes that "... *communicative competence certainly requires more than knowledge of surface features of sentence level grammar"*. Coherent passages of dis-course can be created by combining a knowledge of basic structural princi-ples of language and their practical use. Littlewood (1981: 1)[1] states,

"one of the most characteristic features of communicative lan-guage teaching is that it pays attention to functional as well as

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[1] *This recognition has in fact, caused a re-evaluation of linguistic priorities, reviving interest in discourse analysis and semantics.*

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structural aspects of language".

Thus the structural view of language has not been superseded by the functional view (Littlewood 1981). To illustrate this idea let us examine the following apparently straightforward sentence:

Why don't you close the door?

From a structural view point, it is umambiguously interrogative. From a functional view point, however, it is ambiguous. It depends on circumstances. It may function as a question - for example, the speaker may genuinely like to know why his friend never closes a particular door. It may function as a command. This would probably be the case, if, a teacher posed it to a pupil who had left the classroom door open. In other situations it could be intended as a plea, suggestion or a command. As this illustration indicates that, though the structure is stable and straight forward, its com- municative function is variable and depends on specific situations and social factors.

As we have noticed, a single linguistic form can express a number of functions, so also a single communicative function can be expressed by a number of linguistic forms. For example, the speaker who wants some- body to close the door has many linguistic options including **close the door, please ; could you please close the door?, would you mind closing the door?** or **excuse me, could I trouble you to close the door?.**

This discussion implies that the L2 learner needs more than a fixed repertoire of linguistic forms corresponding to communicative functions. The relationship between forms and functions is variable and cannot be definitely predicted outside the specific situations. Hence the learner must also be given opportunities to develop strategies for interpreting language in actual use. In Widdowson's (1977: 28) own words:

"An approach to the teaching of language which aims at developing communicative competence involves more than the specification of the notions and functions which the learner will eventually have to express in the language concerned. It involves crucially, the devising of a methodology which will represent how such notions and functions are synthesized in on-going discourse and so developing the learner an ability to deal with language in use as a dynamic process of meaning realization".

CONTEXT AND EXPRESSION: The notion of contextual appropriacy of expressions has been discussed by a number of scholars, Cooper (1968), Hymes (1971), and Widdowson (1971). It is clear from what they say that the mastery of L2 requires more than merely making utterances. We all use different types of linguistic structures in different circumstances to different people. For example, suppose a boy wants to open a window - to his friend he might say: **So hot here, Isn't it? Mind if I open the window.** However, to his teacher he might say: **I'm afraid I'm rather hot. Would you mind if I open the window?.**

The form of utterances must take into account the relationship between speaker and hearer and the constraints imposed by the setting and circumstances in which the act of communication is taking place. For example, *"What is your name"* is a conventional expression, but it is not an appropriate way of asking the identity of a telephone caller, for which purpose *"May I know who is calling"?* is considered a more appropriate way of requesting.

According to Hymes (1972) the negotiation of meaning includes a knowledge of different types of communicative strategies or communicative styles according to the situation, the task, and the roles of the participants. For example, if a speaker wants to borrow a pen from another person in order to fill a form, he might make use one of the following utterances, according to the speaker's judgement of its appropriateness:

i) Make a statement about his need ;   I need a pen.

ii) Use an imperative;   Give me a pen

iii) Use an embedded imperative;   Could I borrow your pen?

iv) Use a permission directive;   May I have your pen?

v) Use a question directive;   Do you have a pen?

vi) Make a hint;   I am looking for a pen.

In L1 situation a learner picks up language and acquires the skill of using communicative strategies which he judges to be appropriate to different types of situations. Thus, we see that the choice of an appropriate strategy for performing a communicative task is dependent on such factors as age, sex, social status, purpose, role-relationship, etc. Obviously a non-native language learner has less choice available to him for performing communicative tasks. For example, because of his restricted linguistic repertoire he considers the use of **please** plus **imperative**, as a polite form of expression in all contexts. The effectiveness of communication is thus evaluated not only in terms of the functional effectiveness of the language but also in terms of the social acceptability and appropriacy of the expressions that are used.

ACCURACY AND FLUENCY: In order to become an effective communicator, a learner has to acquire accuracy and fluency in his expression. These two notions therefore need to be understood clearly. Grammar plays an important integrative function in the acquisition of accuracy. Grammatical and vocabulary exercises are designed to give the learner an experience and practice of one particular language point at a time. The notion of fluency includes the skill of organisation and presentation style of the material. It requires the organisation of different types of language activities like individual work, pair work, small group work and whole class work. Further, self-monitoring and creativity are essential for achieving accuracy and

fluency. An additional factor which promotes these is an effective, consistent internal evaluation system of the learners performance.

ROLE OF LEARNERS AND TEACHERS: The emphasis in FAP on the processes of communication rather than mastery of language forms, lead to different roles for learners from those found in more traditional L2 classroom situations. Breen and Candlin (1980: 110) describe the learners role within communicative language teaching in the following terms:

"The role of learners as negotiator between the self, the learning process, and the object of learning-emerges from and interacts with the role of joint negotiator within the group and within the classroom procedures and activities which the group undertakes. The implication for the learner is that he should contribute as much as he gains, and thereby learn in an interdependent way."

There is thus an acknowledgment that, learners bring preconceptions of what teaching and learning should be like. In this approach the instructor is expected to adopt a variety of roles. Breen and Candlin (1980: 99) describe teacher roles in the following terms.

"The teacher has two main roles: the first role is to facilitate the communication process between all participants in the classroom, and between these participants and the various activities and texts. The second role is to act as an independent participant

within the learning-teaching group. The latter role is closely related to the objectives of the first role and arises from it. These roles imply a set of secondary roles for the teacher; first, as an organizer of resources and as a resource himself, second as a guide within the classroom procedures and activities,.... A third role for the teacher is that of researcher and learner, with much to contribute in terms of appropriate knowledge and abilities, actual and observed experience of the nature of learning and organisational capacities."

Littlewood (1981) also set out these roles as: the co-ordinator of language activity; classroom manager; language instructor; consultant or advisor; as co-communicator with the learners.

The implementation of the principles of FAP in actual teaching has remained a matter of debate and discussion. However, the main objective is to engage learners in communication to perform the different roles. A teacher has to take care of a number of activities which, according to Littlewood (1981), are as follows:

Pre-Communicative activities ——————| Structural activities

Quasi-Communicative activities

Communicative activities ——————| Functional communicative activities

Social interaction activities

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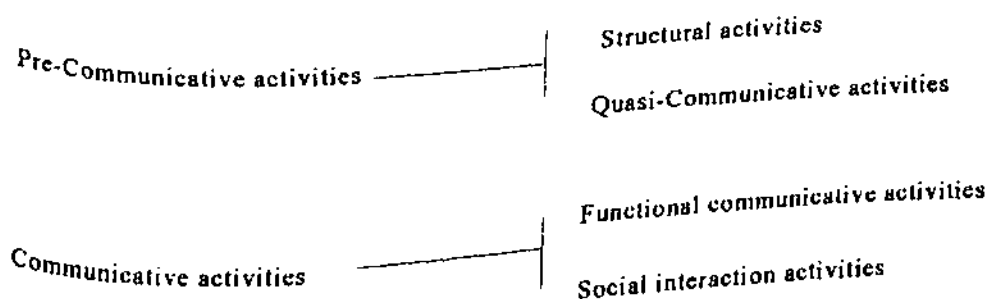
Communicative processes are used as information sharing, negotiation of meaning and interaction. It is argued that language learning comes about through using language communicatively rather than through practising language skills.

In this connection, it would be worthwhile to look briefly what Howatt (1984: 279) terms as a strong and a weak version of communicative language teaching. He says:

"*The weak version which has become more or less standard practice in the last ten years, stresses the importance of providing learners with opportunities to use their English for communicative purposes and, characteristically, attempts to integrate such activities into a wider program of language teaching... The strong version of communicative teaching, on the other hand, advances the claim that language is acquired through communication, so that is is not merely a question of activating an existing but inert knowledge of the language, but of stimulating the development of the language system itself. If the former could be described as learning to use English, the latter entails 'using English to learn it'.*"

Let us now abstract the basic ideas on the nature and function of language on which the FAP is based:

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i) The primary function of language is communication;

ii) The structure and system of language reflect its functional uses; and

iii) The basic units of language are not merely its grammatical and structural features, but also the meaning relations as established by discoursal elements.

It would be observed that FAP takes into account both language as a system per se and the communicative properties of the system. In fact in formulating it, the existing theories, methods and procedures have been reoriented, reinterpreted and extended to suit the modern demands of language learning and teaching activity. Let us now summarise the basic notions on which this approach is based:

i) Meaning is paramount in language use.

ii) Contextualization is a basic premise for language learning.

iii) Language learning is learning to communicate.

iv) The acquisition of comprehensible pronunciation is essential

v) The ability to communicate is best acquired through communicative activities right from the beginning.

vi) The L2 linguistic system is learned best through the process of trying to communicate.

vii) Diversity in teaching materials and methodology is essential.

viii) The interest in learning is to be sustained by sequencing the elements of the process in terms of content, function, or meaning.

ix) The motivation for learning is self-generated.

x) The fact of learning through trial and error is recognised.

xi) The interactional nature of language is emphasized.

xii) The primary goal is to acquire fluency and acceptable usage.

xiii) The acquisition of communicative competence is the desired goal.

Though this approach is a definite improvement on the earlier approaches discussed in this Chapter, it appears that certain aspects have not been fully taken into account. Let us now turn our attention to short-comings that this approach has:

i) It does not keep in view the inevitable conflict between the social rules and linguistic usage on the one hand and between

the cultural determinants an d contextual appropriacy on the other.

ii) This approach does not put an adequate stress on the need for conscious efforts to impart proficiency in reading, the importance of which can hardly be overemphasized. It also does not seem to have any ingredient to generate activities which would enable the learner to imbibe the strategies for vocabulary extension.

iii) It does not pay adequate attention to systematic mastery of sounds and structures. *"Real uses of language, especially social uses are its priority" (Deckert 1987: 17).*

iv) Though FAP demands a number of verbal communication activities, it does not specifically contain ideas to regulate the manipulation of non-verbal means of communication, much less of the factors that fall within the ambit of kinesics and proxemics.

v) FAP also does not adequately take into account the problems generated by individual bilingualism and social pluralism. To be effective, an approach has to take into account the complexity of the linguistic situation.

L2 learning depends upon a number of complex factors. The social and cultural rules play a significant role in learning a language. In teaching, therefore, certain phenomena of a universal nature have to be moulded to suit the requirements of individual speech communities. In the Indian context, an approach has to be formulated, keeping in view three main factors, namely, social rules, cultural ethos, and linguistic diversity. It is, therefore, essential to identify the factors and ideas which would help us formulate an appropriate approach to suit the Indian situation. It is obvious that, whenever we borrow anything from a foreign country and try to implant it in the native land, the results obtained suffer from inherent flaws. Whatever emerges from the native soil and grows out of local experience is likely to prove more relevant and effective.

Chapter 7

SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

As we pointed out in Chapter 6, the functional approach (FAP) brought about a marked change in our attitude to ELT. But it too is not comprehensive and specific enough to meet the requirements of the Indian situation. Hence there is a need for a new approach which will take care of the shortcomings of FAP and also other approaches. Here we propose a new approach which may be termed as **sociolinguistic approach** (SAP). This approach, as we shall see later, suggests a change in our perception of L2 teaching/learning, and presents a set of interrelated concepts and ideas which can make ELT in India more effective. In formulating this approach we have taken into account the conclusions reached in the earlier chapters. Here it would be appropriate to look at those developments and factors that have exercised a deep and direct influence in shaping it. The developments that we have identified to be of significance in this context are: the evolution of the concept of communicative competence and the designing of needs-based syllabuses. First, we critically review these two developments and then move on to the factors that have played a key role in determining our proposal.

7.1 EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

The notions of competence[1] and performance[2] were initially appealing but soon led to problems in the wake of certain fresh developments in sociolinguistic studies. These developments transformed the entire view on language study and placed a new emphasis on the communicative aspect of language. This would become clearer as we proceed further and show the impact of sociolinguistic studies on ELT.

To begin with let us look at Chomsky himself who makes both a weaker or neutral, and a stronger claim to linguistic[3] competence (Greene 1972). The neutral interpretation of linguistic competence refers to the knowledge of a system of rules and assigns structural description to sentences. This is purely descriptive, and it does not intend to say anything about the way in which the speaker-listener uses the system of rules in constructing well-formed sentences of his language. But in 1970, he comes out with a stronger claim that the rules of grammar are internalised in the mind of the speaker-listener and provide a basis for understanding and producing sentences of his language. In other words, he acquires competence which he puts to use in producing and understanding speech. The issue

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1, 2 These notions have already been defined and explained in Chapter 6.

3 This word is added to distinguish the term 'linguistic competence' from 'communicative competence'.

here is that although some kind of competence is used in the actual perform-ance, it does not consist of the rules of transformational grammar as formu-lated in the **Standard Theory** of Chomsky (Munby 1978).

Further, the interpretation of competence gives rise to the problem of how to draw the line of demarcation between competence and perform-ance. Several sociolinguists found Chomsky's competence - performance distinction to be too restricted to account for language in use. That Chom-sky's formulation neglects the social aspects of language is pointed out by Cooper (1968); Habermas (1970); Campbell and Wales (1970); Lyons (1970); Jakobovits (1970); Widdowson (1971); Halliday (1971, 1972); and Hymes (1972).

Hymes (1972) criticises the distinction of **competence** and **per-formance** because Chomsky omits almost everything of sociocultural sig-nificance, and is concerned only with psychological constraints, rather than with social interaction. It must be recognised that communicative ability is a complex and many-sided phenomenon. Language has to fulfil the commu-nicative demands of a community. The learner has to acquire communica-tive skills to meet these demands. As we are aware, languages function in a context and words acquire significance from the context, and therefore, social rules which enable the speaker-listener to interpret the social mean-ing, must also be taken into consideration.

Jakobovits (1970) expresses more or less similar views when he says that along with rules of syntax, social context selection rules constitute an essential part of linguistic competence. Campbell and Wales (1970), and Fador and Garretts (1966) point out that Chomsky's notion of competence does not take into consideration one of the most important linguistic abilities, that is, to understand and produce utterances which are not only grammatical but also appropriate to the situational and verbal contexts in which they are made.

Cooper (1968) and Hymes (1971) also argue that there was a lot more to linguistic activity than the production of grammatical sentences. Cooper (1968) held the view that effective communication requires more than linguistic competence. It means, to communicate effectively, a speaker must know not only how to produce grammatical utterances of a language, but also how to use them appropriately. This comprises his contextual competence. Emphasizing this aspect Hymes (1971: 277-278) observes:

"... a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner... The competence moreover, is integral with attitudes, values and motivations concerning language, its features and uses."

Thus it is clear that the speaker's linguistic and contextual competences are the two main components of communicative competence. It complements, if not counters Chomsky's notion of purely grammatical competence. Communicative competence is not simply what is **done** with language, it involves abstract knowledge but of a type that is much less systematizable and mathematizable than that proposed by Chomsky. It includes the cultural knowledge, the organisation of verbal means for socially-defined purposes and the sensitivity of language for situations, relationships and intentions. Cooper (1968), and Widdowson (1971), too suggest that the notion of competence must be enlarged to include contextual appropriacy because *"there are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless" (Hymes 1971)*.

Habermas (1970), a leading social theorist, accepts Chomsky's distinction of competence and performance but criticises his notion of competence. He points out that for potential communication the speaker must have, in addition to his linguistic competence, the basic qualities of speech and of symbolic interaction (role-behaviour) at his disposal. Thus, communicative competence, according to him, means *"the mastery of an ideal speech situation"*. This conception of competence is of a higher level of idealisation than that of Chomsky. His view has more in common with Halliday (1978) whose theory deals with language use and also takes into account language functions which are realised by speech. Halliday rejects the distinction between competence and performance as it is of little use in

a sociological context. He has developed a socio-semantic approach to language and the speaker's use of language. His approach is based on his language-defining notion of **meaning-potential** which is the set of options in meaning available to the speaker-listener. This meaning potential relates behaviour potential to lexico-grammatical potential: what the speaker can do — can mean — can say. Thus, Halliday's (1978) theory is a **social theory** determining behaviour options (what the speaker can do) which are translated linguistically as semantic options (what we can mean), which are encoded as options in linguistic forms (what we can say); the options at each stage being organised as networks of systems. He further says that the study of language as social behaviour is in the last resort on account of semantic options derived from the social structure.

Thus we see that Halliday's focus of attention is on language as a social semiotic. It means interpreting language within a socio-cultural context. He looks at the learner as an active agent in creating meaning out of his encounter with people and events of his experience. According to him (Halliday 1975: 139-140):

"A child, in the act of learning language, makes his language and learns the culture of his society through language. His task is to construct the system of meanings that represent his own model of social reality. This process takes place inside his own head, it is a cognitive process. But it takes place in contexts of social interaction, and there is no way it can take place except

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in these contexts. As well as being a cognitive process, the learning of the mother tongue is also an interactive process. It takes the form of the continued exchange of meanings between the self and others. The act of meaning is a social act".

Widdowson's (1977) interpretation of communicative competence is essentially Hymesian's view of communicative competence, although it derives more from rhetoric and discourse analysis. He also attacks Chomsky's distinction of competence and performance. He points out that the speaker's competence includes knowledge of how to recognise and how to use sentences to perform rhetorical acts. According to him communicative competence is *"the knowledge of the rules of use in particular social situations".*

Jakobovits (1970) also rejects the standard theory of linguistic competence. He agrees broadly with Hymes, Cooper and Widdowson, though his emphasis is on the following four aspects of knowledge that comprise a speaker's communicative competence: **paralinguistic, kinesic, sociolinguistic** and **psycholinguistic**. However, he differs from Hymes inasmuch as he omits grammatical knowledge as one of the constituent elements of communicative competence.

Loveday (1982) follows a slightly different route to determine the meaning of the notion of communicative competence. He looks upon language as a network of interactions and manifestations of speaker-hearer

roles. The learner needs to know how to make and understand utterances which express certain concepts, perform certain communicative acts, and in general enable the learner to participate in the interactional processes of normal language use. The learner has to be aware of the diverse ways of constructing messages. The paralinguistic, proxemic and language organisational patterns which are so essential for communicating are closely associated with our interactional process. They are also to be carefully studied in order to understand the meaning of communication. Certainly, in the process of communication of meaning we signal the grammar, the vocabulary, the topic, the setting, the occasion and the variation in language.

The variation in language basically relates to the variety of social meaning, that is, how one presents oneself to others - whether in a neutral way, humourous way, serious way, emotional way, intimate way and role-conforming way. The reasons for such a presentation depend on many factors as shown in Figure 2. In it the meaning carrying elements of communication are placed in a box, the arrow representing the speaker's output. Of course, these constituents are dynamic in nature, so they alter and adopt according to the context of interaction. They are also influenced and constrained by social values and speaking conventions. Thus, communicative competence entails knowing how to incorporate contextual determinants into linguistic constituents when producing meaning. Meaning emerges in relation to what the interactants try to demonstrate, what they have done before and what they are engaged in and are doing, what they have done before and what they are engaged in and
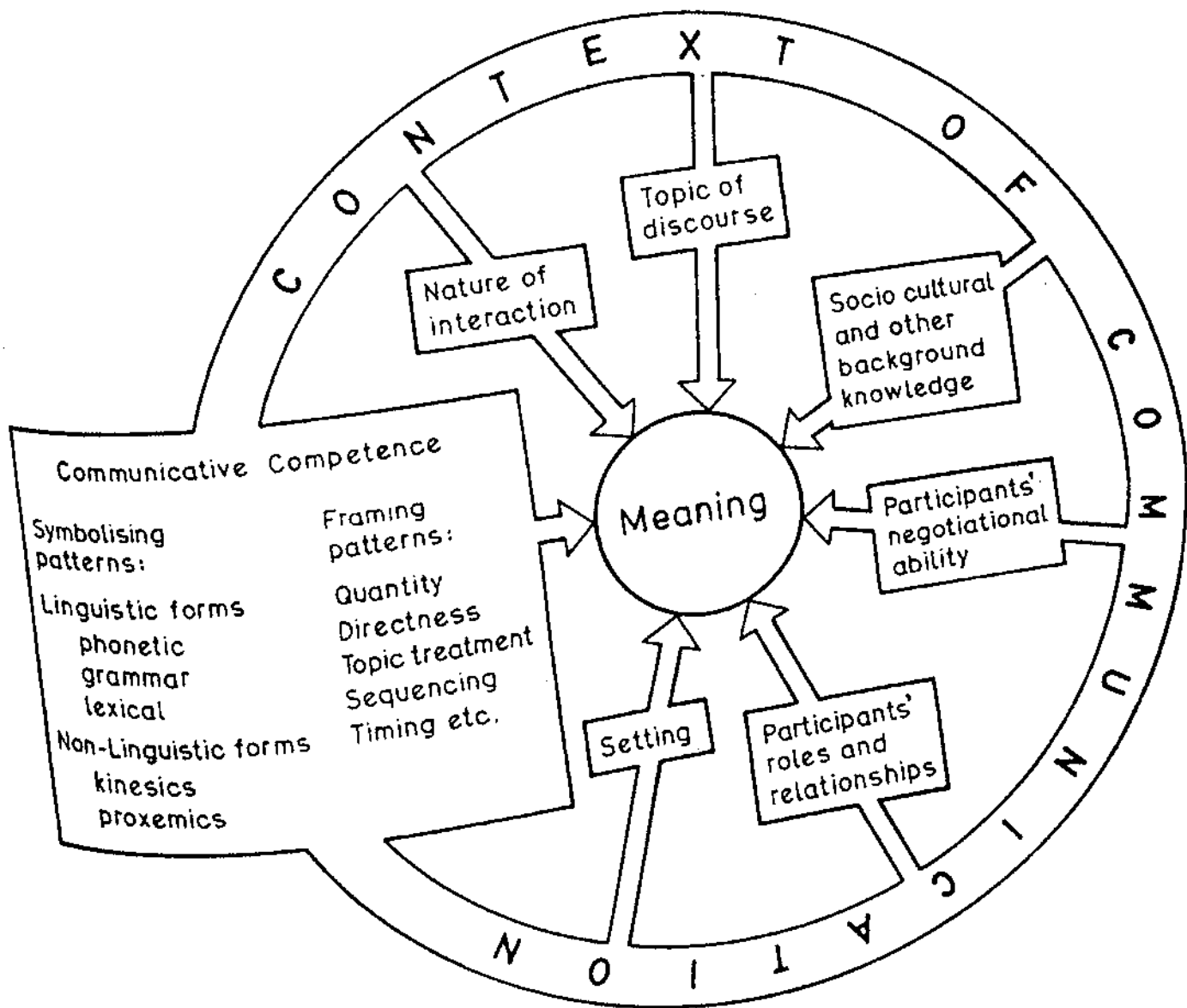
Figure 2.

Sociolinguistic Constituents of Communicative Competence

Source : Loveday, Leo. 1982.
"The sociolinguistics of learning and using a Non-native Language". (The original figure has been simplified by us for the purpose of this discussion.)

derives from the context of on-going interaction. Loveday emphasizes that the speaker is someone who manipulates the communicative system for himself in accordance with social interaction practices and not one who acts as an automat responding to environmental stimuli.

The symbolising patterns include various means like: linguistic forms (phonetic, grammar, and lexical) and non-linguistic forms such as kinesics and proxemics. Framing patterns refer to the principles and conventions which connect, compose and regulate communicative behaviour but they are not intrinsically symbolic, although they convey meanings. Loveday (1982: 65) rightly says,

"Both framing and symbolising patterns function in accordance with the social, cultural beliefs, values and practices of the community which employ them. They function in unison, helping to clarify sense, modifying each other and accommodating to the context".

As shown in the figure, their meaning comes into being only when they occur with and adapt to the contextual determinants. Having thus discussed the factors determining communication, Loveday describes communicative competence as the knowledge and the ability to construct meaning in a way that it is socioculturally appropriate in all contexts of situation. This view is not materially different from that of Hymes and other scholars discusssed earlier.

It is thus clear that the notion of communicative competence needs to be widened to include four aspects, namely, the speaker- listener's grammatical (formally possible), psycholinguistic (implementationally feasible), socio-cultural (contextually appropriate) and de facto (actually occurring) knowledge and ability for use.

From the foregoing discussion we can draw the following conclusions. First, the notion of communicative competence is a comprehensive concept drawing upon the constituent elements of the notions of both competence and performance. Second, the use of language is conditioned by the communication needs engendered by the social pressure exerted on the learner. Third, language learning depends upon a complexity of factors, all of which are not linguistic. Fourth, the body of knowledge that has accumulated in a bid to understand, to criticise, to modify or to widen the Chomskyean notions of competence and performance provides a number of useful ideas for the formulation of our proposal.

7.2 DESIGNING OF NEEDS-BASED SYLLABUSES

The determination of needs of learners is significant in the formulation of an approach and crucial in designing syllabuses and preparation of teaching materials. The studies made for this purpose have been appropriately termed as studies in English for specific purposes (ESP). Though, the main focus of ESP is on the designing of syllabuses, in effect it suggests a whole strategy of L2 teaching. A syllabus, as we know, is the base which

generates teaching activities. Moreover, as we shall see presently, the needs based syllabuses do not merely present an inventory of teaching items; they go beyond it. A close look at the syllabus can make it clear to the discerning teacher what kind of activities he should generate to impart competence in the use of required language

The most influential work in this area has been done by the Council of Europe, and in particular by Wilkins (1973, 1974, 1976) and Van EK (1975). These studies emphasize that in the actual use of language people do not just produce sentences but express concepts and fulfil communicative functions. They, therefore, propose that the content of language teaching courses should be defined in terms not of the formal elements of syntax and lexis, as is customary in structural syllabuses, but in terms of concepts and functions for the realisation of which these elements are used. Wilkins groups these concepts and functions under the general heading of notions and outlines a preliminary inventory (Wilkins, 1976) whereas Van EK (1975) provides more detailed specifications of notions. The rationale behind this proposal has been clearly stated by Wilkins. According to him, *"What people do through language is more important than mastery of the language as an unapplied system" (Wilkins 1976: 42)*. To justify his view point he observes:

"The advantage of the notional syllabus is that it takes the communicative facts of language into account from the beginning without losing sight of grammatical and situational factors. It is

potentially superior to the grammatical syllabus because it will

produce a communicative competence and because its evident

concern with the use of language will sustain the motivation of

the learners" (Wilkins 1976: 19).

No one would seriously quarrel with this contention of Wilkins. However, the question is whether the notional syllabus really accounts for what people want to do through language.

The British applied linguists hold the view that the notional syllabus is merely replacing one kind of list with another. It specifies products, rather than communicative processes. Widdowson (1977) saw in Wilkin's proposal only a partial and vague definition of certain semantic notions. He argues that notional-functional categories provide

"only a very partial and imprecise definition of certain semantic

and pragmatic rules which are used for reference when people

interact. They tell us nothing about the procedures people em-

ploy in the application of these rules when they are actually

engaged in communicative activity" (Widdowson, 1977: 31).

He draws attention to the limitations of notional syllabus by observing that:

"... it does not deal with language in context but only in concepts

and functions in idealised isolation, informally described and

exemplified by citation forms whose very explicitness signals their ideal character." (Widdowson 1977: 31).

Thus if we are to develop *"the ability to do things with language, then it is discourse which must be at the center of our attention" (Widdowson, 1977: 31).* Brumfit (1980: 103) also criticises the notional syllabus but on a different ground. He points out that the notional model fails to take any cognizance of the fact that whenever *"... languages have adopted to new circumstances, new needs and new speakers, they have reflected and contributed to cultural change ... by constantly renegotiating their values in functional terms..."*

Whatever be the criticism, it is clear that the main concern behind the proposal for the notional syllabus was the imparting of communicative competence. One can safely say that this proposal went a long way in changing our attitude towards language teaching by focussing the attention on the actual needs of learners. The proposal also underlined the concern for paying greater attention to the basic function of language, that is, the communication of meaning. It would perhaps be appropriate to draw attention to several other proposals and models which have emerged as a result of this concern. Here, we would only like to list a modified version of Yalden's (1983) classification of communicative syllabus types with reference source to each model given by Richards and Rodgers (1986).

Table V

Communicative Syllabus Types

S.No	Syllabus Type	Name associated with it
1.	Functional	Jupp and Holdin (1975)
2.	Structure plus functions	Wilkins (1976)
3.	Notional	Wilkins (1976)
4.	Learner-generated	Candlin (1976)
5.	Interactional	Widdowson (1979)
6.	Functional spiral around structural core	Brumfit (1980)
7.	Structural, functional instrumental	Allen (1980)
8.	Task-based	Prabhu (1983)

The designing of ELT programmes depends upon a number of complex factors. Merely specification of learner needs and determining the specific purposes cannot yield satisfactory results. In formulating a language teaching policy decisions have to be based on the social role of

language in a particular society and therefore information on the use of language in that society has to be scientifically collected. For this, language surveys have been made in a number of countries; for example, the survey of language use and language teaching in East Africa (Prator 1975, Polome 1975); the survey of language use and attitudes in the Phillippines (Sibayan, 1975) and the survey of English use and English-language policy in Jordon (Harrison et al. 1975, Tucker, 1976).

Here, it is relevant to refer to two studies that have been made in India to identify the learner needs and to propose needs- based syllabuses. The first is that by Banerji (1984). She proposes a needs-based syllabus to teach English at the undergraduate level in India. She carried out a survey of the language tasks that the professionals perform in real-life situations. After analysing the data received, she has suggested a list of tasks and sub-tasks which can be used as a basis for designing the syllabus. She argues that the syllabus so designed would meet the academic requirements and also serve the **general educational purpose**. Her survey also confirms that one of the important needs of learners is the ability to read effectively. The Curriculum Development Cell, I.I.T., Kanpur (1993) which conducted the survey for identifying the English language needs for technical education does not come out with a well-defined syllabus. However, it does confirm the necessity for revamping of ELT in technical institutions. It also shows the importance of reading as one of the needs essential for the acquisition of competence in English. It is universally acknowledged that

reading is one of the important language skills that equips the learner with a master key that will open many doors that lead to the road of learning and enlightenment (Gurrey 1956, Mohan 1981). In the Indian context, where English serves as a **window on the world**, the development of this skill deserves special attention. This need was recognised by the Education Commission (1964-66) which made a strong plea for teaching English as a **library language**. Therefore, any approach to ELT, to be comprehensive and relevant in the Indian context, should advocate the acquisition of reading competence as an essential equipment of a learner for achieving communicative proficiency in L2.

As we said in the beginning of this discussion, syllabus is one of the key factors in ELT activity. In the intense concern for formulating more relevant syllabuses a number of new ideas or old ideas with new emphasis have come to the fore. These provide substance for identifying more specific and relevant factors. We shall now briefly look at these factors.

7.3 KEY FACTORS IN FORMULATING THE PROPOSAL

There has been an increasing concern for the negotiation of meaning through a judicious manipulation of discoursal elements and performance of rhetorical acts. keeping in mind the sociolinguistic repertoire of the learner. This means that we have to view the process of communication in a slightly different way. Generally this process is described in terms of what the sender desires to convey and what is actually received by the receiver.

In fact, the situation is more complex as several other factors enter into the circuit which processes meaning. The following Figure. 3 highlights these factors.
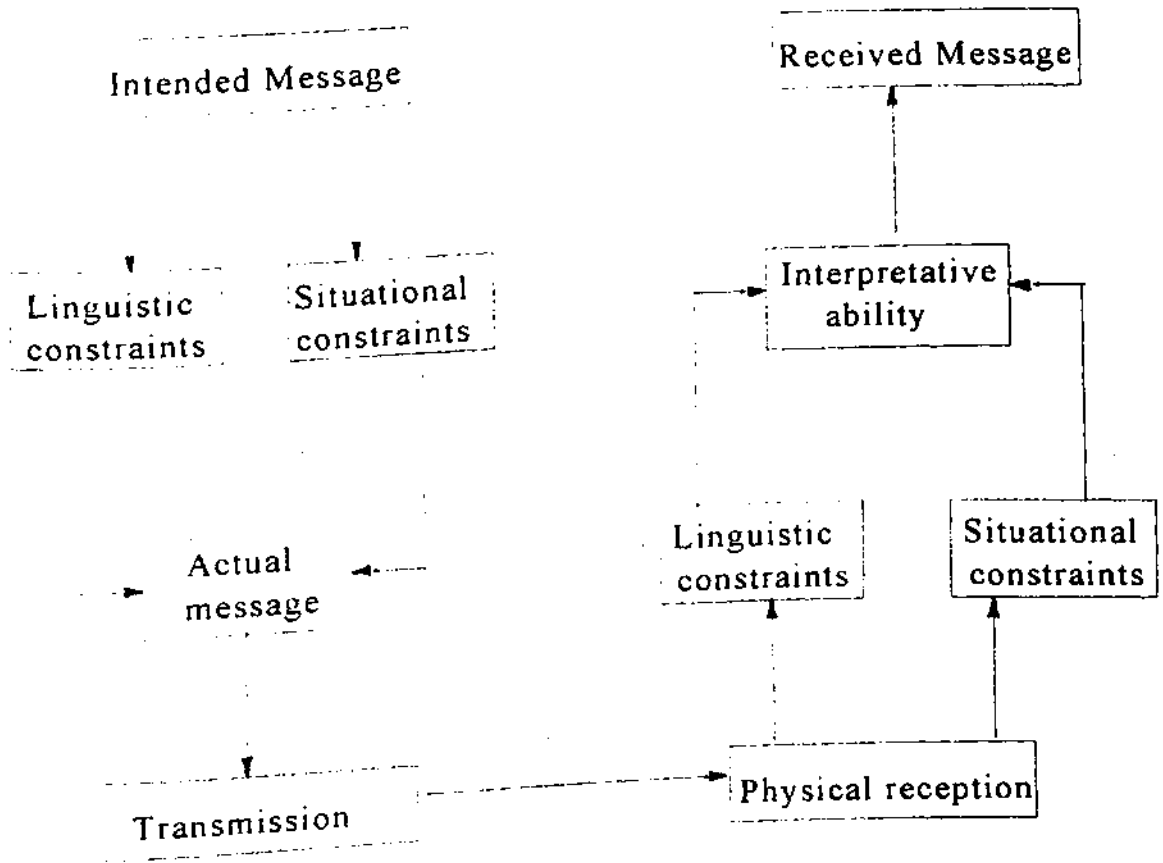

Figure 3

The Process of Sociolinguistic Communication

As shown in the Figure 3, the intended message is what the sender desires to convey in a given situation. There are two main constraints in the realisation of his intention. These have been termed as linguistic constraints and situational constraints. The former refers to the sender's command over the language and his ability to exploit the linguistic potential and the latter refers to the restrictions imposed by socio-cultural factors and sometimes even by political expediency. With these constraints the actual message is constructed and transmitted. On reception, the receiver exercises his interpretative ability to comprehend it. In this process again linguistic and situational constraints play a role in shaping the final message. Thus the sociolinguistic competence of the learner would depend upon the successful manipulation of the process.

There is another significant reality that we have taken into account. In Chapter 4 we have discussed in detail the concept of bilingualism and its various types and consequences. An outflow of bilingualism in India is the use of a number of sub-codes, code-switching and code-mixing which characterise the use of English by Indians. But a more significant aspect of this is the fact that the learner of English is exposed to bilingual education and so far as language is concerned he is already a master of his mother-tongue. Unfortunately, in the past there have been suggestions for a complete obliteration of what has already been imbibed by the L2 learner in his L1 verbal behaviour. This long-standing belief has been attacked successfully by Gulia (1992). He has forcefully argued that L1 is not an interfer-

ence to the learning of L2. In fact, if exploited effectively, it can accelerate the process of L2 learning. He shows how the competence acquired in L1 is highly relevant in teaching English at all the main levels, namely, phonological, grammatical, lexical, and semantic. Our discussion on BAP fortifies Gulia's arguments and therefore the use of the mother tongue is to be permitted in teaching situations specified by us in Section 4 of Chapter 6.

The time has come to muster enough courage to defy the strong currents of changes that we have been importing for a long time. We need to *"modify, expand and even replace the model or models on the basis of our needs, our problems and limitations and the socio-cultural settings in which we are learning and teaching English"* (Verma 1993: 115-116). We have to liberate ourselves from narrow, pedantic, academic shackles and a complete surrender to external domination, mainly by the British and American scholars. However, the movement on a new path has to be guided by a judicious selection of ideas and the light that is emanated by our aspirations as a society. In Chapter 5, we have examined in some detail how the process of Indianisation of English has been going on at all levels of language and a new variety called *"Indian English"* is emerging and gaining international acceptance.

In formulating a new approach, we must therefore, ensure that the ability to use language is marked both by internal consistency and external appropriacy. The internal consistency within the text of communication

event includes grammatical correctness, accepted usage and the use of conventional rules of speaking and writing. The external appropriacy relates to the habits of thought and patterns of behaviour of the users. In the Indian context we must take into account the process of Indianisation of English which, as we know, is based on strong socio-cultural currents that characterise our society. In fact, we may go to the extent of saying that in India English is more than L2. Apart from being an instrument of communication in the professional world, it is a means of cultural expression, social interaction, creative writings, academic advancement, and political activity. The fact is that English performs several L1 functions in our country. This process has to some extent led to the emergence of certain typically Indian uses of English which mark a departure from the accepted British usage. To what extent the deviations should be accepted depends upon an overall consideration of their acceptability in India and in broad terms their international acceptence also. Obviously, those that satisfy these two requirements would be the ones arrived at by stretching the rules and practices of the standard British usage.

Another thought that has gone into the shaping of SAP is the role of paralinguistic and extralinguistic features that influence our verbal behaviour. The negotiation of meaning through the oral mode cannot be effective without an ability for appropriate use of our body language and an awareness of the principles of kinesics and proxemics. The use of body language is deeply rooted in social traditions and cultural practices and

therefore differs from country to country. In India the problem is that we use a foreign language for social interaction as well as cultural expression to which typically English norms and practices in the use of body language cannot be applied. Often there is a mismatch between our use of English language and body language. It is, therefore, essential to include in our teaching programmes an effective use of paralinguistic features, which are typically Indian.

7.4 BASIC CONSTITUENTS OF THE APPROACH

We believe the stage is now set to move on to list the basic concepts and ideas that constitute SAP. Before we do so it would be appropriate to look at how this approach views language.

i) Language is a system for the expression of meaning in a socio-cultural context.

ii) Language is a vehicle for the realisation of interpersonal relations.

iii) Language is a tool for the performance of social transactions.

iv) Language is an instrument for acquiring knowledge.

v) Language is best learnt not exclusively as a tool but as a complete educational experience.

In the discussion so far we have paid attention to certain basic thoughts which have gone into the shaping of SAP as we view it. We may now list the various notions derived from our critical review of significant developments in the areas of sociolinguistics, bilingualism, Indianisation of English and the existing approaches to ELT. These notions together with the suggestions made earlier in this Chapter constitute the staple substance of the SAP. We have divided the notions into two categories which we may call Category A: contents-oriented factors; and Category B: procedures-oriented ideas. As the names themselves indicate, Category A contains those notions that are likely to generate and determine the kind of syllabus and material which would be required in realising this approach. Category B consists of such ideas as are likely to suggest methods and procedures of attaining the goal of this approach, namely, the imparting of sociolinguistic competence

Category A

i)   the social settings in which the language is used;

ii) the role the learner plays in the given setting;

iii) the communicative events in which the learner participates;

iv) the communicative key which the learner uses;

v)   the social pressures that demand communication;

vi) the topics and concepts that the learner needs to communicate about;

vii) the extent of mastery over the language systems of the target language that the learner has;

viii) the extent of the learner's command over the lexis of the target language.

ix) the degree of bilingual proficiency that the learner has;

x) the purposes for which the language is to be learnt;

xi) the sociocultural group to which the learner belongs; and

xii) the varieties of the target language that the learner would be required to use.

Category B

i) The language is interactional in nature.

ii) The negotiation of meaning in the learning process depends upon the specific language skills, the mode of expression and the learner group's social knowledge.

iii) The acquisition of proficiency in one language skill fortifies the other skills.

iv) Peer work builds motivation and confidence in using the acquired skills and increases the student's participation in the learning process.

v) The imparting of efficiency in reading is both cumulative and spiral and deserves special attention.

vi) The exposure to language usage in a diversity of situations relevant to the socio-cultural setting quickens the pace of learning.

vii) Original writings provide more useful samples of communication than artificially produced materials for pedagogic purposes.

viii) The use of L1 in the teaching/learning process for clearly specified purposes has a good potential for exploitation.

ix) The phenomena of code-mixing and code-switching need to be kept in view for determining the strategies of teaching.

x) The choice of language varies according to social function and personal intention.

xi) A proper use of paralinguistic communicative features is an essential part of L2 learning.

xii) It is necessary to take into account the heterogeneous communicative competence and the linguistic diversity of the target group.

xiii) The learner has to make spontaneous transactions in communication situations.

It would be observed that our categorisation does not put factors and ideas into water-tight compartments and the reason for this is very simple. The notions we have listed are capable of doing more than what can be narrowly interpreted at the first glance. At the implementation stage they are likely to have multiple ramifications and diverse interpretations. In fact, one can even quarrel with the relevance of putting a particular idea in a particular category. This, however, does not distort the model of this approach, which has to be viewed in totality.

As we have suggested earlier, our concept of sociolinguistic competence is more comprehensive than those mentioned earlier in this Chapter. It includes the following abilities. The first is an ability to generate grammatically correct sentences and refers to what Chomsky calls **linguistic competence** and what Hymes intends by what is **formally posible**. The second is an ability to use language in terms of its rhetorical functions. The third is an ability to understand the socio-social context in which communication takes place, including role-relationships, the shared information of participants, and the purpose for interaction. The fourth is an ability to

construct and comprehend discourse which means interpretation of individual messages and elements in terms of their interconnectedness and representation of meaning relationship in the entire text. The fifth is an ability to cope with the verbal and non-verbal strategies that communicators employ to initiate, to terminate, to maintain, to repair and to redirect communication.

All the abilities mentioned above have been taken into consideration in our proposal. As we perceive it, SAP would ensure the achievements of the three main goals of ELT, namely, correctness, appropriacy and fluency. The correctness is conceived in terms of grammatical accuracy and adherence to the rules of usage acceptable to the concerned speech community. The notion of appropriacy refers to the extent of relevance of the material chosen. The notion of fluency refers to the use of language spontaneously in a given situation. Of course, the fluency required in L2 would differ from community to community. This implies that the application of SAP in a particular community would have strategies of operation unique to that community.

What we have presented here has a typically Indian flavour emerging from several characteristic features of our language practice and behaviour. Obviously, the seeds of SAP can be traced in the philosophy on which the earlier approaches are based. Some of the ingredients have been made more specific, concretised and enlarged in the new approach, designed as it is to suit the individual speech communities engaged in L2 learning for

well- defined purposes. It is also to be noted that it is culture- specific as well as comprehensive and integrated - integrated not in terms of merely ideas and procedures but also in terms of emphases derived from theories in related areas such as linguistics, sociology, social psychology, education and information. SAP may ultimately lead to the development of a theory of language teaching suitable for reorganising ELT in our country.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

An analysis of the views and recommendations of different educational bodies clearly shows the concern for improving the standard of teaching English in India, so that the educated class of our country can use it efficiently as a language of communication and intellection for national and international purposes. There is no quarreling with the fact that there is a strong and urgent need for examining the current practices in ELT and to look for more efficient and viable alternatives.

In the recent past there have been significant developments in certain branches of knowledge such as linguistics, psychology and sociology which have a bearing on ELT pedagogy. Unfortunately, these developments have not been taken into account fully for evolving a practicable approach based on the accumulated knowledge in these areas and the needs of our society.

The study of various aspects of sociolinguistics suggests the emphasis that should be placed on the social aspects of language teaching. The main directions of sociolinguistic studies focus attention on stretching the concept of linguistic competence into what is termed as communicative competence, by shifting the stress from an abstract study of language to the

concrete aspects of language use. These studies also yield useful information on the functions of speech in different communities. So far as India is concerned, two very interesting developments provide fertile fields for fruitful sociolinguistic studies. These are the phenomenon of bilingualism and the process of Indianisation of English.

The permeation of English as an inalienable part of education in our country has deeply influenced the whole process of learning, specially language learning. In fact, the complexity of language education has become more pronounced because of multiplicity of languages. One of the complexities is the phenomenon of bilingualism, which characterises the linguistic behaviour of educated Indians. One can discern in any communicative interaction, a natural shift from one language to another as is done with regard to dialectical varieties within a speech community. We have given examples of code-switching and code-mixing and borrowing (Chapter 4) which are used as strategies of linguistic interaction, thus presenting a faithful picture of English speaking bilinguals in our society. An attempt is also made to show how the mixing or shifting of codes draws sustenance from socio-cultural settings and how the mixed code often functions as a registral or stylistic deviation for the negotiation of meaning.

The second development that we referred to earlier relates to a definite, identifiable process at work, the process which may in time to come result in the development of an Indian variety of English. We have found sufficient evidence in support of this trend. In fact, there are certain

eminent scholars who assert that such a variety already exists. So far as the spoken mode is concerned, there is no room for questioning this assertion. Similarly, at the lexical level there is a fast- growing trend to coin new words and phrases which can capture the vividness and peculiarities of our socio-cultural relations and settings. But, while we accept these trends of Indianisation, it has been difficult to muster adequate evidence in support of the Indianisation of English syntax. Nevertheless, if the present trend continues, we may have in not too distant future a new variety of English (Indian English) like American English, Australian English, Nigerian English, etc.

A critical review of literature relating to the notions that have been and are still regulating ELT activity in some form or the other provided us adequate material for analysis. While we found several useful ideas in this body of knowledge, we could not discover any systematised attempt to categorise them into well-formed bases for ELT. We, therefore, critically examined the scattered, sometimes half- baked, ideas and concepts and classified them into five categories for detailed scrutiny. Each category contains a set of inter-related ideas and concepts that constitute a particular approach to ELT.

The first approach on which we focussed our attention is TAP. It emphasizes language learning, first through a detailed analysis of its grammatical rules followed by application of this knowledge to the task of translating L1 sentences and texts into L2 and vice versa. It views language

learning as consisting of little more than memorising rules and facts in order to understand and manipulate L2. The mother tongue is maintained as the reference system in the acquisition of the second language. By implication this approach underscores the imparting of ability to read classical literature and philosophy. It almost totally neglects the imparting of speaking skill and gives primary importance to writing.

Under the impact of descriptive linguistics a new set of ideas emerged, exercising a deep impact upon ELT. Under this impact, ELT became synonymous with pattern practice and structural drills in artificially contrived contexts with insufficient attention to contents or meaning. This approach, termed as STAP, lays emphasis on empiricist scientific analysis which in turn depends upon mechanistic philosophy. When applied to language teaching, it naturally associates itself with behaviourist psychology of learning.

As against structuralism, TGAP derives inspiration from transformational generative theory of language. It gives equal importance to spoken and written language, de-emphasizes drilling and pattern practice and stresses the learning of the rules of language. Learning a language is no longer considered a matter of correct habit formation, but mastering a finite set of rules to produce an infinite number of grammatical sentences in the target language. The theory of learning suggested by this approach is based on cognitive psychology. With its overemphasis on rule- governed activity, it tends to degenerate into TAP with all its limitations and shortcomings.

With a spurt in sociolinguistic studies searchlight was thrown by several scholars on the phenomenon of bilingualism. Under the sway of this development some new ideas or old ideas in a new garb came to the fore. An examination of these ideas lead to the formulation of what we have termed as BLAP. Here, L1 is not considered an interference to L2 learning. Instead, the approach advocates an effective exploitation of L1 to accelerate the process of L2 learning. It is argued that there is no need for complete obliteration of what has already been imbibed by the learner in his verbal behaviour. The freedom to switch codes for specific purposes in learning activities, it is claimed, leads to more meaningful practice of the target language in non-contrived contexts and this imparts greater fluency and accuracy in language use. But BLAP at best emphasizes a particular aspect of L2 teaching and could therefore be viewed as a fall out from the churning of more basic ideas.

There was a significant development in linguistics after the middle of this century. A number of studies undertaken put stress on the fact that language is a vehicle for the expression of functional meaning for purposeful communication. This viewpoint naturally considers the semantic features as central to language function and implies that the organisation of contents of L2 learning should be in terms of categories of function rather than in terms of elements of lexis and grammar. Thus what we find here is a shift of focus from the formal properties of language to its communicative functions. Obviously, this approach (FAP) is in consonance with the goal

of L2 teaching, namely, imparting the ability to use it spontaneously and appropriately in different contexts of situations.

The analysis reveals that all the approaches mentioned above have in common two major weaknesses. One, they represent a relatively fixed combination of language teaching beliefs, and two, they are characterised by an overemphasis on certain aspects as central issues of language teaching and learning. However, a critical review of these approachs has made historical sense and provided new insights into significant developments in relevant fields of knowledge but eventually has formed an inadequate basis for conceptualising an integrated and comprehensive approach to language teaching. The analysis also shows that the theories of language teaching are derived partly from the acquisition of new knowledge and experience, and partly from social and educational needs.

As a sequel to these findings we have proposed a new approach (SAP) to ELT. It in general encompasses empiricist data as in STAP and rationalist data as in TGAP, and the functionalistic views as in FAP. Its main focus is on speech act in all its dimensions, including non-verbal means of communication, on language structures, interacting with sociocultural structures, and on the study of language, not in isolation but as a part of our native culture and social moorings.

The ideas and concepts that constitute SAP also take into consideration the fact that, whatever be the strategy of teaching, learning is

individual-centred and different perceptions cause shifts in emphasis towards the acquisition of different aspects of competence in the target language. It takes into account not only the social requirements but also the individual needs and thus presents a comprehensive package plan for meaningful exploitation in the Indian context. An implication of the application of SAP is that besides being learner-centered, it is activity-centred. It relies heavily on providing or creating conditions which prompt the learner to use the target language as far as possible in simulated real-life situations. As suggested earlier (Chapter 7), this can be done to some extent by injecting an element of social pressure in the process of learning.

It is realised that contriving socially relevant situations at different levels for the application of this approach would by no means be an easy task. The whole outlook towards the designing of syllabus and the production of instruction material would have to undergo radical changes. The actual classroom activities will have to be conceived and organised on the basis of strategies resulting from the basic philosophy of this approach. Similarly, new testing techniques would have to be evolved for measuring the learner's level of **sociolinguistic competence** and **performance. Thus,** though the evolution of this approach is an outflow of the existing theories, the application demands a material change in the entire operation of ELT.

Before we conclude, we may point out that the teaching cannot and should not be perceived as a unidirectional process of transmitting knowledge and imparting skills. It is an ongoing activity which is multidirectional

in nature ELT must, therefore, keep pace with the dynamics of social change; it cannot afford to be inert and static. We believe that the suggested approach is likely to remain relevant in the changing social scenario, because it is more sophisticated than the existing approaches. In scope it is comprehensive enough to accord proper place to different language skills, in composition flexible enough to absorb the ripples of social change, and in theory resilient enough to withstand the shifts of attention to different aspects of linguistic studies.

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