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From the Editorial Desk

As a result of globalization and the exponential growth of information and communication technology, English has become the language of higher education, international trade and upward mobility all over the world. This has led education planners to focus on English as a compulsory subject from an early stage as part of the curriculum. English language thus occupies a pivotal role in multilingual societies, and has evolved itself into a complete language with distinct features resulting from its active association with dominant languages in teaching-learning contexts. It is, therefore, imperative to note that English is not just a language but a composite of many variations based on region, culture, and competence of the users of English. It need not be seen as a deviant form but as another language in its own right, heavily influenced and coloured by the languages prevalent in a specific multilingual context.

In view of the above contexts, the current issue covers papers dealing with various aspects of transactions in multilingual classrooms where English is taught or learnt as a foreign/second language. The paper by Tej K. Bhatia addresses the dilemma of code-mixing in classrooms and underlines the value of this linguistic trajectory as a valuable resource. On the other hand, the paper by Rakesh M. Bhatt stresses the urgency with which we need to redefine the disciplinary discourses of abstract and theoretical dichotomies (language-interlanguage, standard-nonstandard, native-non native, target-fossilized) to validate and incorporate the local hybridities. Karthika Sathyanathan and Rajesh Kumar highlight certain linguistic and syntactical peculiarities of slang that is spoken by the student community of IIT-Madras. Nivedita Kumari discusses the errors in written reports of Japanese EFL learners.

Elizabeth Eldho looks at the status of English in the multilingual and multicultural India and tries to argue that the so-called Indian English can be branched off to incorporate different varieties having distinct identities of their own. The paper further throws light on the implications of multilingualism within English in the field of language teaching. Shagufta Imtiaz explores the pedagogy in a multilingual classroom, where interpersonal space is considered crucial for developing multiple literacies in home language/mother tongue among the linguistically diverse students. S. Ramamoorthy emphasizes the use of learners' prior knowledge about his first language and culture to facilitate L2 learning.

P. Sunama Patro reports the effects of L1 lexicalization on vocabulary recall in incidental vocabulary acquisition. Ravinarayan Chakrakodi discusses the challenges confronting the government's controversial decision to introduce English as the medium of instruction in government schools from Grade 1.

Our thanks to K. Srilata for agreeing to spare time to express her views on creative writing and the creative process during her interview with Hemachandran Karah. We are grateful to Hemachandran Karah not only for conducting the interview but also for transcribing it for us.

We are grateful to all our contributors, peer reviewers and book reviewers for bringing out this volume.

Rajesh Kumar teaches Linguistics in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Indian Institute of Technology Madras, Chennai.

E-mail: thisisraj कुमार@gmail.com

Om Prakash teaches ELT and Courses in Applied Linguistics and Communication at Gautam Buddha University, Noida.

E-mail: professorom@gmail.com

Englishes in Multilingual Repertoires

Rakesh M. Bhatt

Abstract

This article primarily discusses the ‘Outer Circle’ varieties of English: the spread that introduced English to sociocultural and historical contexts traditionally not associated with it, and in the process, of course, acquiring new—non-native—speakers. It is an attempt to underline the urgency with which we need to redefine the disciplinary discourses of abstract and theoretical dichotomies (language-interlanguage, standard-nonstandard, native-non-native, target-fossilized) to validate and incorporate the local hybridities.

Keywords: Outer Circle, World Englishes, linguistic creativity, linguistic hybridity, identity, multilingualism

Introduction

This article deals mainly with the ‘Outer Circle’ varieties of English: the spread that introduced English to sociocultural and historical contexts traditionally not associated with it, and in the process, of course, acquiring new—non-native—speakers. The spread of English in non-native sociolinguistic contexts resulted in a new codification of it (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008): The pluralization, Englishes, disables a monolithic vision of English and replaces it with a pluricentric vision, which brings into clear focus variation and change in English in distinctive sociocultural contexts and language contact situations. The pluralization also has an ideological function: it represents an awareness of the sociolinguistic differentiation in the form, function and use of English; it legitimizes different voices English represents now; and it shows, *par excellence*, the effects of cross-pollination—code-switching/mixing and other

sociolinguistic forms of hybridity—with local linguistic forms in new cultural ecologies that English populates now. In other words, there is now a growing consensus among scholars that there is not one English language any more; rather there are many English languages (McArthur 1998).

The different English languages, studied within the framework of world Englishes, represent a paradigm shift: it rejects the dichotomy of US (the native speakers) vs. THEM (the non-native speakers) and emphasizes instead a WE-ness (Kachru 1992). This conceptual-theoretical shift has in fact extended the empirical domain of the study of English: English is regarded less as a European language and an exclusive exponent of Judeo-Christian traditions, and more as a pluricentric language, representing diverse sociolinguistic histories, multi-cultural identities, multiple norms of use and acquisition, and distinct contexts of function. The success of the paradigm shift, from the English language to world Englishes, was largely made possible by a certain politics of language variation and change, termed 'Liberation Linguistics', that focused on the forms of linguistic beliefs and practices that accent the socio-political dimensions of language variation rooted in contexts of social injustice—and attempt to transform these contexts radically in the interest of the speakers of the 'other tongue': the 'non-native' varieties of English (cf. Bhatt 2001; Canagarajah 1999; Kachru 1986). It is from this liberation linguistic-theoretic perspective that we are able to capture, understand, and discuss the creative linguistic potential of English language use worldwide. In the next section, I discuss precisely the different dimensions of creativity—in form-meaning pairings—that appear in routine linguistic interactions in non-native contexts.

Dimensions of Creativity

Grammatical Creativity

I begin by discussing some standard set of data that seem to exemplify non-native grammars. Consider the following set of English sentences:

1. Progressive aspectual forms with stative verbs
I was knowing your face.
2. Variable use of definite article
Oh the maths, the maths nowadays seems to be complicated.

3. Clefting, for marking *prominence/focusing*

It's looking for more land a lot of them are.

4. Inversion in embedded questions

McCloskey does not consider precisely what is the difference between standard English and Hiberno-English ...

The data above in (1)-(4) are paradigm examples of Belfast English (Henry 1996); these syntactic innovations also characterize the grammar of Indian English (cf. Kachru 1983, Trudgill and Hannah 1985). These innovations, (1-4) in Irish (and Indian) Englishes, are understood as part of the parameterized differences in English grammar; however, there are other innovations that seem to belong to the syntax-pragmatics interface. I discuss one such instance next: the use of 'only' in Indian English.

One of the most innovative diacritics, that makes English audibly Indian, is the use of the pragmatic particle 'only' that asserts the pre-suppositional structure of an utterance (Bhatt 2000). 'Only' in Indian English (only) appears immediately to the right of the presentationally (non-contrastively) focused constituent, carries a specific semantic reading of 'least likely' and performs the pragmatic function of indexical assertion, drawing the attention of the hearer to a particular part of the speaker's utterance. In (5), the particle 'only' appears after the object phrase, marking presentational focus: 'only' (a) expresses the unexpectedness, the 'least likely' component of the meaning, and (b) makes salient a part of A's utterance.

5. A : Why are these women dressed like that?

B : These women wear every day expensive clothes only .

Other world Englishes speakers have also introduced similar innovations as part of their English repertoire. The particle 'la' is the most common discourse-pragmatic particle used mainly by speakers of local Singapore English (Gupta 1992, Wong 2004), which occurs with a range of interactional functions such as requests, invitations, promises, suggestions, and so on, as long as the interlocutors share an element of solidarity.

The use of undifferentiated tag questions in Indian English is another instance of how local English-language users subvert the standard form of tag to honour the grammar of local culture (see Bright 1968, Hymes

1974, D'souza 1988, Bhatt 2001, 2005). In standard varieties of English, tag questions are formed by a rule that inserts a pronominal copy of the subject after an appropriate modal auxiliary. A typical example is given in (6) below.

6. John said he'll work today, didn't he?

Tags express certain attitudes of the speaker towards what is being said in the main clause and in terms of speech acts and/or performatives. Functionally, tags in English generally behave like epistemic adverbials such as 'probably,' 'presumably,' and the like – as shown in (7) below.

7a. It's still dark outside, isn't it?

7b. It's still probably dark outside.

On the other hand, undifferentiated tag questions, such as in (8a) and (8b) subvert the colonial codifications of use to express local identities (compare Bhatt 2001, 2005).

8a. You are going home soon, isn't it?

8b. You have taken my book, isn't it?

The meaning of the tags in (8) is not the one appended to the meaning of the main proposition; it is usually constrained by cultural constraints of politeness, by the politeness principle of non-imposition. In other words, such tags serve positive politeness functions (Brown and Levinson 1987), signalling deference and acquiescence. The evidence for functional difference can be found in the contrast between Indian English tags in (9) and British English tags in (10).

9. *Unassertive/Mitigated*

9a. You said you'll do the job, isn't it?

9b. They said they will be here, isn't it?

10. *Assertive/Intensified*

10a. You said you'll do the job, didn't you?

10b. They said they will be here, didn't they?

The perceptual–interpretational contrast between (9) and (10) is revealing: Indian English speakers find the undifferentiated tag expressions in (9) as non-impositional and mitigating, while tags in (10) appear to them as assertive, direct, and intensified (Bhatt 1995, 2001, 2005). This claim is more clearly established when an adverb of intensification/assertion

is used in conjunction with the undifferentiated tag; the result is, predictably, unacceptable (shown in the starred sentences below) to the speakers of different varieties of Indian English.

(9a*) Of course you said you'll do the job, isn't it?

(9b*) Of course they said they'll be here, isn't it?

In a culture where verbal behaviour is severely constrained, to a large extent, by politeness regulations, where non-imposition is the essence of polite behaviour, it is noteworthy that Indian English speakers replace English canonical tags with undifferentiated tags. Variants of this undifferentiated tag are common in other world Englishes. In Hong Kong English, they are often used when seeking confirmation and involvement (see Cheng and Warren 2001), in mainly local positive politeness functions. Similarly, speakers of colloquial Singapore English (Singlish) use either the tag 'isn't it' or the tag 'is it' (Pakir 1994, Alsagoff and Lick 1998) mainly to signal local solidarity. Bamiro (1995) and Bokamba (1992) have discussed the case of West African English speakers using undifferentiated tags ('isn't it,' 'not,' 'no') to express deference in local interactional contexts. Such linguistic expressions of agency and identity can also be seen in the use of the modal auxiliary 'may' (see Bhatt 2001, 2005)—as a polite softener 'may' replaces 'could' among Black South African English speakers (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008), whereas Singaporean English speakers use 'would' as a polite form, as a tentativeness marker, and as a marker of the irrealis aspect (Alsagoff and Lick 1998).

Discoursal Creativity

The creativity at the discoursal level in world Englishes is best exemplified by the now often cited Chinua Achebe's (1965: 29) example (11, below) from *Arrow of God*, where the chief priest is telling one of his sons why it is necessary to send him to church:

11. I want one of my sons to join these people and be my eyes there. If there is nothing in it you will come back. But if there is something then you will bring back my share. The world is like a Mask, dancing. If you want to see it well, you do not stand in one place. My spirit tells me that those who do not befriend the white man today will be saying 'had we known' tomorrow.

Achebe, then speculates, 'supposing I had put it another way. Like this for instance:'

12. I am sending you as my representative among those people — just to be on the safe side in case the new religion develops. One has to move with the times or one is left behind. I have a hunch that those who fail to come to terms with the white man may well regret the lack of foresight.

The first passage (11) expresses the local rural sensibilities — the use of local proverbs and other culture-bound speech patterns — expressing a local Nigerian discursive identity. Achebe concludes that though the material is the same, 'the form of the one (11) is in character, and the other (12) is not' (*ibid*).

The difference, ultimately, between the two contrastive samples above, (11) and (12), has more to do, as Kachru (1986) pointed out, with the use of native similes and metaphors, the transfer of rhetorical devices, the translation ('transcreation') of proverbs and idioms, the use of culturally-dependent speech styles, and the use of syntactic devices. These rhetorical structures and stylistic devices are also employed in contemporary, non-literary texts, as evidenced in (13): the text of an e-mail sent to me requesting advice on a specific issue (the text below is reproduced as it is, with the exception of deleting possible identifiers).

13. *Respected Sir,*

Handfolded Namaskar!

Hope this e-mail of mine will find you in a good mood and sound health.

We met in Delhi at the Press Club of India some time back and I hope you will recollect that meeting with Kashmiri writers and scholars.

To me as a student of literature interacting with you was a fascinating and memorable experience. I am sure you also must have enjoyed that interaction. I believe you must have concluded your research by now and must be preparing to compile the findings.

I and all other writers whom you met send you *AAHI* and wish you good luck.

Sir, I have a *little* request. I am to speak at a seminar at Delhi on Wednesday next and my topic is '[xxxxxxx.]' In my paper I am

certainly to argue against certain points raised by Sh. X, in favour of his claim that 'xxxx.' I do not agree with him.

Sir my request to you is just to kindly let me know, if you may, whether you also think and believe as Dr. X believes or you have a contrary view after touring the 'Language region.'

Sir, you as a professional linguist have a very deep understanding of the subject and your opinion is certainly more considered, valid and authentic and it is definitely going to add a new dimension and authenticity to this subject of great importance.

Sir, This is a scholarly urge which I hope you will respond to in a positive manner.

With very warm regards.

[XXX]

The structure of this email-letter follows a rather standard pattern in world Englishes (cf. Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008): The salutations initiate the discourse, followed by what Scollon and Scollon (1991) have called 'facework', followed by the reasons and justifications for the 'request', and finally the actual request. From the perspective of world Englishes discourse, several points are noteworthy here. First, one notices the transfer of discursual and rhetorical norms of the first language, Kashmiri, in the use of the 'greeting', *Handfolded Namaskar*, and conveys 'blessings' from others using the culturally appropriate Kashmiri form, *AAHI*. The capitalization of *AAHI* is presumably a textual cue to the reader of its special status, a Kashmiri word code-mixed for the special purpose of conveying 'blessing' at once establishing solidarity in an English text. Second, the use of the form *Respected Sir* in the salutation section presents an asymmetric relationship between the writer and the intended reader. This strategy is often used in local cultural contexts to minimize threat to face and to express polite behaviour, as noticed elsewhere in Nigerian English by Bamgbose (1992). Furthermore, the 'no-naming' strategy is part of a structured system of 'expressing respect' in the South Asian context (cf. Jain 1973, D'souza 1991). Third, the actual 'request' is made after considerable facework is done, and reasons and justification for the request are presented. Finally, the palliative forms, *a little* and *just*, are used precisely when a 'request' is mentioned in a bid to minimize the illocutionary force of the speech act.

In sum, world Englishes discourse provides evidence of a new linguistic etiquette, one in which the linguistic interactional norms faithfully follow—are shaped by—the grammar of local culture; and in doing so, we notice an extension and expansion of the indexical potential of English.

Sociolinguistic Creativity

Finally, I discuss the dimension of sociolinguistic creativity in world Englishes, which is also observed in ‘native’ contexts but rarely highlighted in discussion of English language variation. Let me illustrate this dimension by using an example from the native context to foreground my discussion of sociolinguistic creativity in world Englishes. In the exchange below (14), PBS show host Tavis Smiley interviews Pam Grier and asks her about her controversial role as a lesbian in the show *The L Word*, eliciting her response to those in the Black community critical of her role in that show (Britt 2012):

14. Code-switching from Standard to African American English

Smiley: You know as well as I do that gayness, homosexuality, lesbianism, still very much a taboo subject—not as much as it used to be, but still very much a taboo subject inside of black America specifically

Grier: Oh, espe- yeah.

Smiley: And black folk love Pam Grier. Everybody loves Pam Grier, but black folk especially love Pam Grier. What do you say to black folk who say,

Now, Pam Grier you done got caught up in it. Now you done gone too far.

What is surprising about this excerpt is that precisely at the moment where Smiley brings up the concern to Grier about the Black community’s negative response to the show, he switches from his normal method of speech (Standard English) to the dialect of the critical group (African American Vernacular English) to distance himself from them, in much the same way that an author switches to a speaker’s specific vocal patterns to make a clear division between the *narrator* and the *character*. In other words, Smiley singles out that group, people to whom that dialect is specific, so that Grier understands that it is only the one group saying

these things. The switch, in voicing, is thus strategic in its sociolinguistic function: distancing the narrator from any responsibility of ownership of the message.

Speakers of world Englishes also switch between different English identities available to them to perform different sociolinguistic functions. Mesthrie (1992: 219), for example, discusses the case of downshifting in the use of the mesolectal variety of South African Indian English by a young Indian attendant at airport security in South Africa to a passenger of the same ethnic background, as shown in (15) below.

15. You haven't got anything to declare?

The unmarked choice in this context would normally be the formal acrolectal equivalent, 'Do you have anything to declare?,' that closely approximates the standard. As Mesthrie notes, although the security guard and the passenger were strangers, the speaker was tacitly defusing the syntax of power (acrolect) in favour of mesolectal, ethnic solidarity, while still doing his duty.

Such switching and mixing often result in the development of a new, hybrid code offering multilingual experiences of cultural difference as well as a sense of the entanglement of different cultural traditions. In Bhatt (2008), the following evidence of this linguistic hybridity is presented (taken from *Times of India news-brief*, www.timesofindia.com, October 12, 2001):

16. There have been several analyses of this phenomenon. First, there is the 'religious angle' which is to do with Indian society. In India a man feels guilty when fantasizing about another man's wife, unlike in the West. The *saat pheras* around the *agni* serves as a *lakshman rekha*.

In this bilingual English-Hindi mode of news-feature presentation, the Hindi idiom is left untranslated. Such untranslated words, according to Ashcroft et al. (1989: 53), 'do have an important function in inscribing difference. They signify a certain cultural experience, which they cannot hope to reproduce but whose difference is validated by the new situation. In this sense they are directly metonymic of that cultural difference which is imputed by the linguistic variation.' The code-mixed Hindi items in (14), rooted in the most important historical narratives (Vedas) and the great Hindu epic (the *Ramayana*) of India, realizes an important sociolinguistic function: these words serve as vehicles of cultural

memory, animating simultaneously with the global-colonial a local-indigenous identity. Code-switching between English and Hindi thus yields a hybridity that makes the semantic possibilities more flexible, movement between global-colonial and local-indigenous identities more manageable, and the goal of decolonization and democratization of English more realizable.

The subtle code-switching in everyday interactions, as discussed above, exemplifies the capacity of world Englishes speakers to mobilize various complexes of nuances of meaning possible only through hybridity; we find recognition and acceptance of this linguistic hybridity in local, popular print-news media. Das (2001), for instance, commented on Indian English in the following manner:

17. We are more comfortable and accepting of English today, I think, partly because we are more relaxed and confident. Our minds have become decolonized and 'Hinglish' increasingly pervades our lives. For a hundred years the upper middle classes have mixed English words in their everyday talk, but the present media argot is the creature of the new satellite and cable channels. Zee, Sony and Star, supported by their advertisers, have created this uninhibited hybrid of Hindi and English. Avidly embraced by the newly-emerging middle classes, this new popular idiom of the bazaar is rushing down the socio-economic ladder. (*The Times of India*, November 18, 2001, p. 14)

The sociolinguistic creativity in world Englishes also helps to subvert the symbolic domination of standard English, as it creatively indexes local indigenous identity, yielding a polyphony of voices. On the subject of this polyphony, Green (1998: 111) observes that English remains varied and wonderful, and concludes, quoting Anthony Burgess, that English is:

18. [A] whole language, complete with the colloquialisms of Calcutta and London, Shakespearean archaisms, bazaar whinings, references to the Hindu pantheon, the jargon of Indian litigation and shrill Babu irritability all together. It's not pure English, but ... the language of Shakespeare, Joyce and Kipling—**gloriously impure**. (emphasis added)

Coda

The 'gloriously impure' Englishes present the possibility of understanding the limitations of our disciplinary discourse that has so far produced incomplete, and often misleading, understandings of the phenomena of the spread, functions, and acquisition of Englishes worldwide. To capture the complexity of linguistic hybridities associated with plural identities, as discussed above, our disciplinary discourses of the global use and acquisition of English must bring into focus local forms shaped by the local logics of practice. This shift in the disciplinary focus, as I have discussed elsewhere (Bhatt 2005), has larger theoretical aims: on the one hand to enable a more nuanced analysis of the globalization and localization dialectic and, on the other, to invert the tyrannical imposition of the universal (cf. Lyotard, 1984).

This process of inversion requires, in the context of the observations of hybridity in Englishes, a reevaluation of disciplinary discourses of standard language, native speakers, and intelligibility. The evidence of hybridity—linguistic, discursive, and sociolinguistic—confronts the limited and entrenched knowledge these constructs offer and demands that they be replaced with a knowledge that is faithful to linguistic difference and to the global realities in which the difference obtains. The evidence presents the urgency with which we need to redefine the disciplinary discourses of abstract and theoretical dichotomies (language-interlanguage, standard-non-standard, native-non-native, target-fossilized) to validate and incorporate the local hybridities.

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Rakesh M. Bhatt received his PhD in Linguistics from the University of Illinois. He is now Professor of Linguistics and SLATE (Second Language Acquisition and Teacher Education) at the University of Illinois. He is the former Director of the Programme in SLATE and Associate Director of the Programme in South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Illinois.

E-mail: rbhatt@illinois.edu

To Teach or Not to Teach Code-Mixed English?

Tej K. Bhatia

Abstract

The aim of this paper is four-folds: (1) to examine the unique multilingual context of English in India; (2) to examine Hinglish, one of the verbal outcomes of multilingual India; (3) to shed light on Code-Mixing and Code-Switching as bilingual phenomena distinct from other hybrid linguistic systems, and (4) to address the question of English language pedagogy in India with special reference to 'teach or not to teach the code-mixed' variety of English (Hinglish) in India. The paper argues that it is timely and urgent to address the legitimacy and challenges of teaching code-mixed English (e.g. Hinglish) in India. The theoretical underpinning of this paper is derived from the current research on World Englishes, psycholinguistics of multilingualism, language acquisition/learnability, and classroom pedagogy.

Keywords: Indian multilingualism, sustainability, translanguaging, unconscious learning, code-mixed English, bilingual language modes, interlanguage.

Introduction

While English is often bestowed the unflattering title of 'the killer language' of linguistic diversity, nevertheless, it cannot be overlooked that English is the single most important vehicle of global bilingualism and multilingualism. With the unprecedented global spread of English in the history of human communication, English came into contact with every major and minor language around the globe. As it is often the case, depending on the forces of individual, social and political bilingualism among others, language contact either leads to sustainable

bilingualism or transient bilingualism. While sustainable bilingualism brings about innovations and language vitality, transient bilingualism yields monolingualism or even language death. In other words, English is not a killer language as long as bilingualism is sustainable and not transient. The paper argues that the bilingual language mixing—code-mixing (CM) and code-switching (CS)— is one of the most evitable consequences of sustainable bilingualism, which has now reached its new heights in the history of Indian bilingualism/multilingualism. In this paper, I will use the term ‘multilingualism’ as a cover term for both bilingualism and multilingualism for the ease of exposition. Also, the term, Hinglish refers to the mixing of Hindi as an embedded language with English as a matrix language (see Bhatia and Ritchie 2009: 631).

The aim of this paper is four-fold: (1) to examine the unique multilingual context of English in India; (2) to examine Hinglish as one of the verbal outcomes of multilingual India; (3) to shed light on CM and CS as bilingual phenomena distinct from other hybrid linguistic systems, and (4) to address the question of English language pedagogy in India with special reference to ‘teach or not teach code-mixed’ variety of English (Hinglish) in India. The paper argues that it is timely and urgent to address the legitimacy and challenges of teaching code-mixed English (e.g. Hinglish) in India in section 4.0. Finally, conclusions are presented in 5.0.

In order to achieve the above goals, the theoretical underpinning of this paper is derived from the current research on World Englishes, psycholinguistics of multilingualism, language acquisition/learnability, classroom pedagogy.

Theoretical Underpinning

Following Kachru’s Three Concentric Circles model of English users, it is important to point out that unlike the native varieties of English in the inner circle, Indian English, and other Englishes spoken in the outer circle (e.g. Singaporean or Nigerian English), did not evolve in a monolingual context. The multilingual context played a key role in shaping their distinct nature. Although introduction of English to the linguistic landscape of India during the British colonial era opened a new chapter in the prolonged colonial history of multilingualism in Dutch, Portuguese and French (Kachru 1997), the current state of

Indian bilingualism is neither a mere by-product of the colonial era nor is it shaped exclusively by the recent forces of economic and political globalization. A sustainable and prolonged history of 3,000 years of uninterrupted multilingualism is central to the distinct users and usage of English in contemporary India. In section 2, I will provide evidence to support the point I am making here.

Besides factors such as language contact and convergence, the role of multilingual brain is also instructive to shed light on the verbal behaviour of bilingual/multilingual brain to come to grips with the challenges of English language pedagogy in India.

Any attempt to characterize the bilingual brain must account for the following three natural aspects of bilingual verbal behaviour: (1) Depending upon the communicative circumstances, bilinguals swing between the monolingual and bilingual language modes; (2) Bilinguals have an ability to keep two or more languages separate whenever needed; and (3) More interestingly, they can also carry out an integration of two or more languages within a speech event.

Bilingual Language Modes: Language Activation

Bilinguals are like a sliding switch who can move between one or more language states/modes as required for the production, comprehension, and processing of verbal messages in a most cost-effective and efficient way. If bilinguals are placed in a predominantly monolingual setting, they are likely to activate only one language; while in a bilingual environment, they can easily shift into a bilingual mode to a differential degree. The activation or deactivation process is not time consuming. In a naturalistic bilingual environment, this process usually does not require bilinguals to take more than a few milliseconds to swing into a bilingual language mode and revert back to a monolingual mode with the same time efficiency. However, under unexpected circumstances (e.g. caught off-guard by a white Canadian speaking an African language in Canada) or under emotional trauma or cultural shock or in a formal classroom, the activation takes considerable time. In the longitudinal study of his daughter, Hildegard, reported that Hildegard, while in Germany, came to tears at one point when she could not activate her mother tongue, English (Leopard, 1939–1950). The failure to ensure natural conditions responsible for the activation of bilingual language

mode is a common methodological shortcoming of bilingual language testing, see Grosjean (2008, 2010); Bhatia (2018a). An in-depth review of processing cost involved in the language activation-deactivation process can be found in Meuter (2005). In other words, the potential of activation and deactivation of language modes—both monolingual and bilingual mode—hold an important key to bilingual’s language use. Additionally, it has psycholinguistic implications for language processing (i.e. time taken by second language learners who are not exposed to language hybridization (aka translanguaging¹) in classroom pedagogy.

Bilingual Language Separation and Language Integration

In addition to language activation or deactivation control phenomena, the other two salient characteristics of bilingual verbal behaviour are bilinguals’ balanced competence and capacity to separate the two linguistic systems (i.e. language switching, or CS) and to integrate them within a sentence or a speech event (i.e. language mixing, or CM). CM is a far more complex cognitive ability than language separation (CS). Yet, it is also very natural to bilinguals. Therefore, it is not surprising to observe the emergence of mixed systems such as Hinglish, Spanglish, Germlish, and so on, around the globe. See section 3.0 for more details.

Super Diversity and Sustainability of Indian Multilingualism

Super-diversity is the defining feature of ancient as well as modern India. This region represents a microcosm of different languages, races, religions, and cultures that have blended and brought about a special unity in diversity. Foreign invaders looking for conquest and religious and political groups fleeing persecution in their native countries have both found a homeland in India. Consequently, India has been a fertile ground for contact and convergence of languages, religions, philosophies, and ideologies. Naturally then, multilingualism has not only existed prior to colonialism and globalization but thrived in India, Indian multilingualism represents more than 3,000 years of unbroken and sustainable multiple language use with a cultural memory that goes back to Vedic Sanskrit. Annamalai (2008: 223) sums up the exceptionalism of Indian multilingualism in the following words: ‘At no time in the history of India have the changes (i.e. linguistic and/or non-linguistic changes) led to monolingualism in any region of

the country.' Multilingualism flourished in Ancient India as Sanskrit enjoyed the status of being the link language of different geographical regions and religions, with intellectual appeal and high prestige. Thus, hybrid characteristics of Sanskrit began to evolve in contact with Pali and Prakrit together with languages/language varieties of eastern, central, western and southern areas. Large-scale diffusion of linguistic features across genetic and areal boundaries resulted in mutually-feeding relationships and reciprocity, which led Emeneau (1956) and others (e.g. Masica 1976; Kuiper 1967, 1991; and Thomason 2001: 114-117) to conceptualize the Indian subcontinent as a 'linguistic area' or 'Sprachbund,' where prolonged language contact between major and minor languages led to mutual structural borrowings resulting in a vast array of shared features. Nevertheless, this mutual influence on lexicon as well as grammar set the stage for dramatic convergence among the languages of India, whether they were genetically related or not.

During the Mughal period, Persian served yet another catalyst to Indian bilingualism. However, in spite of the prolonged period of language contact with Persian, bilingualism based in Persian could not reach its qualitative heights, as evident by the formation of a linguistic area owing to the multifaceted influence of Sanskrit, which is not confined to India alone. Even South East Asia could not resist its influence. Furthermore, Persian influence was derailed by English. Nevertheless, the influence of Persian is still present to this day (see Sachdev and Bhatia 2013).

English

The latest language to re-ignite the engine of multilingualism in South Asia is a product of British colonialism beginning in the late eighteenth century as the Mughal Empire began to crumble. The new high-prestige link language to be instituted in the linguistic landscape of India, English, added greatly to the hybridization of Indian languages. English began to develop roots in Indian education. A blueprint for India's educational policy was laid down in Lord Macaulay's famous *Minute* (February 2, 1835). Macaulay's stated mission for the British Raj of creating 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect' introduced English education to India. Ironically, the primary aim of his educational policies was not to introduce additive bilingual education (English +Indian languages) in India but to set the stage for subtractive bilingualism (monolingualism in English), which

was counter-intuitive to the traditional language ecology of India.

As it stands, English has become a permanent fixture in the linguistic landscape of India. Contrary to the most popular pre-independence consensus that Hindi would dethrone the colonial language after independence, unwittingly, English has become a member of the family of Indian languages. The key reason is that English found a new identity in the post-independence era by shedding the old colonial identity. The new identity marked English as a neutral pan-Indian language with no prior regional, ethnic or linguistic identity. Although the numerical incidence of bilingualism with English is still very low, English has acquired domains such as (higher) education, federal law, government, media, and science and technology, which once belonged to either Sanskrit in India or Persian in North India. The uses of English, parallel to its predecessor contact languages—Sanskrit and Persian—has led to the Englishization of Indian languages. On the other hand, English has undergone significant changes locally to carry much of the communicative burden of Indian society. The process of nativization of Indian English continues to this day (see the groundbreaking work of Kachru 1983; Bhatia 1982, among others).

Language Hybridization, Code-mixing (CM) and Code-switching (CS)

Based on the distinct nature of input-type (languages, language proficiency) and input-conditions (home, school etc.), languages in contact give rise to a wide variety of hybrid linguistic systems—ranging from linguistic borrowing, pidgin and creole languages, diagglossia to CS and CM. Although on qualitative grounds, it is critical to distinguish CM/CS, from other related phenomena, such a discussion is outside the scope of this paper due to space limitations (see Bhatia and Ritchie 2009: 629-635 for distinction between CS/CM and other mixed systems).

Before we proceed further it is important to define and distinguish between CS and CM. First and foremost, it is important to note that CS/CM alludes to the speech patterns of 'balanced' bilinguals. The term CS refers to the use of various linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event. In other words, CS is intersentential and may be subject to discourse principles. It is motivated by social and psychological factors. CM, on the other

hand, refers to the mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a sentence. In other words, CM is intrasentential and is constrained by grammatical principles and may also be motivated by social psychological motivations.

The distinction between CS and CM as described above is controversial with some scholars doubting the usefulness of the distinction (Hatch 1976: 202), while others find it important and useful (Kachru 1978, among others), particularly if the goal is to develop a grammar of language mixing. Yet others use the term CM/CS in a wider sense as a cover term to refer to other related phenomena such as borrowing, interference, transfer, or switching (McClaughlin 1984: 96-97). This paper uses the term in a narrow sense as defined in the immediately preceding paragraph.

Earlier research from the 1950s-70s concluded that CM is either a random or an unsystematic phenomenon. It was either without subject to formal syntactic constraints (Lance 1975) or is subject only to 'irregular mixture' (Labov 1971: 457). Such a view of CM/CS is obsolete since the late 20th century. Recent research shows that CM/CS is subject to formal, functional and attitudinal factors. Studies of formal factors in the occurrence of CM attempt to tap the unconscious knowledge of bilinguals about the internal structure of code-mixed sentences (for different approaches to the grammar of CM/CS, see Bhatia 2018). Our recent research on Hinglish reveals various facets of bilingual creativity through code mixing as it manifests itself in the emergence of grammatical and semantic innovations (Bhatia and Ritchie 2016, Bhatia 1999) together with the deeper linguistic, socio-and psychological motivations of CM/CS (Ritchie and Bhatia 2013). Needless to say, there is now a unanimous consensus among linguists and other scholars that CS/CM behaviour of bilingual is systematic but complex. Hinglish is no exception in this regard. More importantly, Hinglish constitutes a natural aspect of bilinguals' day-to-day verbal behaviour.

In India, language mixing has reached such a level that today multiple language-mixing is an absolute norm, whereas talking 'pure' languages (without mixing) has become an object of ridicule.

Language mixing is an attempt by the bi-/multilingual brain/mind to attain the optimal result from its input two or more than two linguistic

systems by the accommodation and augmentation of linguistic and socio-psychological meaning of the message, identities and ideologies (Bhatia 2011 for details). While there is no question that in the case of Hinglish such creative needs cannot be filled either by English or by Hindi and/or any other language alone, it is also important to realize that Hinglish is undergoing rapid and significant changes in both qualitative and quantitative terms as communicative needs of Indian speakers change. Bhatia and Ritchie (2018) show the emergence of new structures (e.g. serial/light verbs), which are not shared either monolingual Hindi or monolingual English grammar. Drawing data from the Filmi English *-ofy/ify* construction, Bhatia (2009), showed the emergence of a new code-mixed grammar of Hinglish (also see Bandi-Rao and den Dikken 2014: 175-76 for more details). More importantly, new social meaning is constantly being created by means of language mixing. For instance, Bhatia claims that Filmy Hinglish introduces a systematic dichotomy between formal and informal stems. Furthermore, use of pure English or pure Hindi runs counter to the unmarked verbal behaviour of bilinguals in India. A case in point is the language used by media, social media, advertising and day-to-day verbal interaction among Indians.

Although it is self-evident that complexity and multifaceted creativity underlie CM/CS in bilingual communication. Surprisingly though, the social evaluation of a mixed system is largely negative. Even more interestingly, bilinguals themselves do not have a positive view of language mixing. It is the widely-held belief on the part of the 'guardians' of language (including media) and puritans that any form of language mixing is a sign of unsystematic or a decadent form of communication. Bilinguals are often mocked for their 'bad' and 'irregular' linguistic behavior. They are often characterized as individuals who have difficulty expressing themselves. Other labels such as 'lazy' and 'careless' are bestowed upon them. Furthermore, they are often accused by the guardians of language of destroying their linguistic heritage. For these reasons, it is not surprising that even bilinguals themselves become apologetic about their verbal behaviour. They blame mixing on 'memory lapse' among other things and promise to correct their verbal behaviour, vowing not to mix languages. In spite of this, they cannot resist language mixing!

Table 1 illustrates the anomaly between the scientific reality of language mixing and its social perception. Social perception translates into the

negative evaluation of mixed speech.

**Table 1: Language Mixing (CM/CS) Anomaly
(Adapted from Bhatia 2011: 48)**

Natural Fact	Social Fact/Perception
Systematic behaviour	Unsystematic behaviour
Linguistic augmentation	Linguistic deficiency
Natural behaviour	Bad linguistic behaviour
Motivated by creative needs	Memory/recall problem, clumsiness
Language change	Language death
Optimization strategy	Wasteful and inefficient strategy

Backlash to mixing is not just restricted to societies and bilinguals; even governments get on the bandwagon. Some countries such as the newly-freed countries of the ex-Soviet Union and France regulate or even ban mixing either by appointing 'language police' or passing laws to wipe out the perceived negative effects of 'bad language' in the public domain. Asia is not an exception in this regard. A case in point is a recent article by Tan (2002) reporting that the Government of Singapore has banned the movie *Talk Cock* because it uses a mixed variety of English, called 'Singlish'. Linguistic prescriptivism clearly played a central role in the decision. In spite of the near-universal negative evaluation associated with CM/CS, the benefits rendered by language mixing by far outweigh its negative perception, which in turn compels the unconscious mind of bilinguals to mix and switch in order to yield results which cannot be rendered by a single/puritan language use;

To Teach or Not to Teach Code-mixed English: Challenges and Opportunities

It is self-evident from the discussion in the above section (3.0), the teaching of Hinglish or code-mixed languages is urgent and timely. Hinglish is a sustainable hybrid system packed with wide-ranging linguistic innovations. Hinglish has to be freed from the clutches of linguistic-deficiency hypothesis. As it stands, the current practice of teaching English language in India and outside India in the native circle of World Englishes reflects an outmoded model of English language teaching. The forces of globalization and digital age, in addition to naturalistic and

language accommodation/hybrid models, require departure from the normative approach to a socially-realistic approach, as summed up in the UK's think tank, Devos, report below.

The challenge that faces us is how we move beyond seeing such hybrid languages as *Chinglish*, *Hinglish*, *Singlish*, *SpanGLISH* and multiple others as amusing corruptions. We should see them as varieties, rather than 'interlanguages', which bring with them their own distinct culture and provide equally distinct means of understanding their users. (Jones and Bradwell 2007: 87)

The complex interplay of cognitive, linguistic and socio-cultural factors (e.g. bilingual self-reporting, language accommodation, language identity, mechanism for identity construction, language attitudes, etc.) calls for a careful consideration that may bear on the new way of teaching English. However, I should hasten to add that a new mindset of English language pedagogy is not free from future challenges. Language pedagogy based in the teaching of hybrid languages/Hinglish has to come to grips with multi-dimensional challenges-- theoretical, methodological, attitudinal (teachers and learners), learnability (implicit and explicit learning), learners' processing time, authentic material preparation, classroom interactional pattern between teachers and students (aka *translanguaging* practices in classrooms), among others. In spite of these challenges, the new vision is set to open doors to new opportunities practically in every domain of language pedagogy and second language acquisition.

Conclusion

The study of bilingualism and language hybridization has posed and continues to pose serious challenges to the overall field of linguistics, language education and language policies. The conceptual and methodological challenges stemming from the divergent theories and research questions/methods are many, and can best be summed up by the following remarks from the eminent linguist Roman Jakobson made more than half a century ago (1953): 'Bilingualism is for me a fundamental problem of linguistics'. With growing linguistic diversity in classrooms worldwide, the research and practice of hybrid language learning and teaching is long overdue.

Language mixing reflects a natural and universal aspect of bilingual

verbal behaviour. Although remarkable progress has been registered in our understanding of bilinguals' language mixing over the past two decades, many challenges still need to be met. The long history of prescriptivism and foreign language teaching has resulted in the severe negative societal evaluation of this speech form, which is ironically capable of unlocking new dimensions of human linguistic creativity; therefore, its value in the study of language—ranging from theoretical linguistics to and educational linguistics—can hardly be overestimated. Furthermore, a phenomenon which was and in some circles is still seen as ad hoc, random, and inconsequential seems to have a natural and central role in studies of language contact in general, and language teaching in particular. Therefore, as regards English language teaching in India, it is important to underscore the urgency of literacy acquisition of Hinglish and other mixed systems, conceptually grounded in additive multilingualism, complex interactional practices of Indian multilingualism, and classroom management talk.

Note

Translanguaging is a new term within bilingual/multilingual education classroom management talk. Primarily, it refers to CS and CM. For details, see Canagarajah (2013).

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Tej K. Bhatia is Professor of Linguistics and Director of South Asian Languages at Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. He has served as Director of Linguistic Studies Programme and Acting Director of Cognitive Sciences at the university. He is a recipient of the Chancellor's Citation Award for excellence in research.

E-mail: tkbhatia@syr.edu

Instilingo Puts Intro: A Study of Indian Variety of English

Karthika Sathyanathan and Rajesh Kumar

Abstract

This paper focuses on highlighting certain linguistic and syntactical peculiarities of the slang that is spoken by the student community of IIT Madras. The community is notorious for its 'Insti Lingo' that has often been a cause for fraternization within itself. Through the paper, I hope to outline some peculiarities of vocabulary (by the different parts of speech) and grammar (construction of plurals and sentences) that, at times, function to give it the status of a dialect of English. Detaching itself from an understanding of language as a single, monolithic entity and looking beyond the categories that emerge from the naming and classifying of language as standard and non-standard language(s), the paper studies the syntactic and semantic features of instilingo through the lens of multilinguality. The paper, thus presents some features of the lingo and hence aims to provide a deeper insight of language, its nature and use. Written from the perspective of a 'native-speaker' of this particular slang, this paper holds certain claims to authenticity that previous literature upon this topic (which consists of very little) does not.

Keywords: Instilingo, slang, dialect, multiinguality, Indian English

Introduction

Languages emerge, sometimes markedly specific to a particular community which in myriad ways echoes their lifestyle, backgrounds, culture and geographical position. Language has many languages within itself. It requires unpacking of this idea; however, it could be summarized

in simple terms as Agnihotiri (2007) puts it as multilinguality. Over the years, the in-group vocabulary and language developed and used by the student community of IIT Madras is popularly known to them as *instilingo*. Demarcating itself with stark differences from the 'Normal English' through vocabulary and sentence constructions, *instilingo* has an independent and colourful life of its own. The only one existing research literature on *instilingo* is a linguistic study of the language as a student slang by Richter (2006) wherein the peculiarities of the language are often discussed as a lack of knowledge in 'normal' standard English, inability to pronounce or use certain words, resistance against certain vocabulary and laziness. Krishnamurthy and Kumar (2019) have theorized social rejection of institute lingo in the context of Humanities and Social Sciences pride while addressing larger issues of student identity and institute identity in the IITM student speech community.

A study of the fundamental structure of language in terms of its syntactic features, sequencing in sentence constructions and the semantic attributes is inevitable in the scientific study of any language(s). Detaching itself from an understanding of language as a single, monolithic entity and looking beyond the categories that emerge from the naming and classifying of language as standard and non-standard language(s), the paper studies the syntactic and semantic features of *instilingo* through the lens of multilinguality. The paper, thus presents some features of the lingo and hence aims to provide a deeper insight of language, its nature and use.

In the next section, we briefly explain the student culture and language of IITM using *instilingo*. This will help familiarize the basic vocabulary of the language used by the students. We will then set out to describe the features and peculiarities of *instilingo* at lexical, morphological, syntactic and semantic levels. These peculiarities, we argue, are the very nature of language. Languages are highly multilingual as they are flexible and fluid. For the students of IIT Madras, it is multilinguality which is constitutive of their identity. The seemingly mono verbal language has its own rules of plural constructions, borrows suffixes from local languages, is highly minimalistic and thus facilitates only necessary communication. These peculiarities of the language make *instilingo* an interesting study of syntactic and semantic patterns of language.

Before setting out to understand *instilingo* and the ways in which it is used, we wish to explore its location in existing literature. This section attempts to trace the concepts of idiolect and identity within scholarship on Indian English and multilinguality.

English has become an Indian language. Agnihotri (2010) argues that English in India should and will flourish in the company of other languages. Agnihotri, Khanna and Aahluwalia (1997) established through their research that even though people wanted to preserve their languages, they did wish to add English to their repertoire. Quite a few studies focused on Indian English such as Ch'ien (2004), Graddol (2010), Raghavan (2010) and Meganathan (2011) have extensively come up with detailed profiles of English in contemporary India. Ch'ien (2004) specifically examines the linguistic features of the 'weird English' constructed for literary purposes. Any deviation from the standard/ the so-called 'normal English' is seen as an aberration and hence called 'weird English'. However, the multilinguality theory of languages argue that classification of languages into standard language, non-standard idiolect/dialect/slang is a meaningless exercise as all languages (which includes the so-called idiolect, dialect and slang) showcases universal qualities such as minimalism, fluidity, flexibility and porousness. Given this context, the question we are going to address in this paper is—how does *instilingo* help us understand the multilingual nature of English emerging in India and different parts of our society?

Our methodological framework was characterized by a qualitative emphasis, with a focus on collecting as much data as possible thus producing ethnographic material on *instilingo*. We chose the qualitative method since 'qualitative research is often the most 'adequate' and 'efficient' way to obtain the type of information required and to contend with the difficulties of an empirical situation.' (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The methods used in this project were: semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and field notes. In generating ethnographic research, we observed and noted the ways in which language was used by the students of IIT in different contexts. All the respondents we consulted are undergraduate and postgraduate students of IIT Madras and live on campus. The collected data was segregated, classified and studied through language analysis. They were analysed at the level of morphemes, lexicon, syntax and semantics.

Case Study—Lingo and Student Culture of IITM

Ragging¹, or as it is known these days, ‘interactive’ sessions are an inescapable part of college life and IIT Madras is no different. The first thing that any fresher would encounter in the initial weeks of his *insti life* (life in the institute) from his seniors as a part of these sessions is the notorious phrase *put intro* (introduce yourself). As the seniors command the fresher to *put intro*, the *freshie* (freshers), as expected from him, introduces himself in a format that the students of IITM have followed for a long time.² As per the format the *freshie* is supposed to tell his name, AIR (All India Rank), his *factory* (the coaching institute that has trained him for JEE), hobbies and the one thing that he thinks is special about him. At the end of the session, the seniors give him a nickname, after which he will forever be addressed by that name in the *insti*. Ranging from bhavander (cyclone) to diaper (sanitary pad), chances are that anything that falls between the earth and the sky might turn out to be the *nickname* or the *insti name* of the student. A sample of them are *Maadu*, *shotgun*, *avatar*, *neuro*, *kabha* and *samosa*. In most of the cases, *freshies* are not nicknamed randomly. Every nickname has a *funda* (explanation, in this case) behind it. They follow from the conversations they invariably encountered during the interactive session. For instance, during his interactive session, one particular *freshie* happened to use the phrase ‘so and so’ a lot more than needed and hence was nicknamed *so and so*.³

Life in campus, as the student would realize soon, is quite different from his/her days at home and in school. In the *insti* learning always begins with unlearning. What is taught to them at home and school as the cornerstone of ‘proper’ living, very soon begin to be seen as matters of least significance on the campus. Using broken English with a little instilingo against the cultivated notions of speaking ‘good English’, roaming around in the primitivism of ungroomed and uncut hair and nails, wearing unwashed t-shirts and shorts to classes (as opposed to the practice of going to school with neatly cleaned and pressed clothes), participating in extra-curricular activities like Shaastra, Saarang, LM (light music), etc. becomes the norm with the new attitude and outlook gained from this place, unlike the school days of the past, where textbooks, assignments, exams, tuition and coaching classes were the defining aspects of life. They would soon begin to learn the essential and elemental things about living in the institute and slowly acclimatize

themselves with the tradition and culture of the place.

Insti is a place for *infi* (lot of) fun. But at times, it can be painful too, particularly when it comes to *acads* (academics). *Acads* and the *atte* (attitudes) towards it categorizes students into many groups. The system of grading followed in IITM to evaluate students is popularly known as RG (relative grading). It is often considered unfair as it instigates unhealthy competition among students producing *Rgers* and *Rgmax fellows*. They try to get ahead of other *junta* (students) through practices which could be considered indecorous. On one hand, there are *Maggus* or the muggots, the bookworms of the institute who bury themselves under the books and crashes (sleep) at the study table, while, on the other hand there are *chillmax* and *peacemax* *junta* who *put peace* (relax) throughout the *sem* (semester). The inherently intelligent lot who are adept at grasping and applying concepts, great at multitasking with minimal effort and handling various positions of responsibilities like *cordship*⁴ and *coreship*⁵ with ease, turn out to be the *stud* and *studmax* guys of the insti. Classes, lectures, tutorials, labwork, practicals, term papers, seminars, presentations, quizzes, *midsem*⁶, *endsem*⁷, viva, mini projects and projects are the 'necessary evils' on the path to an academic degree. Professors turn out to be the yardstick that determines how peaceful or painful a course is. Some professors and their courses are *peace (easy)/ peacemax (very easy)*.⁸ In contrast, there are the *painmax* professors who *rape* (torment) students with the toughest possible questions in the presentations and exams thus making it a *rape session*. Then, there are *studmax* (brilliant) professors whose classes are *sexy*⁹ (good) and *cupmax* (lousy) professors with the most boring and uninteresting classes. Exams, seminars, presentations and vivas are the nightmares for many if not for all. Whether students work throughout the sem or not, all the students *put infi fight* in *mugging* the subject the night before the exam. Almost everyone puts a *nightout*. Either the exam rapes the student or the student *rapes* the exam, based on which exams turn out to be *cupmax*, *rapemax* or *peacemax*. After the exam, students put an *epic*¹⁰ *crash* (long and heavy sleep)

The life in the campus extends beyond academics and studies and much of the learning takes place outside the department. The day usually begins in the mess with the mess *grub* (food) which is a source of constant *cribs* (complaints) for many. Many students, as a result, opt to eat in the other eateries in campus, namely *guru* (Gurunath

student facilities centre), *irctc* (IRCTC caterers), *cc* (Campus café), *ramus* (Ramu tea stall) and *zaitoon*, which are not covered under the hostel management. Sometimes, they venture out of the campus for both *grub* and fun. *Mahabs* (Mahabalipuram) and *pondy* (Pondicherry) are the two places that students would definitely visit at some point during life in the campus. Students spend their leisure hours playing a variety of sports like *tt* (table tennis), *baddy* (badminton), *baski* (basketball), *footer* (football) and cricket, at *SAC* (student activity centre), *insti stadium* and hostel *quadys* (quadrilaterals).

Fellow students and seniors are major influences in the life of every student. They spend most of their time together in the campus. However, even while living as a close-knit community, there are demarcations among the students. Most prominent demarcations of student identities are at regional and hostel levels. Since IIT Madras is located in Chennai, students who are based in Chennai are called ‘*Chennaites*’ or ‘*localites*’. Those from Tamil Nadu are called ‘*Tams*’ (short for Tamilians) and ‘*Mallus*’ (from the word Malayali) are the *peeps* (people/students) from Kerala. Students from the erstwhile united Andhra Pradesh are called ‘*Gultes*’, derived from the reverse spelling and pronunciation of the word ‘Telugu’ (their language), while ‘*Digs/Digas*’ is the term used for students from Karnataka (short for Kannadiga—the one who speaks Kannada). Students from northern India are called *Northies* and foreigners are called *Firangs*. The *tams*, *digs*, *gultes*, *mallus*, *northies*, *firangs*, etc. live together in 21 different hostels, of which seventeen are men’s and four are women’s, named after various Indian rivers such as Narmada, Godavari, Sharavati, Sarayu and Jamuna, among others. The student residents of their hostel are also identified by their hostel names. In the process they become *Narmadites*, *Sharavites*, *Godavites*, *Jamunites*, etc. Hostel identities become more pronounced during sports, *lit soc*¹¹ (literary, cultural and social) and other extra-curricular activities. This often creates stereotypes about the residents of a particular hostel. Till a few years ago, there was a strict division between undergraduate and postgraduate students in hostel allocations. There was a common stereotype that the PG students rarely mixed with the mainstream UG btech/dual degree students. Hence the *Cauverians* and *Krishnites* were often labelled as *enthless junta*. However, the trend has changed over the years. The UG/PG demarcation has faded drastically since every hostel now accommodates both UG and PG students.

Even with all the demarcations, what is common among the students of IITM that is exclusive to its student community is the *instilingo*. Even the brightest and smartest of the students, in their early days in the campus, face difficulties in comprehending and using *instilingo*. The highly multifunctional nature of words also adds to a freshie's difficulty. But sooner or later, *instilingo* becomes a part of their lives too and soon becomes a matter of their unconscious pride.

Analysing—The Lexical Savour of Instilingo

All the nouns related to institute goes through a process of shortening in instilingo. It starts with the word 'institute' becoming *insti* which can be used as a replacement for the proper noun (*insti* never sleeps) or a geographical location (I am outside *insti*). Similarly, the names of the hostels are reduced to mono- or disyllabic terms—*Alak* (alaknanda), *jam* (jamuna), etc.¹² Academic departments too are put through the process, cutting them down to monosyllables—*app mech* (applied mechanics), *chem* (chemical engineering), etc. Similarly, places of recreation such as *oat* (open air theatre), *sac* (students activity centre), *gc* (gajendra circle and recreational activities like *baski* (basketball), *baddy* (badminton), etc are also shortened. All titles and administrative positions are shortened to the smallest possible label- *diro* (director), *profs* (professors), *gensec* (general secretary), etc. On the basis of their ethnic and regional differences, students are categorized as *mallus* (Malayali), *tams* (Tamilian), *freshie*, etc.¹³ Thus, any noun, which is perceived to be longer than necessary, is cut down to its 'simplest' form. This process leads to the creation and usage of nouns in capacities where they wouldn't normally be used. Such multi-functional grammatical devices are not limited to nouns, but also extend to verbs, qualifiers and suffixes, thereby creating great differences between 'Insti Lingo' and 'English.'

Instilingo, like any other language, borrows words generously from other languages. There are two kinds of borrowing in instilingo. A number of words have been imported from various Indian languages like Hindi- *firangs* (foreigners) *hazaar* (thousand); Tamil- *chumma* (simply), *gumbal* (crowd); Malayalam—*koora*, *shashi*, and Telugu¹⁴—*enti/entra* (what)¹⁵. Words have also been borrowed from international slang, like 'bog', 'crash' among many.¹⁶

Quantifiers and qualifiers in common English such as 'many', 'very', 'a

lot' are replaced by 'n' and 'infy', two terms used with both the most countable (biscuit, coupon,) and uncountable nouns (water, cash) to describe unspecified abundance. Both 'n' and 'infinite' can be derived into other forms of quantification/qualification—'for the nth time', 'that is infinitely painful'. These qualifiers can also be used on comparative adverbs or in place of them; 'That prof is n better', 'That prof is infinitely more painful'.

Morphological Flourishes

The use of suffixes in instilingo is particularly interesting due to the inventive word-formations that emerge as a result of innovative combination of the roots borrowed from various languages. The suffix 'aa', an import from the Tamil language that uses the same root is used with most of the adverbs of manner. For example, *quickaa* (quickly) *randomaa* (randomly), etc. Conversely, the pruned English morpheme *fy* is used with Tamil words thus producing anglicized Tamil words like *poondufy* (navigate), *peetify* (boast), etc. Nouns and adjectives are added with the suffix 'level', a marker of comparison and used as an adjective. For example, 'He is a god-level drummer'; 'god-level' is an adjective of 'drummer', implying that the drummer was exceptionally good. Suffixes are also used to convey negatives, examples being 'cup-level', 'pack-level' and 'rape-level' (my interview was cup-level da). It can be added to any proper/common noun to make an adjective of comparison; ('He has industry-level fundaes'). The suffixes 'ite' and 'ian' are added to specific geographical landmarks to indicate the inhabitants of that location, like modifying hostel names to forge a collective identity for the students of that hostel (*Sinduite*, *Saravite*, etc). There is a great deal of creative freedom for the speaker to generate new adjectives and adverbs based on these basic rules.

Syntactic and Semantic Alterations

The unique nature of instilingo has manifested itself the most in the way the word 'put' has been used. The most frequently used term by the student community of IITM, 'put' turns out to be the most permissible verb that stands as a substitute for many verbs like award, behave, come, drink, eat, feed, flirt, get placed, go, give, lend, publish, return, send, sleep, try, wash, write and any other action performed with regularity by this community. Certain examples are

Macha <i>put</i> peace in life da	Dude.. <i>Relax</i>
<i>Put</i> fight machi	<i>Work</i> hard for this dude
Mama ..She <i>puts</i> vetti scene da (vetti)	She is <i>showing off</i>
Dei.. don't <i>put</i> mokai jokes da	Don't <i>utter</i> poor jokes
Juntha..we have to <i>put</i> enthu	People.. We should <i>show</i> enthusiasm.
He <i>put</i> DB	He got <i>placed</i> at DB

Thus, it can be said that the word 'put' has undergone semantic expansion from its meaning as throw/move/bring in 'normal' English to a wide range of meanings in instilingo, so much so that many of its current usages seem miles away from what the word was originally intended to convey.

The word '*rape*' in instilingo has gone through a semantic shift known as meiosis, resulting in multiple meanings which are mostly context based. Contrary to the conventional meaning as 'to sexually exploit someone against their will', '*rape*' in instilingo means 'difficult', 'torment', 'ace' as in 'the professor *raped* me at the presentation' (The professor tormented me asking questions), 'It was a *rape* session' (It was a difficult session) and 'I *raped* the quiz' (I aced the quiz).

Numerous expressions used in common English have undergone a process of common word formation, particularly zero derivations, resulting in new forms. An example for a zero derivation in instilingo is the word '*cup*'. The lowest fail grade in the grading system followed in IIT is a 'U' grade. Among the students, 'U' grade is popularly known as a cup as the symbol 'U' resembles one. From the symbol/alphabet 'U' originates the word cup. However, the word undergoes zero deviation and is used as different parts of speech such as a noun, verb and adjective. Consider the following sentences

(1a) I will get a *cup* in this quiz—I will get a 'U' grade in this quiz

(1b) I will *cup* in the exam—I will fail in this exam

(1c) It is a *cupmax* exam—It was a terrible exam and I see the possibility of me failing.

In (1a), *cup* is used as noun, 1(b) as a verb and 1(c) as an adjective.

The Craft of Sentence Constructions

Though it might seem to an outsider that instilingo hardly follows any rules or patterns of sentence constructions, the reality is that the lingo is as rule governed as any other language. Consider the following conversation:

A: Dude, which course?

B: Lit crit da

A: Peace no?

B: What peace, macha? HS junta putting n pseud in class. Prof is also a painmax fellow.

While the question 'are you putting Harvard?' is completely acceptable as per the institute standards, the semantic and functional equivalent of the same as 'are you applying Harvard' is not accepted and is seen as ungrammatical. The construction of sentences is governed by the Principle of Least Effort, which conveys the basic information and the bare necessities of effective communication, thus infiltrating unnecessary lexical items. At the same time, it is also interesting to note that utterances produced in conventional English which the students use follow the conventional rules of sentence constructions. Grammatical errors can be judged as 'bad language'. However, when '*insti jargons*' penetrate into a conversation, conventional rules of sentence constructions and language use holds no significance. In other words, the deliberate errors made are accepted without any attitudinal judgements about language because most of the sentence constructions in *instilingo* flouts the conventional rules and builds itself on the so-called 'errors'.

Conclusion

The above description gives an insight into commonly shared code (dialect) among resident students of IITMadras. This description argues for instilingo as a variety of English or for that matter a language in its own right. A specific feature of language is that it becomes a marker of identity of its speakers. Instilingo meets its requirement as residents in a subconscious fashion allows themselves to develop instilingo as a marker of their (IITM) identity. It creates a microcosm of society and speech community. Instilingo, a language spoken and understood by the students of IITMadras is a specific variety of English used by roughly

15,000 students at any given point in time with many of its members (i.e. the members of this speech community) all over the world. In its use by over 15,000 students, the concept of idiolect gets magnified at the institute. Hence, we call instilingo, the dialect (language) of IITMadras.

Notes

1. Later rephrased as 'freshie interaction sessions' when ragging rules were strictly enforced.
2. The format and the rules are briefly introduced to him if he is unaware of it.
3. Another interesting aspect of nickname is that most of the *fundaes* (plural of *funda* which is explanations) are *pondy types* (vulgar in nature). And that could be one of the reasons why girls are generally not known by their nick names as they hesitate to reveal them. Another reason is that the interactive sessions of *freshie* girls are not as rigorous as for *freshie* boys. insti names are mostly monosyllabic/disyllabic words.
4. The position of a coordinator in any event equivalent to lower level management.
5. The position of an event core equivalent to higher level management.
6. Mid semester examination.
7. End semester examination.
8. The superlative degree of peace.
9. Anything good will be called sexy.
10. Used as an adjective to convey the gravity of the action.
11. Co-curricular activities, festivals and other competitions.
12. The hostels whose names have not been shortened (Brahmaputra, Cauvery, Mahanadi) are occupied mainly by postgraduate students and doctoral candidates, who are not always a part of the mainstream student culture. The newly constructed hostel also lack shortened names (Sabarmathy, Tunga and Bhadra).
13. The terms, macha, machi, dude and uncle are common terms used to refer to any person of any relation; uncle is the only one of them that is used only for males; the others are used for both sexes.
14. It is interesting to note that only a few words have been borrowed from Telugu despite the fact that 60 per cent of the institute population are Telugu speakers.
15. Informal terms used to address friends and fellow students.
16. Mass media including movies, books and songs can be stated as the reason for this phenomenon

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Karthika Sathyanathan works with the Ministry of Human Resource and Development as a young professional. She has an MA in English Studies from IIT Madras at Chennai (TN).

E-mail: karthikasathyanath@gmail.com

Rajesh Kumar is a Professor at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at IIT Madras, Chennai.

E-mail: rajesh@iitm.ac.in

Reported Speech by Japanese EFL Learners

Nivedita Kumari

Abstract

This study discusses the errors in written reports of Japanese EFL learners when they use a reported speech to describe a TED presentation of their choice as a part of a course on English Presentation. A better understanding of these reported speech errors helps us delve into the field of cross-cultural pragmatics. On surface these errors may seem like a grammatical error in terms of the use of pronouns and tense forms, but these errors can lead us to a deeper understanding of reported speech in English and Japanese.

Keywords: English, Japanese, reported speech, tense, pronoun

Reported speech in Japanese

When someone other than the speaker of a statement reports the utterance, it could be called a reported speech. However, the form of the reported utterance can be directly quoted as in (1) or it can be reported based on the understanding of the person who reports the statement depending on the context as in (2) and (3).

(1) She said, 'It's raining heavily, I cannot go to school.'

(2) She refused to go to school because it was raining heavily.

(3) She regretted her not being able to go to school because it was raining heavily.

In Japanese, this distinction between a direct and an indirect speech becomes difficult to understand unless the shared knowledge of the interactants is taken into consideration. Coulmas (1985: 57-58) presents

the intricacies of not being able to distinguish between direct and indirect speech in Japanese. Sentence (4) can have possible translations as stated in (4a – f) and direct interpretations as in (4g) and (4h) are also possible.

(4) Ganbareba wakaru yōni naru to kare wa itta.

Try-hard-if understand become COMP he TOP say.PAST

(4a) He said that if I'd try hard I would understand.

(4b) He said that if you'd try hard you would understand.

(4c) He said that if she tried hard she would understand.

(4d) He¹ said that if he¹ tried hard he¹ would understand.

(4e) He¹ said that if he¹ tried hard they would understand.

(4f) He¹ said that if he² tried hard they would understand.

(4g) He said: 'If I try hard I will understand.'

(4h) He said: 'If you try hard you will understand.'

In Japanese, grammatically the embedding of complement clauses and direct quotations is marked by the same quotative particle *to*. If the verb honorific forms, deictic pronouns and some sentence final particles do not indicate speaker perspective because all these can be dropped, there is no way to distinguish between direct and indirect speech. There are no changes in the word order or tense. Coulmas (1985: 56) explains the use of a sentence final particle *yo* in (5b) the embedded clause that functions as an emphasis particle and suggests that it has the speaker perspective and that makes it direct speech unlike (5a) that does not have the particle.

(5a) *hoteru no heya kara nigeta hitobito wa 'matatakuma ni kuroi kemuri ga jūmanshita'*

hotel GEN room from escaped people TOP immediately DAT black smoke NOM fill.PAST

to katatte iru.

COMP tell.PROG be.PRES

'The people who escaped from the hotel are saying that the rooms filled with black smoke immediately.'

(5b) *hoteru no heya kara nigeta hitobito wa 'matatakuma ni kuroi kemuri ga jūmanshita'*

hotel GEN room from escaped people TOP immediately black smoke
NOM fill.PAST

yo' to katatte iru.

! COMP tell.PROG be.PRES

In this paper, I use the theories of public and private self in Hirose (2000, 2018) and compositional approach to interpreting English tenses in Wada (2001) to explain the errors in English reported speech by Japanese EFL learners.

English Reported Speech Errors by Japanese EFL Learners

The data collected for this study is part of the classroom written assignment by the university students. The students gave an English summary report of a TED lecture that they had chosen themselves to hear. They could choose to hear the lecture in English or Japanese or both. The errors that were noticed in the reported speech can be generalized in terms of the pronouns and tense errors of the embedded clause of direct and indirect speech. First, I focus on the use of pronouns in the reported speech of the written assignments that I received. Some representative examples are given in (6) – (8).

Pronouns

(6) She said that introversive person have great creative power through some examples her showed.

(7) He advised the graduates that your experience will somehow connect in your future.

Tense

(8a) 'Keep looking, don't settle'

(8b) He said if you haven't find it yet, you should keep looking and don't settle.

Public and Private Self in English and Japanese

Hirose (2000, p. 1626)¹ explains that in Japanese there is a clear distinction in public and private expression. Public expression is an act of communication and presupposes the presence of an addressee as in example (9)

(8) Ame da yo

rain COP I.tell.you

'It is raining, I tell you.'

Whereas, (9) is a private expression where the speaker speaks aloud to himself. It is a thought expressing act.

(9) Ame da.

rain COP

'It is raining.'

The presence of such sentence final particles *yo*, *ne* distinguish direct and indirect speech as suggested in (5a) and (5b) above but as is done in English with sentence final expressions like *you know*, *isn't it* and thought expressing sentence equivalents like (9). These two linguistic functions of communicative expression and thought expression become different in the two languages. Hirose (2018, p. 386) gives a contrastive example (10) – (12) in English and Japanese to explain that Japanese has a special word for private self I *jibun* and can refer to any person's private self, whereas, in English personal pronouns are used instead to represent the private self.

(10) {Boku/Kimi/Kare/Kanojo} wa jibun wa oyoge-nai to itta.

{I/you/he/she} TOP self TOP can.swim-NEG QUOT said

Lit. 'I/You/He/She} said that self can't swim.'

(11) {I/You/He/She} said {I/You/He/She} (self)can't swim.

The use of *jibun* has two different uses. (11) has the viewpoint use that allows for a replacement with a pronoun. The reflexive use, however, does not allow for this replacement in Japanese, as mentioned in (12).

(12) Ken¹ wa {jibun/*kare¹} o hihanshita.

Ken TOP {self/him} ACC criticized

'Ken criticized himself.'

Pronoun Errors

When looking at the reported speech errors, we understand the difference in the way public and private self is expressed in the two languages. The learners end up taking time to imbibe this difference and while

they try to understand this, based on the perspective of interlanguage pragmatics, the errors like (6) occur. In (6), which is repeated in (13a), the complement clause has *her* and that is used instead of 'she' in order to replace *jibun* not understanding that the use of *jibun* in this sentence is the reflexive use and it can be replaced by 'she' in English. The Japanese equivalent of (6) in (13b).

(13a) She said that introversive person have great creative power through some examples her showed.

(13b) *naikoutekina hito wa souzouryoku wo motteru to kanojo wa introvert person TOP creative ACC have.PRES COMP she TOP*

jibun no rei de misete itta.

self GEN example BEN show.PROG say.PAST

The students end up reporting by using a different form of pronoun. They also used inconsistent pronouns. (7) shows the use of *your* in the complement clause for the subject of the complement clause *graduates* instead of *their*. (14a) is a repetition of (7) and (14b) is its Japanese equivalent.

(14a) He advised the graduates that your experience will somehow connect in your future.

(14b) *kare wa sotsugyosa ni jibun no keiken wa nantonaku he TOP graduates DAT self GEN experience TOP somehow*

shourai wo musubu to susumeshimashita.

future ACC connect COMP advise.PAST

Section 1 explains that reported speech in Japanese whether in direct or indirect speech uses *to* which is different from the use of complementizer *that* in English. Hirose (2000) explains that the direct speech reports the public self of the reporter, that is, the speaker of the matrix clause. The indirect speech, however, is the private self of the speaker of the matrix clause. In indirect speech, the pronoun of the complement clause cannot be associated with the reporter of the matrix clause. (15a) and (15b) explains this theory (Hirose 2000, p. 1641).

(15a) Haruo wa [boku ni ziko no sekinin ga aru] to itta.

Haruo TOP I DAT accident GEN responsibility NOM exist QUOT say. PAST

Haruo said, ' I am responsible for the accident'.

(15b) Haruo wa { [boku] ni ni ziko no sekinin ga aru} to itta.

Haruo TOP I DAT accident GEN responsibility NOM exist QUOT say.PAST

Haruo said that I was responsible for the accident.

[] public expression { } private expression

The use of *your* in (14a) suggests a necessity for a two-step understanding of the difference in the reported speech of the two languages.

The use of a pronoun in the complement clause is ambiguous because of the choice of public or private self of the reporter of the reported speech. This happens because the pronoun *jibun* has the viewpoint use and it can be replaced by the original speaker or the reporter.

Even though the matrix clause has an object *graduates* and *jibun* refers to the graduates, the reporters ended up using the direct speech form (missing out on the quotation mark) just as (15a) is a direct reported speech.

To sum up this section, the use of pronouns in the direct and indirect reported speech of the learners shows that the two languages have different ways of reporting a thought expression compared to a communicative act with an addressee. The two different uses of *jibun* and it being replaceable by a pronoun only in one of such uses creates a big contrastive difference between the reported speech of the two languages. This results in the errors by the learners, which demonstrates this difference.

Tense Errors

The next type of error noticed were the errors in the tense of the complement clause of the reported speech. When reporting the original speaker's situation the tense of the complement clause did not need to be backshifted always (Larsen-Freeman and Celce-Murcia, 2015) based on the meaning of the utterance. For example, '...what he loves' in (16) does not need to be in past tense because the speaker still loves that he had lost. In (17), however, the verb 'drop out' needs to be backshifted to past tense to refer to the time of action in past tense.

He said that he did not lose his desire to live when he had lost what he loves.

He said that he drop out of Reed College.

The tense errors in the complement clause of a reported speech can be explained using the public and private self as explained in section 3 above. When talking about the compositional approach of interpreting English tense, Wada (2001) cites Hirose (2000) and suggests an explanation for semantic and syntactic differences between Japanese and English indirect speech.

The use of tense in the indirect speech complement clause is attributed to the 'private self' of the reporter when it comes to Japanese, while it is attributed to the 'public self' of the reporter in English.

(15) [Mary said{Nancy [was] pregnant}]

(16) [Mary wa {Nancy ga ninshin shiteiru} to itta]

Mary TOP Nancy NOM pregnant be-PRES QUOT say-PAST

[] public expression

{ } private expression Wada (2001: 275)

In English, the use of *was* in (15) is the reporter's responsibility to backshift the time of the state of the verb *being pregnant*. Based on the context, the fact of Nancy being pregnant is reported. In Japanese, however, all the elements of the complement clause are attributed to the private self of the original speaker because it constitutes private expression. This is the reason why (18) seems natural to Japanese EFL learners. Reported speech (17) presupposes the utterance in (18).

He said 'I drop out of Reed College.'

Coulmas (1985) explains that in indirect speech, the reporter is free to add some information from the reporter's own point of view with the knowledge of the mental state of the original speaker. Wada (2001: 275) adds that in English in terms of tense, the reporter as public self superimposes his or her public expression on the original speaker's private expression. In (15), for example, underlying the reporter's public expression *was* is the original speaker's private expression *am*.

The Japanese equivalent of (18) and (17), respectively, are (19a) and (19b).

(19a) kare wa (reed daigaku) taigaku suru to itta.

he TOP Reed College drop out do COMP say. PAST

He said 'I drop out (of Reed College).'

(19b) kare wa taigaku suru to itta.

he TOP drop out do COMP say.PAST

He said that he (would drop out or dropped out or then drops out).

Wada (2001: 283-284)² suggests that the tense interpretation of past tense in a complement clause is polysemous. This happens because of various tense interpretations deictically based on the time of action of the matrix clause and non-deictically because of the presence of two viewpoints, that is, the public self and private self.

Conclusion

The errors in the use of pronouns and tense of the complement clause of the reported speech by Japanese EFL learners confirm the theories about the differences in English and Japanese in terms of public – private self and tense interpretation. The two theories also help us understand why these possible errors occur in the language use of EFL learners. The relevant points understood include:

- (a) The pronoun errors in the complement clause of reported speech written by Japanese EFL learners result from the indistinct differences in direct and indirect reported speech in Japanese.
- (b) The difference in the use of public and private self in the two languages leads to errors based on the replacement of *jibun* as per viewpoint and reflexive use of the pronoun in the complement clause and in the backshifting of the tense interpretation in the complement clause.
- (c) Tense interpretation of past tense in the complement clause also differs in the two languages. Japanese has more ambiguous tense interpretation due to the possibility of public and private self of the original speaker and the reporter. This leads to tense errors

Notes

1. In this study, Hirose's theory of public and private self includes the semantico-pragmatic interpretation of the speaker's and reporter's viewpoint in a reported speech.
2. Wada (2001) presents a compositional theory of tenses to explain the exceptional cases of tense interpretations in English. In this process, the

author uses Hirose's theory of public and private self to explain the tense of complement clause in English (and Japanese).

Abbreviations

ACC accusative	BEF benefactive	COP copula
COMP complementizer	DAT dative	GEN genitive
NEG negative marker	NOM nominative	PAST past tense
PRES present tense	PROG progressive	TOP topic marker
QUOT quotative		

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Nivedita Kumari, PhD, is a Lecturer at National Institute of Technology, Ibaraki College, Japan. She has taught English to Japanese university graduate students and her interests include comparative linguistics of Hindi and Japanese, English language teaching, pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

E-mail: nivedita16@gmail.com

Multilingualism Embedded in English of India

Elizabeth Eldho

Abstract

English language is evidently proliferating with the emergence of multitudes of varieties within itself; in other words, English is increasingly becoming multilingual. As a result of this, the idealization of 'one English for all' does not really find a place in multilingual contexts. This paper looks at the status of English in the multilingual and multicultural India and tries to argue that the so-called Indian English can be branched off to incorporate different varieties having distinct identities of their own. Moreover, the paper throws light on the implications of multilingualism within English in the field of language teaching.

Keywords: Multilingualism, Indian English, English of India, varieties, language teaching.

Every country is multilingual in nature following colonialism or migration driven by several socio-political, commercial or religious motives, resulting in people speaking more than one language. Multilingualism India, for instance, embodies a vast diversity in the number of languages spoken and the cultures that coexist within the nation. This linguistic heterogeneity or say, multilingualism is the very norm in the Indian subcontinent. The concept of monolingualism is a distant reality especially in a country like India and therefore, it is worth examining the nature of the coexistence of the languages spoken in India and how a social connectedness is sustained. Moreover, all languages are in a constant flux on a temporal continuum and in particular, Indian multilingualism, according to Annamalai (2003), is set apart from the multilingualism of other countries in terms of the

'nature of society' and 'polity of the country'. The historical facts reveal the British domination in the Indian soil in the 1600s and attempts of imposing Western norms to the oriental culture such as proselytization and English education in the name of development and 'civilizing the natives' (Dasgupta 1993) so as to advance their trade interests in the country. The post-independence period witnessed the implementation of the three-language formula proposed by the Indian government in 1961 to satisfy the language pressure groups. As a result, currently Hindi serves as the official language and the language of unity, English as the associate official language of administration, and the regional languages for the non-Hindi speaking states. Taking a look at some of the historical facts concerning the English language, we find that English is identified to be a West-Germanic language and it was introduced in Britain in the 5th century AD through invasion by the Germanic tribes, namely the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. Through years of invasions and colonization, the English language has undoubtedly attained an unsurpassed status across the globe unlike any other languages in the linguistic history could ever do, traversing the boundaries, cultures and in the process, it has spread all over and evolved and is still evolving. Today, 'English is lauded as the most 'successful' language ever, with 1,500 million speakers worldwide' (Crystal 1997). At present, in general, we have many different varieties of English(es) worldwide. There have been many attempts to describe the place of English in the world, for instance, the most noteworthy 'concentric circle model' developed by Braj B. Kachru in 1985 in which he identifies three circles, namely (i) the inner circle where English functions as a native language (ENL/norm-providing), (ii) the outer circle where English is used as a second language (ESL/norm-dependent), and (iii) the expanding circle where English is used as a foreign language (EFL/norm-developing). With globalization and the increased use and function of English across the world, this division is found to be immaterial. To be more precise, in the outer and expanding circle, English has been nativized in their respective contexts with own norms, and it is of no matter to think of English as an alien language in those circles.

Here, we primarily focus on how English in India has undergone further pluralism in the linguistic landscape of India and how English *in* India has become English *of* India over time. Though English was introduced in India by the British, surprisingly, the end of the colonial rule could not

stop the language from emerging. Instead, it continues to grow and co-evolve with the indigenous languages. Though the number of varieties of English is on the rise, wholly natural and impregnable, earlier there has been a lack of articulation on the emerging varieties in the outer circle. English functions in multiple settings and each of them plays a crucial role in refining the language to suit the needs of the individual and the society. Therefore, the English that we speak in India is not the so-called 'standard', or 'native' American/British English instead, what we speak is Indian English marked with its own unique linguistic features. The notion of 'standard' is still arguable; what has debatably and traditionally been considered as the 'Standard English' is the Standard British English (UK English) and General American English (US English), since they have a codified grammar, dictionaries and manuals of usage. In view of those who were in support of the standard, 'it is the 'standard' language which is in danger of being diluted by these new varieties. By contrast, some scholars view the notion of Standard English as having something to do with ideological concerns than linguistic considerations' (Kachru and Nelson 2009). These opposing views (one view that sees disintegration of the standards and the other that advocates the indigenized Englishes) have been going on for over two decades now. For David Crystal, 'despite the impression that Standard English exists acting as a unifying force among the range of variations, a total uniform, regionally neutral, and unarguably prestigious variety does not yet exist worldwide' (Crystal 1994).

Much before, the concept of Indian English did not find itself a place in the linguistic history for it lacked a proper academic definition and was often stigmatized and disputed. However, Indian English has now created its own space over time in the linguistic ecology of India and it is no more a 'deviant' or 'non-native' variety, which some purists may deny. The purists always looked upon the so-called native varieties as the norm and generally considered any grammatical deviations from the native English as 'errors' through comparison. In M.A.K. Halliday's views on Indian English, he posits the notion of Indian English to which the speakers comply with instead of having a so-called standard model, thus accepting 'Educated Indian English' and even recognizes varieties within Indian English. According to Singh, 'the standard procedure of collecting performance data from L2 learners of English and having native speakers of English evaluate the grammaticality of the structures

found in that data was like mixing oranges and apples' (Singh 1972). This is probably due to the less prestige attached to them as well as defining its correctness with reference to the 'codified' English in the inner circle as exemplars. In response, several scholars have come up with studies that legitimize the emerging varieties of English(es), which made available for further research. These scholars often provide descriptions of the grammar of the variety in question and for them, the deviations are 'features' and the variety is a rule-governed system. Singh has rightly stated that, 'we can legitimately speak of 'from English in India to Indian English' (Agnihotri and Singh 2012). This implies that it is time that we should talk about English of India instead of English in India. According to Annamalai (2008), English is the 'latest addition to the multilingual mosaic of India, which is noted for the linguistic behaviour of its communities to add languages to their linguistic repertoire and to use them complementarily in functional terms and synthetically in formal terms'. But, the general attitude is that the speakers are becoming more than mere admirers of the 'prestigious' RP and are sidelining the localized varieties for they are branded as 'unfinished', 'erroneous' products.

When we say Indian English, it shows certain linguistic behaviours that are distinctly its own. These linguistic features of Indian English are often manifested at all levels of linguistic analyses and they say quite a lot about an individual's identity of belonging to some part of India. For instance, at the level of phonology Indian English is distinct in terms of the use of retroflex consonants (eg. /ʈ/, /ɖ/), lack of contrast between *v* and *w*, absence of dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, the use of unaspirated voiceless plosives (e.g. *tin/* for /t^h*in/*) and so on. Similarly, the extensive use of reduplication (e.g. *hot hot coffee*), creative use of compounds (*key-bunch* for *bunch of keys*), use of hybrid compounds (*dhobi-washed*) and affixation (*police-wallah*) are some of the morphological features of Indian English. At the syntactic level, Indian English displays uniqueness in the formation of interrogative sentences without Sub-Aux inversion (e.g. *What you would like to eat?* instead of *What would you like to eat?*), use of stative verbs like *see*, *hear* in their progressive forms, etc. (Sailaja 2009). Furthermore, in an attempt to legitimize Indian English as a variety in its own right, the characteristic phonological features that uniquely define Indian English is systematized and documented in a monograph in 1972, and these features are found uniformly across India.

This is known as the 'General/Standard' Indian English modelled by the Indian English speakers for pedagogical needs. But, there seems to have paucity in the model (General Indian English) for not incorporating the regional differences. However, what is called Indian English raises certain issues; (i) primarily for the uniformity of features and the multitudes of languages and cultures that the nation encapsulates, (ii) for not capturing the geographical nuances, (iii) for setting up General Indian English as a reference point that the speakers should model on.

Schneider (2003) has described different phases (namely foundation phase *exonormative stabilization*, *nativization*, *endonormative stabilization* and *differentiation*) in the development of new Englishes which is known as Schneider's Dynamic Model of New Englishes. According to Schneider, the stage at which Indian English presently is the 'stage of dialect birth' that allows for 'internal diversification'. As he puts it, 'the identity construction at this phase drift away from national to the immediate community scale and the citizens of the country is seen as a composite of subgroups instead of a single entity, marked by own identity determined by sociolinguistic parameters such as age, gender, ethnicity, regional background, social status, and so on. Consequently, new varieties of the formerly new variety emerge as carriers of new group identities with the overall community; regional and social dialects and linguistic markers (accents, lexical expressions, and structural patterns), which carry a regionally or socially indicative function only within the new country, emerge. The expression of 'group identification and social categorization' becomes more important than the 'collective identity' of the previous stage' (Schneider 2003). Following this, it can be argued that Indian English is at the stage of differentiation that has to be carefully looked at so that the conventional General Indian English model can be modified.

English has substantially been affected by the linguistic and culturally diversity of India and one cannot think of English remaining homogeneous across the nation. Ofelia Garca (1992) points out that, in countries like India, and the Philippines that embrace multilingual policy officially, the linguistic heterogeneity is even more varied and complex. Now, the time has come that we should examine the heterogeneity that exists within Indian English for it is acculturated in different linguistic and sociolinguistic contexts within India. Contrary to the myth that Indian English is monolithic irrespective of its linguistically pluralistic

bases, recent studies (Wiltshire 2005) have made possible that they can be differentiated within so as to incorporate multiple varieties geographically, especially based on phonology. Peter Trudgill and almost all anglophones foresaw that in a multilingual nation like India where English has the role of a lingua franca, English is likely to acquire a set of local norms which are widely adhered to even if they are not officially recognized (Trudgill, 2002). In fact, internal forms of English with local norms have developed in places where English is used as a second language (Trudgill and Hannah, 1982).

In their views,

...the endonormative varieties are precisely the ones which should be taught and used in the countries concerned: Indian English should be the norm in India, just as Australian English should be the norm in Australia, and Irish English in Ireland. (Trudgill and Hannah 1982).

Indian English variety exhibits a multilayered structure in which there are further divisions that could be geographically defined and also many more. For instance, there are differences in the way north Indians and south Indians speak and the differences are chiefly noticeable at the level of sounds. Similarly, the English of the north east Indians varies largely too. This means that geography could contribute much to the variation within Indian English. So, there could be something called South Indian English, North Indian English, etc. South Indian English (this term is not used in a derogatory sense) or the English spoken by the people in South India is often observed to have given a mocking tone in popular culture as well as in literature. This is because, there could possibly be some linguistic features that have contributed to identify the South Indianness in the utterance of the speakers. I believe that, this in a way gives them a unique identity of being a South Indian or belonging to some part of South India. Even when I say South Indian Indian English, there also lies the issue of homogeneity with the term. In such situations where the differentiation is so diverse, the question arises as to how to linguistically approach this situation of heterogeneity.

Several studies have drawn upon the regional varieties of Indian English. For instance, Prabhakar Babu in 1976 has done a study on the characteristic features of Telugu English spoken in South India, Sethi (1976) on the English of Punjabi speakers, but, all these studies are descriptive in nature and it is to be noted that these works are inadequate

in terms of systematicity in the data elicitation, and analytical methods employed. But, an extensive body of literature (Sahgal and Agnihotri 1988) fills this void by taking into account the socio-physiological dimensions that could provide an answer to the unique characteristics of the varieties of English in multiple settings. In the same line, Caroline R. Wiltshire studied the 'Indian English' of Tibeto-Burman speakers in which she intends to convey that the 'Indian English of the speakers whose L1 belongs to one of the four major language families in India (namely, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, and Austro-Asiatic which are) could also form a distinct variety of English'. In that case, we can have Dravidian English, Tibeto-Burman English, Austro-Asiatic English, Indo-Aryan English. She notes that the Tibeto-Burman speakers also shows distinctiveness in terms of a number of features such as 'the lack of retroflexion of coronal consonants, the devoicing of word-final obstruents, the simplification of consonant clusters, and the presence of post-vocalic [p], and the reduced set of vowel contrasts' (Wiltshire 2005).

The complex multilingual fabric of India creates a need for conducting studies on language in connection with the society. This is basically what the sociolinguists do wherein they investigate language with social relations. Before society was the concern for linguists, the study of the language, following Chomsky, had long been dictated by the doctrines of the school of thought known as 'structuralism'. In the research carried out on English in India, prescriptivism was the norm adopted till the phase was completely taken over with the systematic investigation of the social existence of language. It was quite hard for the prescriptivists who upheld an 'autonomous' line of argument, to reconcile themselves to associate language with the social affairs for they believe forever that drawing parallels between them would distort the basic principles of linguistic analysis. The very fact that makes language a 'language' is its unique nature of 'variability' and the freedom to exploit the variability is the very right of every individual of a speech community. This delimited the objectification of language that the linguists of prescriptivists' tradition find appropriate, which further opened up new paradigms of sociolinguistic research. In response, later research on varieties of English shifted their focus to descriptive studies, but relying hard on them also leaves out several rudimentary questions about language and society unanswered, resulting in unordered, unstructured, fragmentary, and impressionistic analyses.

Most importantly and essentially, the traditional monolingual approach to English education should prioritize the multilingual reality that English is embedded in. Therefore, it is important to consider the teaching of English within the architecture of heterogeneity of English, for it is more than a lingua franca that it initially was. Once we begin to think of our nation as a mosaic of different ethno-linguistic groups, the problems of the monolithic views of English are suddenly recast in a different light. In addition, when the speakers feel a unique sense of self in the way they speak English, be it regionally or socially varied, they themselves become creators of the linguistic fragility. In the classrooms, the pedagogical obsession to benchmark the students' English to global standards is still found very common in India and this itself is problematic. Limiting oneself to such trends is not what the future generations would hope for, instead locate the self in the kind of English that we grew up exposed to. The evolution of the English language from being a lingua franca to a stage where it identifies itself as a system of its own needs a theorization in terms of its multilingual nature. When empirical research brought out evidence of fluidity in the structure of English language, notions such as structuralism, prescriptivism, and in some way descriptivism become subordinate. Considering a society like India, what works better and what should work better in teaching/learning of English is relying on the detailed social and linguistic background of the speakers. Furthermore, in any discussions concerning multilingualism, English, by default comes to the forefront and is inevitable. The contradiction lies at this point where English may not be central to such discussions all the time, but it is relevant all the time.

English language has increasingly been appropriated in multilingual contexts and in particular in India, for its advanced economic growth and increased career prospects, English has projected itself in a dominion. However, the conflicting pressures of Westernization seem to be exponential for the localized varieties to proliferate. The academic works that foster the emergence of local norms would help promote the development of local varieties and the speakers to identify themselves in the same. Moreover, RP cannot remain an idealized variety ever; such idealization poses a threat to the identity of the speakers of those multilingual countries where English functions in most of the domains.

Conclusion

The idea of linguistic homogenization of the English language is not viable for it is eclipsing all over the world. What we see is the disintegration of the same into series of varieties having their own linguistic norms. Moreover, every language changes over time and it is the speakers who change them without being aware of it. The very notion of Indian English has turned out to be an abstraction and is progressing towards a rapid break-up. Ultimately, language is intertwined with society and in particular English language is embedded in several social contexts which in turn would promote more regional and social varieties to emerge. As a concluding remark, Indian English is not an alien language, instead we own it and it is time to talk about English of India. The terms like standard, non-native, erroneous must be obliterated for it would distort the very understanding of English language and its functions in different multilingual contexts. It is worthwhile to take a liberal stance in the teaching of English so as to provide a space for the emerging varieties to flourish in its distinctiveness. A unified entity being branched off into distinct sub-varieties in different sociolinguistic contexts also marks the identity of the community or the group. As long as diversity exists, a monocentric approach to the use of 'one English for all' fails and needs further restatement. What sums up is that it is unjust to have a monolingual principle to be adopted for English language worldwide, be it in teaching or learning.

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Elizabeth Eldho is a PhD Scholar at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences of Indian Institute of Technology, Madras (IITM). Her area of research specialization is sociolinguistics with special focus on language variations. She currently works on the sociolinguistic aspects of Indian English spoken in South India.

E-mail: elizabeth.eldho73@gmail.com

Teachers' Attitude Towards the Use of L1 in the L2 Classroom at the Higher Educational Institutes in Tamil Nadu

S. Ramamoorthy

Abstract

In many multilingual contexts, mostly learning English becomes an additional language (EAL), where learners' prior knowledge about his first language and culture is taken into consideration to facilitate L2 learning. This article reports a study in which teachers of English were asked to express their beliefs on mother tongue-based multilingual education from their teaching-learning experience of English in the context of Tamil Nadu. Interviews were conducted to collect the data. One of the findings indicates that considering the needs of the rural/first generation/regional medium students, teachers prefer bilingual teaching even in higher educational institutes to facilitate learning. However, some of them prefer English medium instruction because they think that too much use of the mother tongue hinders learners' input of L2. Moreover, the study finds that teachers' choice of medium of instruction in their L2 classroom is influenced by factors such as learners' English language proficiency, educational and career opportunities.

Keywords: Multilingualism, mother tongue, education, language proficiency, higher education

Introduction

We cannot rely simply on an armchair kind of teaching method. We cannot ask a question and become angry because they do not know the answer. That is not how it is. My objective as a teacher is to make sure that they learn English... (Teacher 13 from the interview data)

Many parts of the world are increasingly becoming multilingual owing to the global spread of English and a sizeable migration to different parts of the world. For instance, in Finland, immigrants bring cultural and linguistic diversity to the country (Illman and Pietilä, 2018). Since English is seen as a viable medium of intercultural communication or an international lingua franca (ILF) (Sharifian, 2009), there are also growing numbers of L2 learners—English as a second or foreign language learners (Crystal, 2003; Kachru, 2005). In the field of English Language Teaching (ELT), there is a substantial body of research pertaining to teaching and learning English in multilingual contexts.

1.1 Teaching English in the Multilingual Context

In many multilingual contexts, teaching and learning English becomes an additional language (EAL)—either as English as a second language (ESL) and/or foreign language (EFL). EAL is defined as ‘learning and facilitating learning for pupils whose first language is not English’ (Haslam, Wilkin and Kellett, 2007: IV). In the EAL classroom, both teachers and learners may tend to use their first language (L1) as a ‘substitute’ to English (L2), when learners are not capable enough to understand/use in L2 (Krashen, 1991). And this tendency to use learners’ L1 in the L2 classroom is seen as natural (Nation, 2003). In addition to that, scholars working in L2 research maintain that the use of learners’ first language can facilitate L2 learning. For instance, Nation, P. (2003), drawing pieces of evidence from studies, such as Lameta-Tufuga (1994), Knight (1996), etc., argues that the use of L1 in the L2 classroom facilitates comprehending content and meaning, L2 vocabulary and grammatical items, and developing L2 proficiency.

1.2 Multilingualism—Cognitive Support?

Similarly, Anton and Dicamilla (1998 as cited from Turnbull and Arnett, 2002) suggest that L1 can function as a cognitive tool in the L2 classroom. This means that teachers can use learners’ first language to scaffold L2 learning, where learners’ prior knowledge about their language and culture has been acknowledged as a resource (Illman and Pietilä, 2018; Foley, 1994). This concept—multilingualism as a teaching-learning strategy—is not new in ELT, and has already been integrated into concepts such as inclusion (Stadler-Heer, 2019), translanguaging

(Conteh, 2018), and scaffolding (Foley, 1994), However, there might be some difference.

In contrast, first language influence in L2 acquisition is considered 'an indication of low acquisition' and leads to 'unnatural adult second language performance' (Krashen, 1991: 67-68). Ellis (1984) remarks that use of the first language as a part of regular L2 pedagogy hampers learners of L2 input. Studies have also supported this claim that direct use of L2 has resulted in L2 achievement (Carroll et al., 1967 cited from Turnbull and Arnett, 2002).

Despite these conceptual differences and contradicting empirical evidence, it is advocated that based on students' English competency, teachers should have to decide whether learners' L1 can be used to facilitate learning/in/the L2 in their classrooms. At the same time, teachers are considered to be the primary source of L2 input. It is, therefore, emphasized that teachers must have to find ways to encourage students to maximize L2 use within their classroom when the learners hardly have any chance to use it outside the classroom (Nation, 2003).

1.3 Teachers' Attitude

Teachers' choice of language in the second or foreign language classroom is particularly influenced by their belief about the use of those languages. Recently, studies have also shown that teachers believe that the frequent use of learners' previously learned linguistic knowledge benefits L2 learning to some extent (Kieu, 2010; Al-Amir, 2017). Teachers have acknowledged that L1 has different roles in the L2 classroom. For instance, Kieu, (2010) investigates attitudes of university teachers towards using Vietnamese in English language teaching. Data were collected via questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The study findings reveal that all the teachers participating in the study recognize that Vietnamese can be used in the following situations: a) explaining grammatical items, b) introducing new words, and c) ensuring students' understanding (given in the descending order of their preferences). Relatively similar findings are evident in another study (Al-Amir, 2017). However, in Al-Amir's study, which investigates EFL teachers' attitude towards students' first language (Arabic) by administering a questionnaire, the statistical analysis of the mean value (2.98) and the SD value (0.742) indicate that teachers believe English must be used by both teachers and students inside the classroom.

Since English only attitude is prevalent in multilingual education, it is noted that as teachers have a clear understanding about the ideological assumption of teaching and learning English, they have developed their stand to draw upon the relevant local and cultural material and resources in a multilingual context (Tupas, 2018).

1.4 Multilingual Context in India

In India, the Three Language Policy has been in educational practice. Under this, every student is expected to learn the mother tongue, Hindi and English. In Hindi-speaking regions, children have to learn Hindi, English and any classical Indian languages either as a second or third language. And in non-Hindi speaking states, children are expected to learn Hindi or any other Indian language and English along with their mother tongue. Since TLF has not been properly implemented in many states, it is emphasized that individual states have to decide the choice of the second language in primary education and third language in secondary education. The medium of instruction at primary level must be in the children's mother tongue.

In Tamil Nadu, bilingual educational policy has been in practice. In addition to the mother tongue, children learn English as a second language in school education. English is the medium of instruction at higher education and students are expected to develop proficiency in English when they enter higher education.

Recently higher educational institutes have witnessed an increasing number of first-generation students. Since these students do not come from a proper sociocultural and educational background, they are unable to develop expected proficiency in English when they come to higher education, where they face a situation in which they have to learn everything in English. Since they are hardly exposed to English outside the classroom, their only primary source of input are often their teachers. It seems quite challenging for both teachers and students to ensure whether learning happens and to improve learners' English proficiency.

There are a few studies, which intend to examine teachers' attitude towards the use of L1 or dominant local language in the L2 classroom in India (Ramanathan and Bruning, 2001; Meganathan, 2018), indicated that teachers tend to implement whatever methods and strategies that work in

their classroom. Moreover, it seems L1 is a part of their regular pedagogic tools in their English language classroom. For instance, Ramanathan and Bruning, (2001) administered a questionnaire among 11 teachers who teach English from grade 1 to 5 in a private English medium school to investigate their belief about practices and activities carried out in their L2 classroom. One of the findings in the study shows that teachers believe that their students learning English might be affected by the lack of exposure as well as the inference of L1. However, teachers themselves used L1 or the regional dominant language (Tamil) about 20% to 40% of a 40 minutes classroom, especially to communicate with students. Another study investigates the role of the English language curriculum, teaching, and learning via teachers' and students' attitude (Meganathan, 2018). Data were collected through various sources such as ethnographic observation, questionnaire for students (8th, 9th, and 10th) and teachers, and semi-structured and open interviews for learners, teachers and administrators. About 225 students and 12 teachers from two English medium schools (Delhi Tamil Education Association School and Raisina Bengali School) in Delhi participated in the study. One finding indicates that an average of 15% of students do not feel like speaking in English in their L2 classroom on account of their low proficiency. Teachers also feel that these students do not get support from home to learn English. A few learners acknowledge that their teachers use the students' mother tongue (Tamil or Bengali) or the regional dominant language (Hindi) to explain tasks and ideas for better understanding. However, most learners feel that most of the time is spent in English only.

It is evident from both these studies that the classroom is the primary source of students' input of learning the English language, where teachers have to bring students' home language and culture as well to facilitate learning even in English medium schools, where students are exposed to English only environment. But, not many studies have investigated teachers' attitudes towards teaching English in the multilingual context of India and there is a gap when it comes to higher education, where students come from both English and regional medium schools, and learn together. It becomes highly challenging teaching English to the students of the first generation with a regional medium and rural background. This study intends to examine the attitudes of the teachers who teach English at higher educational institutes towards using L1 in their L2 classrooms.

Research Questions

The following are research questions:

- (a) What are the attitudes of teachers towards teaching English at higher educational institutes?
- (b) What are the factors which determine the attitudes of teachers towards using L1 in their L2 classrooms?

Method

The data is collected as a part of upcoming doctoral research by the same author from the Centre for English Language Studies, University of Hyderabad. The data were collected via interviews, and an interview questionnaire—includes twenty questions—was designed for the purpose. Only a small proportion of data is used for this paper. The data included in this paper come particularly from the participants' responses to one of the interview questions: What is your opinion of mother tongue-based multilingual education?

Participants

Participants were teachers who teach English at colleges and universities from Tamil Nadu. Twenty-five teachers (from 12 colleges, 4 state universities, and one rural central university) participated in the study, which included 19 male and 6 female).

Procedure

Teachers were individually contacted over the phone and invited to participate in the study. All the teacher contacts were established by known to unknown. Initially, the present research design was partially discussed with 41 teachers who teach English at higher educational institutes in Tamil Nadu. Everyone agreed to be a part of the study but later some of them were unwilling mostly due to unavailability of time. Finally, 28 interviews were conducted but only 25 of them were transcribed and analysed thematically to identify themes.

Analysis

Thematic Analysis (TA) was used to identify patterns and themes within the interview data. Clarke and Braun, (2016) defines TA as 'a method

of identifying, analysing and interpreting patterns of meaning (themes) within qualitative data' (p. 297). Moreover, they have also explained six phases of thematic analysis: (a) familiarize yourself with the data; (b) generate initial codes; (c) search for themes; (d) review themes; (e) define and name themes; and (f) produce the report (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 87).

The following were the procedures followed to analyse the data: a) the interview data were transcribed, and some examples and proverbs expressed in Tamil were translated into English, b) gathered and arranged all the responses to a single question one by one in a word file c) responses were marked/ highlighted by different colours—each one representing different patterns/themes, d) rearranged the highlighted/ marked responses to arrive at themes and sub-themes, and e) described names and themes.

Results

Analysis of interview transcripts offered rich insight into teachers' attitudes towards teaching English at the higher educational institutes in the multilingual context of India. Results reported in this section include themes and patterns, and representative examples from the interview data.

Bilingualism Helps Understanding Concepts Better

Considerably, 20 (or 80%) of the participants highlighted that bilingualism/multilingualism would be effective in both school and graduate education. Twelve teachers mentioned that they had drawn into bilingual teaching because it helped students' understanding of the concepts better. In addition to that, they highlighted that they had to use bilingual teaching to facilitate the learning of the rural, Tamil medium, and first-generation students. As Teacher 10 mentioned that students were expecting bilingual teaching even at university/college, it was primarily because 'most of the first generation learners don't have any experience of other languages. Some of the students come from villages and have got their school education only in government schools.' It seems that teachers have understood the problems faced by these students regarding learning English—most of them find it difficult to understand if the instruction is only in English. Teacher 13, for instance,

noted that: 'When I teach them in English, they simply stare at me. I can see the fact that they don't understand what I teach them, not even a single word.' In extending his point, he further added that:

I started using Tamil. And then now to a certain extent I speak mostly Tamil than English... in my classroom. I have to use Tamil movies, references, comedies to make them understand concepts.

This point—bringing students' home language, culture and knowledge into the L2 classroom to scaffold their learning—was also highlighted by several other teachers. For example, Teacher 22 shared his experience in a rural college, where most first-generation students study, that 'in a classroom, the routine of the teacher is to make what is difficult easier for them.'

As far as the content of the syllabus is concerned, the content which is closer to the local surroundings is helpful for both teacher and students to relate better than understanding something else from Western culture (mentioned by several other teachers). Teacher 6, for example, pointed out that:

We selected content that is easily understood by the student. For example, a general English textbook has many examples from local surroundings. There is an essay about Kodaikanal, which is closer to them so that we are able to relate. Even in the functional English textbook, we try to bring as much local content as possible.

Another instance of this kind is bringing parallelism between the languages to grasp the concepts easily. Teacher 22, for example, stated that:

In Antony and Cleopatra, Cleopatra is asking Antony that if it is true love...tell me now...then we have to find a new heaven. The same dialogue is seen in one of Kamal Hasan's Tamil movies, *Varumaiyin Niram Sivappu*. When we bring such parallels they may be useful to the students.

L1 Supports Learning L2

As several teachers mentioned bilingualism was helpful to understand concepts/content better, only 7 teachers explicitly stated that the mother tongue would support second/foreign language learning—English in this context. Teacher 12 claimed that 'to understand a foreign language

one needs to know its equivalence in the mother tongue.’ Likewise, Teacher 13 stated that ‘Any language should be taught to the people in bilingual and multilingual so that their mother tongue will certainly help them to understand the second language.’ As far as the transition from mother tongue to the English language is concerned, Teacher 15 noted that ‘if you are not proficient in your own vernacular language, you cannot learn another language.’

Bilingual teaching also helps to build confidence (stated by Teacher 3) and to acquire cognitive skills (mentioned by Teacher 11).

English Must be the Medium of Instruction at Higher Education

Seven participants (28%) reported that English should be the medium of instruction at the higher education level. As based on his own learning experience, Teacher 18 believed that the direct method would result in successful target language learning. He noted that: ‘I have come from a Tamil medium background ... Teachers in colleges... speak only in English from the beginning till the end. So we were able to understand and cope with that language.’ Teacher 4 and Teacher 18 emphasized that considering educational and career opportunities, English was considered to be more important than Tamil (mother tongue). Teacher 4, for instance, noted that: ‘We are responsible for our culture and language but when our mother tongue is not helping us for our better future, we should learn other languages like English.’ Similarly, four teachers highlighted that at tertiary level education must be in the global language. Teacher 6, for example, pointed out that the medium of instruction must be in English. He further explained how learning in the mother tongue would limit the mobility of the students in the following:

...a student who studies Economics in Tamil language, he may never get an opportunity to do his postgraduate/research or cannot take up a career outside the linguistic region. So, that limits both higher education and career opportunities.

Teacher 8 related English language/ education to socio-economic mobility in the global era. She mentioned that ‘Now this English education has become...very important...which...makes you an important person in the job market. Without communicating skills, probably you may not claim the social ladder.’

Too Much Use of Tamil Hampers Students' Proficiency in English

Only three respondents highlighted that increasing use of Tamil in L2 classroom resulted in hindering students' proficiency in English. Since most of the schools in the state offer only Tamil medium education, Teacher 7 felt that students' exposure to English language and communicating skills got reduced. Teacher 20 explained his students' conditions as: 'They struggle a lot in higher education because by the time they have grown too used to their mother tongue and not exposed to a new language.'

Discussion

Teachers' attitude is central to teaching a second or foreign language in a multilingual context. This qualitative study investigated teachers' attitudes towards teaching English as a second language in the bilingual context of Tamil Nadu. Teachers' choice of pedagogical tools might be influenced by their attitude towards learners' characters, classroom situations, parental attitude, institutional practices, etc. Twenty-five teachers who teach English at different higher educational institutes in Tamil Nadu participated in the study. And they discussed their experiences, perspectives, and beliefs about teaching English. Qualitative interview data were transcribed and analysed thematically. The major findings in this study enumerate teachers' attitude towards using the L1 in their L2 classrooms. And the important themes arising from the findings are consistent with prior relevant studies in this field.

Participants perceived that they had to be sensitive towards students who learn English as a second language. Since most of their students do not have adequate exposure to English language and find it difficult to understand foreign concepts in the language, teachers acknowledge that it is necessary to take into consideration the learners' home language and culture. Moreover, they believe that the use of mother tongue in the L2 classroom facilitates students' language learning and understanding concepts better. This perspective seems to support the findings of a few studies discussed in the literature (Kieu, 2010; Al-Amir, 2017; Ramanathan and Bruning, 2001). It appears that teachers have also recognized the role of L1 in the process of L2 learning, reflects the findings of several other studies (Lameta-Tufuga, 1994 and Knight, 1996 cited from Nation, 2003). According to them, the learners' mother tongue will certainly help, to

some extent, learning another language when it is taught in bilingual/multilingual context. In addition to that, students' L1 proficiency may reflect in their L2 learning.

In contrast, overuse of learners' L1 or the regional dominant language prevents students' input of English language, stated by a few teachers, parallels the observation made by Ellis (1984). By doing so, students' communication skills also got diminished. Moreover, students tended to use only their mother tongue, which, according to some teachers, prevents the mobility of the students in terms of higher educational and career opportunities.

It is observed that there is an ambiguity in the teachers' attitudes towards the approaches of teaching English at the higher educational institutes. Despite the teachers' beliefs that the bilingual approach of teaching English seems to be more relevant and more appropriate in the context of Tamil Nadu, the direct approach is also emphasized to some extent because of that the students will be exposed to the large amount of L2 input.

Conclusion

The teachers, who participated in the study, seem to have recognized the positive role of L1 in their L2 classrooms: teachers perceive learners' L1 not only to facilitate students understanding of concepts but also to improve L2 proficiency. For most teachers, bilingualism becomes a regular pedagogic practice because they believe that it can help understanding concepts well, developing rapport with students, and improving students' confidence and cognitive skills. However, for some teachers, the use of L1 in their classrooms prevents students' input of L2 proficiency. In their view, the medium of instruction must be in the target language (L2) because they think learning in the mother tongue limits students' mobility in terms of higher education and career opportunities.

This qualitative study focused on a small number of teachers who teach English at the higher educational institutes in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, further research must be taken to investigate both teachers' and students' perspective by featuring classroom observation, questionnaires, and interviews to find whether similar findings can be produced. Moreover, research should investigate to what extent and why does students' L1 have a role in L2 pedagogy.

In attitude study, social desirability bias is a problem that the respondents might not express their true attitudes to avoid getting prejudiced and to please the researcher. Although care was taken to avoid such by requesting the respondents to answer the questions based on their own experience of teaching, it was difficult to ensure whether they revealed their true attitude. Therefore, a classroom observation is essential to examine whether teachers reflect on their beliefs, and that is beyond the scope of this study.

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S. Ramamoorthy is a PhD scholar at the Centre for English Language Studies, University of Hyderabad.

E-mail: hariram614@gmail.com

Effects of L1 Lexicalization on Vocabulary Recall in Incidental Vocabulary Acquisition

P. Sunama Patro

Abstract

Lexicalization refers to the process of assigning words to concepts existing in a language; and languages differ in the way they lexicalize target language concepts, thus, creating the possibility of some target language concepts not being lexicalized in the L1 lacking direct equivalents. The interplay and interdependency of the two domains, L1 lexical knowledge and L2 lexical knowledge, has been the mainstay of many research studies on bilingual lexicon, and researchers argue that a target word is processed via the L1 system during which a learner attempts to establish parallels with the existing related L1 knowledge. The study followed an experimental design to investigate how effectively ninety L2 Odia speakers of Class XI recall the selected six aspects of the eight target words, both lexicalized and non-lexicalized, from reading of a text followed by the administration of an immediate recall test. The comparison of learners' scores using a paired samples t-test on both the category of words on each sub-test representing one of the six aspects revealed that the learners could not recall the semantic aspects of the non-lexicalized words effectively compared to their counterparts. This has serious implications for vocabulary instruction programmes in teaching-learning contexts where teachers and learners both need to attend to this pragmatic aspect involved in non-lexicalized words.

Keywords: Lexicalization, recall, bilingual lexicon, lexical knowledge, semantic aspects

Introduction

The theories pertaining to second language vocabulary acquisition owe a great deal to the principles commonly followed in the linguistic analysis of a word which helped to establish the notion of a word from an applied linguistic perspective. A word offers a multitude of knowledge and aspects; and this knowledge of a word can be understood at three different dimensions such as form, meaning, and use (Nation, 2001). This multidimensional nature of a word just makes it impossible to arrive at a common framework that can aptly justify how learners acquire various aspects involved in a word. Researchers in SLA have argued that 'knowing a word' would mean to know its denotations and connotations, syntactic properties, underlying forms, associations, use, and frequency (Richards, 1976; Olshtain, 1987; Gass, 1989; Tekmen and Daloglu, 2006; Heidari-Shahreza and Tavakoli, 2012). This multi-faceted nature of a word has also led researchers to investigate what exactly makes a word difficult or easy to learn. In order to answer this question, researchers tried to examine factors inherent in the word itself (intralexical) and factors (interlexical) in relation to the L1 language system in case of a foreign/L2 speaker. The list of intralexical factors such as pronunciability, orthographic representation including length, inflectional and derivational complexity, synformy, grammar, semantic features (abstractness/concreteness, specificity and register restrictions, idioamaticity, multiple meaning) involved in a word can affect word learning (Laufer, 1997). Likewise, many of these factors can be viewed in relation to the already existing system (L1) when a second language learner acquires an L2 target word. These factors, both intralexical and interlexical, can sometimes be facilitating, difficulty-inducing, and factors with no clear effect on word learning (*ibid.*). The present study is concerned with one such variable, i.e. lexicalization, presumed to be an interlexical factor, and the way it can affect acquisition and recall of target words and their related aspects.

L1 Lexicalization and Second Language Vocabulary Acquisition

The issue of L1 lexicalization as a linguistic variable has profound implications for second language vocabulary acquisition, however, has not been looked into seriously with a very few number of studies conducted in this line of enquiry. There are countless number of concepts available in a language. These concepts can be expressed using the

vocabulary of the language; and naturally, 'languages vary in which they lexicalize' (Chen and Truscott, 2010). The English word *prejudice*, for example, meaning 'an unreasonable or unfair opinion about something/somebody' has not been lexicalized in Odia. Will words of this kind pose any learning difficulty for L2 learners? Target words having direct equivalents (L) in the L1 have been defined as lexicalized and those lacking have been defined as non-lexicalized (NL) (Paribakht, 2005; Chen and Truscott, 2010, Heidari-Shareza and Tavakoli, 2012; Patro, 2016).

The role of L1 in the acquisition of second language vocabulary has long been recognized with instances of cross-linguistic studies on how learners' L1 lexical knowledge base affects acquisition of L2 morphological variations, syntactic behaviours, semantic transfer, and modes of lexical processing (Koda, 1989; Swan, 1997; Koda, Takahashi and Fender, 1998; Jarvis, 2000; Jiang, 2000; Heidari-Shahreza and Tavakoli, 2012). Several studies reported that 'learners avoid quite systematically words that have no equivalent in their mother tongue' (Blum and Levenston, 52) and found that 'semantic similarity with the L1 verbs affected learning of L2 verbs to a great extent' (Yu, 1996). Learners often tend to process L2 words based on their meanings in their L1 and the absence of direct equivalents could possibly lead to lexical errors. However, these studies did not highlight the impact of L1 lexicalization on L2 vocabulary acquisition and how it can affect acquisition of L2 lexical patterns in reading.

Paribakht (2005), the first study to address this issue of L1 lexicalization, tried to look into the processes and knowledge sources involved in lexical inferencing of lexicalized (L) and non-lexicalized (NL) words from reading of English texts by Farsi-speaking EFL learners. Though the study did not really look at acquisition/learning in depth, the findings revealed that learners were more successful in inferencing meanings of L words compared to NL words. In addition, they spent more time on NL words than L words in terms of the time spent in inferencing. Taking clues from the above study, Chen and Truscott (2010) with 72 Mandarin-speaking university freshmen tried to examine whether this issue of L1 lexicalization posed some special learning difficulty in terms of acquisition of six selected aspects of word knowledge (of both L and NL) from reading of English texts under incidental learning condition with repetition as a variable. The results obtained from the analysis of learners' response on the immediate retention measure suggested

that limited learning occurred in case of NL words when compared with L words. The participants effectively retained the lexical aspects involved in L words indicating significant gains. Similar findings were reported on the delayed retention measure after two weeks highlighting the possibility that lexicalization posed special learning difficulties for learners. However, there was no control over the *saliency* (see Brown, 1993) of the target words which might have affected learning. Modelled on the Chen and Truscott (2010) study with greater control over the *saliency* of the target words, Heidari-Shahreza and Tavakoli (2012) reported findings almost similar to the previous study. Learners were more successful in terms of retention of the semantic aspects of word knowledge involved in the L words compared to NL words. However, there was no significant difference between learners' performance on L and NL words at orthographic and syntactic levels. The selected target words in both studies seemed to be low frequency in nature with reduced ecological validity. Moreover, the researchers were not quite able to control the cultural connotations involved in the selected words which might have impacted learning and the results as well. The low frequency nature of the words could be well beyond the learners' existing level of proficiency and could make lexical processing of such words difficult. This can be said in relation to the Vocabulary Levels Test (2000 word level) these two previous used to select the participants.

L2 Lexical Processing and the Role of L1

A majority of the studies conducted in the second language vocabulary acquisition focused on the *what* of acquisition rather than the *how* of it. Much later when theorists tried to develop model(s) of the mental lexicon (Singleton, 1999; Aitchison, 1994), researchers tried to explore and look into the processes responsible for storage, organization, and retrieval of words and their related properties from the mental lexicon. A possible and one-dimensional explanation on the workings of the mental lexicon could have been possible provided the learner functioned with one lexical system representative of one particular language. However, the problem is multiplied when one deals with learners with multiple lexical systems; and a working explanation of the mental lexicon, possibly a bilingual one, most often remains an inconclusive one.

Acquisition of L1 vocabulary appears to be fairly easy and effortless on the part of the learner as the need to acquire seems immediate in order

to make sense of the word. Subsequently, with the advantage of having an already established lexical system when a learner attempts to acquire L2 vocabulary, in the early years, she presumably draws parallels with the L1 lexical system to process the target vocabulary. Hence L2 lexical processing tends to be slow compared to L1 and L2 lexical knowledge growth seems to be incremental in nature. The processes involved in the organization and retrieval of L2 lexical knowledge might be results of the interaction that occur between the two lexical systems in the mental lexicon. In order to be a part of the mental lexicon the target vocabulary knowledge is presumed to interact with the multiple layers of L1 knowledge giving rise to possible lexical transfer in case of shared properties between the two at the formal, semantic and conceptual level. While most often the L1 lexical system significantly differ from the L2 system at the formal level (phonology and morphology), the two lexical systems might have a common and shared conceptual store in the mental lexicon and a reference to it is made when the acquisition of the meaning(s) of the target words is in focus. However, the unavailability of a concept or semantic equivalent in the L1 lexical system might lead to a halt in processing the target word. In the light of the above discussion, the issue of L1 lexicalization seems to cause serious problems for learners to acquire L2 words that lack semantic parallels in their L1. In the present study an attempt has been made to understand this issue of L1 lexicalization more closely which would take us one step closer to understand the workings of the bilingual mental lexicon in terms of organization, storage, and retrieval (recall) of the words in focus.

Researchers in SLA argue that in second language teaching-learning contexts reading as a skill is believed to be more conducive to acquire target vocabulary compared to other language skills. It provides a better context to acquire and explore the layers of knowledge involved in a word while at the same time help learners to comprehend the word for better understanding of the text. This learning has been defined as 'incidental' when learners struggle or work with the meaning of the text rather than the individual words. The study adopted the framework of incidental vocabulary acquisition through reading to contextualize the target words, and subsequently, to acquire them with the following research question in focus.

To what extent can learners recall the selected aspects of word knowledge involved in the target lexicalized (L) and non-lexicalized (NL) words?

Method

Participants

The participants who took part in the study were 90 Odia learners of English as second language (ESL), aged 15-16 (37 female, 53 male). All of them were from Class XI with at least 7-8 years of exposure to English in formal learning contexts in Odisha where classroom instruction primarily focused on developing the knowledge of grammar of the L2 with minimal scope for communication or related language skills. Though they were not able to converse in English fluently, however, they could read the prescribed texts easily and comprehend them. They were all relatively intermediate users of English and shared a similar socio-economic background. These learners were selected from a total number of 214 based on their score of 27.5 or more out of a maximum score of 30 on the 3,000 level Vocabulary Levels Test (Schmitt, 2000). This suggested that the selected participants could read and comprehend a reading text prepared around the first 3,000 words in English.

Target Words

The selection of target words has always been crucial to any research conducted in second language vocabulary acquisition and any inconsistency in this regard can lead to varying results. There are a number of factors which can be considered and reviewed during the selection of target words such as frequency, morphological complexity, syllabic structure, phonological consistency or inconsistency and the like. The target words need to be well within the learners' existing proficiency level in vocabulary use which can be determined by the administration of the VLTs. In this study, the twenty potential target words were selected from the first 1,000 words of the 3,000 core Academic Vocabulary List (Gardner and Davies, 2013). The use of the 3,000 level VLT to select the sample ensured that the participants could operate at this frequency level.

The target words were selected through the administration of a diagnostic test to a parallel group of students during the pilot study in which each of the twenty words were embedded into a sentence followed by a meaning-matching task. A total number of eight words were selected as the target words on which seventy per cent of the learners had scored correctly on the matching-type task. Later, it was established from the

participants of the pilot study that the target words were unknown to them.

Table 1: Twenty Potential Target Words

Verb		Noun		Adjective
Implement	Abandon	Dilemma	Fragment	Apparent
Constitute	Advocate	Instance	Perspective	Subsequent
Attribute	Comprise	Prejudice	Precision	Strategic
Endeavour	Manipulate	Dichotomy	Constraint	Substantial

Table 2: Target Words

Verb		Noun		Adjective
Implement (L)	Endeavour (NL)	Dilemma (NL)	Precision (L)	Strategic (NL)
Constitute (L)	Manipulate (NL)	Prejudice (NL)	Perspective (L)	Substantial (L)

Note: L = lexicalized, NL = non-lexicalized

Reading Material

The only reading text used in the study comprised all the eight target words with a total number of 211 words. It was expository in nature since the target words, academic in nature, seemed to fit into such contexts better than any other text type. A lextutor analysis of the text revealed that around 84% of the words were from the first 2000 most frequent words in English which could enable the learners to read and comprehend the text independently without seeking any instructional help (Nation, 2001). Moreover, the nature of the target words in terms of the morphological structure would not provide any clue to the learners to infer their meanings. Subsequently, the reading could be kept meaning-focused in which the learners had to exploit the meaning-based connections in order to acquire the word subconsciously.

Immediate Recall Test

Based on the Chen and Truscott (2010) model the immediate recall was designed to test recall of the selected aspects of word knowledge. It included six sub-tests representing each of the six selected aspects

of lexical knowledge. These aspects are deemed crucial for ESL/EFL learners to comprehend any text; and retention and acquisition of the same could help them acquire other related aspects that require comparatively more manipulation. The following table displays the six aspects and the item-type used for the sub-tests.

Table 3: Aspects of Word Knowledge Measured

Sub-tests	Word Knowledge Measured	Item Type
1	Productive knowledge of orthography (PO)	Dictation
2	Receptive knowledge of orthography (RO)	Multiple choice
3	Receptive grammatical knowledge (RG)	Multiple choice
4	Receptive knowledge of meaning (RM) (L2-L1)	Matching
5	Receptive knowledge of association (RA)	Multiple choice
6	Productive grammatical knowledge (PG)	Sentence construction

Procedure

The experiment included two phases-reading of the text and administration of the immediate recall test. All 90 participants were assigned to read the prescribed text and were instructed beforehand that the reading would be followed by a reading comprehension task in order to ensure that the reading remains meaning-focused and to divert the learners' attention from the target words. The reading was followed by the immediate recall test which consisted of all the six vocabulary sub-tests. Each of the sub-tests was printed on a single sheet just to discourage the learners from copying the corresponding words from other sub-tests while responding to sub-test 1 (dictation type). They were given as much time as required to respond to the sub-tests, however, were not allowed to go back to the completed sub-test(s) once they had finished it.

Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted with a sample of twenty comparable with the sample of the main study prior to the experiment. It was conducted to select the target words using the word diagnostic test and to examine whether the reading text which contained all the target words posed any difficulty to the learners. Several text-related factors were taken into

consideration such as text length, time taken to read, complexity, and familiarity with the topic while retaining the text for the main study. In addition, their response on the immediate recall test was also obtained on factors such as format familiarity, clarity in instruction, and level of difficulty. Though the last one varied from sub-test to sub-test the same was retained without any modification.

Data Analysis

To answer the research question, regarding the extent to which the learners could recall the selected aspects of target lexicalized (L) and non-lexicalized words (NL), learners' gains on L and NL words were compared on each sub-test using a paired samples t-test at 5% level of significance ($p < .05$).

Result and Discussion

For the research question, the independent variable was L1 lexicalization and the dependent variables were the six aspects of vocabulary knowledge. Prior to the t-test analysis (paired samples t-test), the participants' mean scores (M) and standard deviations (SD) were calculated on each sub-test for L and NL words. The paired differences were calculated for the mean, standard deviation, t-score and p-value.

Table 4: Means (M) and Standard Deviations (SD) on the Immediate Recall Test and t-test Analysis

				Paired Differences			
Sub-tests/L vs. NL		Mean	Std. Deviation	M	SD	t	Sig.
Pair 1	POL	2.4333	1.07265	.93333	1.04826	4.877	.000*
	PONL	1.5000	1.27982				
Pair 2	ROL	3.2667	.86834	-1.0000	1.09387	-0.501	.620
	RONL	3.3667	.85029				
Pair 3	RGKL	2.3333	1.44636	-4.0000	1.65258	-1.326	.195
	RGKNL	2.7333	1.20153				
Pair 4	RKML	2.1667	1.46413	.56667	1.07265	2.894	.007*
	RKMNL	1.6000	1.30252				

Pair 5	RAL	2.4333	1.07265	.83333	1.68325	2.712	.011*
	RANL	1.6000	1.16264				
Pair 6	PGKL	3.1333	1.00801	.50000	1.40810	1.945	.062
	PGKNL	2.6333	1.12903				

Note: * $p < 0.05$

The above table displays the comparison between learners' mean scores on lexicalized (L) words and non-lexicalized (NL) words on each sub-test. The analysis revealed that the difference between the mean scores (L vs. NL) was significant on PO, RKM, and RA while the difference was not significant on RO, RG, and PG. The mean scores calculated for NL words were lower than the mean scores calculated for L words on PO, RKM, and RA. It suggests that NL words caused learning difficulties for learners in recalling the orthographic (productive) and the semantic aspects involved. This could be due to the fact that when learners attempt to comprehend and retain such words following the L1 route the absence of their equivalents in the L1 might result in avoidance of such words. Thus, acquisition and retention of several aspects involved in those words (NL) would become difficult and ineffective compared to aspects involved in lexicalized words. Learners were able to recall the orthographic (receptive) and syntactic aspects of both L and NL words. One possible explanation of this could be that the participants encountered the target words three times in various contexts which could have eventually led them to retain the selected properties and recall them later.

Conclusion

The present study investigated the effects of L1 lexicalization on the acquisition (recall) of six selected aspects of eight target lexicalized and non-lexicalized words. The findings indicated that the learners could not successfully recall the semantic aspects involved in the non-lexicalized words compared to the lexicalized words. This poses a serious learning difficulty for learners when such words are encountered and presented to them for learning. Generally, these NL words do not have a straight forward singular meaning and could include more semantic features which might make it difficult for learners to retain all the components of its meaning. This suggests that both teachers as well as learners need

to be aware of such a feature of NL words while any attempt is made to acquire these words. Following a similar design further research can be conducted by including other semantic aspects and more number of NL words, possibly non-academic in nature. A comparative study can also be conducted to see how this issue of lexicalization affects acquisition in explicit learning and incidental acquisition contexts.

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*P. Sunama Patro holds a doctoral degree from EFL-U, Hyderabad and is currently working as a lecturer in English in K.S.U.B College, Bhanjanga, Odisha.
E-mail: patrosunama@gmail.com*

Interactional Spaces and Identity Negotiation: Pedagogical Orientation in Multilingual Classes

Shagufta Imtiaz

Abstract

The paper aims at exploring the pedagogy in a multilingual classroom and multilingual practices. In a multilingual classroom, interpersonal space, or what Vygotsky calls 'zone of proximal development (ZPD)', is now considered crucial for developing multiple literacies in home language/mother tongue among the linguistically diverse students. Associated with interpersonal space in the classroom for interactions is the issue of identity texts and development of critical literacy.

Keywords: Pedagogy, multilingual classroom, interpersonal space, multiple literacies, mother tongue, interpersonal space, identity texts, critical literacy

Introduction

The 21st century marks a shift of paradigm of technological development from the Industrial Age economy to Information Age economy and the increasing demand for English can be seen as one of the factors, pervasive enough to influence education systems, not only around the world but locally as well. Both allude to globalization and the so-called 'World English' or 'Global English' and have a strong bearing not only on the fate of minority languages and the reinforcement of cultural diversity in the education system, but also on the orientation of pedagogy that is concerned with the development of literacy in both English and the home language/mother tongue. Further, along with the shift from an industrial economy to an informational economy there has been cultural appropriation. While the modern communication technologies brought

in by informational economy, on the one hand, 'represent more than just a new vehicle for English imperialism', on the other hand, they also afford opportunities for less-dominant languages 'to carve out virtual space that does not depend on geographical proximity, ... to reinforce the development of home-language literacies [and] critical literacy that would enable students to gain access to alternative perspectives and resist dominant discourses.' (Cummins 2009)

The English language is now increasingly emerging as an important component of the madrasa curriculum along with religious knowledge. Its inclusion in the education system has infused a sense of confidence in acquiring English language skills and consequently in creating more employment opportunities for madrasa students. English is also being associated with upward social and economic mobility. Demand for teaching English language is now being realized by both parents and students and efforts are being made to equip the students coming from madrasa backgrounds with proficiency in English, which, it is hoped, would facilitate their entry into the mainstream of education at the college level. As part of the modernization programme, the Government of India has introduced an initiative of teaching English language at madrasas with a view to improving the future prospects of madrasa graduates. The Bridge Course in Aligarh Muslim University is a one-year programme which offers English to students from madrasas as part of the state-driven modernization programme. The successful completion of this course is recognized as a basis for admission to the mainstream programmes at the university.

The present study aimed at looking at the educational practices the interactional space provided to the learners with regard to their home language in learning their target language. The Academic Expertise Framework proposed by Cummins (2001) is used to look into the interface between the cognitive engagement and the identity investment of the learner. This Framework emphasizes critical literacy and self-regulated learning. Some questions raised here are: What is the nature of interaction of Bridge Course students in the classroom? Does the programme devalue the home language/mother tongue literacy compared to literacy in English? Is the pedagogy sensitive to capturing the expectations of linguistically diverse students? Do the teachers allow interpersonal space in the classroom for interaction with students in their home language?

The paper aims at exploring the pedagogy in a multilingual classroom and multilingual practices. In a multilingual classroom, interpersonal space, or what Vygotsky calls 'zone of proximal development (ZPD)', is now considered crucial for developing multiple literacies in home language/mother tongue among the linguistically diverse students. Associated with interpersonal space in the classroom for interactions is the issue of identity texts and development of critical literacy. The following two sections are concerned with the issues of multiple literacies and identity texts. The next section will situate the study and look into the methodology of the present study, followed by analysis and conclusion.

Multilingual Practices and Multi- or Multiple Literacies

The issues of multilingual practices can be viewed by focusing on the variable ways in which 'linguistic features with identifiable social and cultural associations get clustered together whenever people communicate' (Bloommaert and Rampton 2011, cited in Blackledge and Creese 2014). The various practices of communication have seen the proliferation of a number of related terms to describe multilingual practices, like 'flexible bilingualism', 'codemeshing', 'polylingual languaging', 'metrolingualism', 'translanguaging' (cited in Blackledge and Creese 2014). The term 'language' when prefixed with words like assumes a given reality on the basis of language, culture and identity.

Cenoz and Gorter (2015) suggest a significant distinction between 'becoming multilingual' and 'being multilingual', which reflects on translanguaging practices in complex situations. Garcia (2009) uses the term 'translanguaging' to refer to the various practices at different levels. The difference between 'being' and 'becoming' is a shift in the perspective where 'being' focuses on translanguaging, developing multiple identities and 'becoming' focuses on using L1 or translations. Multilingual societies reflect an asymmetrical relationship among the various languages. Multilingual societies are characterized by this unevenness in power relationships among languages. Languages assume roles, which either privilege or subvert them based on the policies and practices. These dominant and subservient practices have caused tremendous injustice and harm to many languages and their speakers. English, in this game of power, occupies a privileged position.

English continues to occupy the most sought after position in South Asia but ‘...it is never viewed as a language of national identity’ (Dasgupta 1993, cited in Mohanty 2010). This leads to a divide between English and other major languages and between the major languages and the other languages. According to Mohanty, ‘...the gaps between language policy and practice in education arise out of the compulsion to assert national and indigenous identities without sacrificing the aspirations for better English’ (2010). The multilingual ethos of India has not been adequately represented and accommodated in the language policy and planning. Heugh et al. suggests that language policy and practice must ‘...develop high levels of academic literacy and communicative skills in languages, which people in a multilingual society need’ (2007). Education needs to focus on achieving proficiency in the languages being taught. The disparity between mother tongue and the other tongues have done considerable damage to proficiency and skill development. Privileging one language over the other while ignoring a number of other languages has led to problems of motivation, anxiety and other socio-cognitive issues among second language speakers. The discriminatory practice in the use of home literacy and school literacy also leads to withdrawal among learners and a sense of underachievement and failure. There is a need to address these issues by devising more inclusive curricula so that learning becomes a cultural resource and a source of motivation for the demotivated learner.

Multiple literacy is also referred to as ‘new’ literacies because, it attempts to include a number of other practices. Multiple literacy is, in fact, an engagement involving two kinds of recognition—‘acknowledgement of the sociocultural diversity of our learners’ worlds, and awareness of the impact of new communication technologies that combine linguistic modes of meaning with visual, gestural, spatial, and audio modes’ (Macken-Horarik and Adoniou 2008). Wide exposure to visual forms, from varied sources, renders multimodality to meaning and enhances the intellectual potential of the learner. The new literacies allow us to use Internet and other ICT in order to locate information, analyse the usefulness of that information and synthesize information. These modes of literacy are important indicators and are viewed as being multimodal and multiple faceted.

The view of multiple literacies as an important indicator in the emergence of literacy practices can be related to James Cummins’ model of language

acquisition. It provides a framework for looking into the ways in which learning takes place among ESL learners. Based on two types of language proficiency, namely BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Learning Proficiency), multiple literacy seeks to view the cognitive development of the ESL learner. Cummins studies the emergence of academic literacy. He states that ESL learners acquire proficiency in BICS but may not show mastery in academic skills. This may, obviously, vary with the different contexts which have been termed as 'context embedded' and 'context reduced' (Cummins, 2009). These two constructs suggest that bilinguals and multilinguals face problems which need to be explored. This brings the distinction between tasks which are 'cognitively demanding and cognitively undemanding' (Cummins, 2009).

The word literacy includes a number of practices which are socially and culturally significant. Multiliteracy needs to be looked at the way in which it is translated into practice. Kalantzis and Cope (2008) view knowledge and meaning not as given but as a design which involves representation and recontextualisation of meaning. This is related to agency and subjectivity. The understanding of language includes, 'intertextuality, hybridity and language as the basis of cultural change' (Kalantzis and Cope, 2008). The different modes of meaning have been identified in terms of linguistic design, visual design, audio design spatial design and multimodal design. The New London Group (1996) proposes that learning should be approached from four different perspectives, which includes situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing and transformed practice. Situated practice includes the learner's experiences and the new learning practices. Overt instruction explains the new learning and the meaningful ways to scaffold the work of the learner. Critical framing is related to the social and cultural contexts. The design is viewed in relation to local and global practices. Transformed practice means learning which involves some transformation or changeover. Cummins' Academic Expertise Framework places emphasis on critical literacy and the sociocultural value system.

Identity Texts

Schools are now rethinking the appropriateness to teach and the pedagogy to be adopted. Given the variation and the cultural diversity, there needs to be a rethinking in this direction. A learner's linguistic and cultural

resource can be used to initiate pedagogies which are 'multimodal and multimediated'. The multimodal literacies have been validated by 'identity texts'. (Cummins et al. 2005a, cited in Giampapa 2010). Identity texts suggest the confluence of literacy engagement and affirmation of identity as important indicators in highlighting the underachievement of learners at various levels. Ladson and Billings (1995), while speaking of African American learners states that '... the constant devaluation of their culture both in school and in the larger society leads to a state of neglect of the home learning practices' (cited in Cummins et al. 2015). These lacunae become important indicators for the mismatch between theory and practice. The hierarchy of power relationship has serious consequences in terms of learning and assessment. The term 'identity text' reflects the relationship between identity and power (Cummins, 2004, cited in Cummins, Hu and Montero 2015). The concept which has evolved is 'dual language texts'. This situates home literacy by giving it a privileged position along with the multimodal practices. 'Students invest their identities in the creation of these texts, which can be written, spoken, signed, visual, musical, dramatic or a combination in multimodal form. The identity text then holds a mirror up to the students in which their identities are reflected in a positive light' (Cummins and Early 2011, cited in Cummins and Montero, 2015). These identity texts showcase the gradual development of the learner in terms of the cognitive and linguistic development and become a resource for redefining and resituating literacy.

The need to look into the linguistic, social and cultural resource of the learner suggests mainstreaming learners. This inclusive pedagogical approach attempts to draw the latent potentialities and to redefine literacy. Giampapa states that, 'Literacy as conceptualised within current educational curricula and pedagogical practices needs to be reconceptualised to encompass the multilingual, multiliterate practices that linguistic minority students bring into the classroom' (2010). Further, scholars have '... problematised the very notion of literacy as a discrete set of skills, reframing literacy as a set of socially and culturally constituted practices enacted across and within social and institutional spaces' (Giampapa, 2010).

Identity texts are strong indicators of the effectiveness of the various educational practices, its impact on the learners and on the formation of identities. The 'devaluing' of the culture, as pointed out by Ladson

and Billings (1995), has an impact on literacy practices and on their identity as second language learners. The New London Group (1996) views multiliterary pedagogical framework in terms of transmission, social constructivism and transformation. Cummins' Academic Expertise Framework emphasizes the instructional practices and attempts to look at the position of languages other than those of the medium of instruction.

About the Study

This study attempts to look at the Bridge Course students at Aligarh Muslim University. The Bridge Course is part of the Government of India's scheme introduced with the objective of bringing madrasa graduates to the mainstream of education in higher learning.

The methodology used was qualitative and feedback was elicited in the form of questions given to a total number of fifteen (15) Bridge Course students. The study used a qualitative analysis of written response. A feedback form and qualitative data analysis revealed many aspects which have been discussed with reference to Cummins' Academic Expertise Framework. The Bridge Course learners selected in this study were proficient in the use of their home language, which in most of the cases is Urdu and the other language which is Arabic. There are also some learners with Bengali and Malayalam as their mother tongue. The students enrolled in this course are invested and motivated on account of the benefits which the course seems to offer. The feedback was elicited through the use of questionnaires and direct communication. The respondents were given the choice to write in Urdu, and most of them chose to respond in Urdu. However, learners with Bengali, Malayalam and some varieties of Hindi background, though very few, were given the choice to write in English. There were some respondents who attempted to write in English, but they were not able to articulate their responses well, when compared to the other writers who wrote in Urdu.

Since the identity texts highlight the importance of identity negotiation and societal power relations in understanding the nature of classroom interactions, the questions used in this study were constructed to explore the interpersonal spaces provided to the Bridge Course students in the classrooms that support the development of literacy in both English and the home language/mother tongue. These questions specifically aimed at obtaining information concerning:

- a. Space provided in the classroom for narrating personal experiences.
- b. Opportunity given in the classroom to reflect on social and sensitive issues like environment and gender.
- c. Use of home language in the classroom.
- d. Importance of home language in learning English.

Analysis

The first question related to the space provided in the classroom for narrating personal experiences. The majority of respondents held the view that opportunities must be given in the classroom for interaction and personal narration.

- a. 'Neither were the students given any space to narrate personal experiences in the classroom nor was any opportunity provided towards making classrooms an interactive place.'
- b. 'Different subjects are given time slots in the classrooms and not much time is left for student feedback.'
- c. 'Relating personal experiences in the classroom is necessary as this will have an impact on the learning process.'

The question related to providing opportunity in the classroom to reflect on social and sensitive issues elicited the following responses:

- a. 'Time is given to class discussion for discussing various issues.'
- b. 'Literature classes devote more time to discussing issues related to gender and other related issues.'
- c. 'We are given the opportunity to discuss various social issues and we are encouraged to look into this critically so that we go into its depth and learn to analyse things.'
- d. 'There are some subjects like environmental science, general knowledge, history where students are sensitized to reflect upon various issues. This needs to be extended to other subjects as well.'

The third question was related to the use of home language in the classroom. Most of the respondents stated that it was other courses being taught that justified the opportunity to use home language in the classroom.

- a. 'The use of home language was permitted in other courses like Spanish, German, but this practice was not encouraged in the English class.'

- b. 'This opportunity was provided in Linguistics classes, but was not there in other subjects.'
- c. 'Other than English, there are some language courses including Linguistics, where learners get a chance to use their home language, but in English classes very little opportunity is given to use home language.'
- d. 'Although home language helps us understand lectures well, its use in the classroom is not encouraged.'

However, in case of some respondents, it was the linguistic diversity in the class that prevented the use of home language in the classroom.

- a. 'We are discouraged from using the mother tongue in the classroom because the classroom comprises speakers from varied areas who speak different languages. In such cases, the mother tongue or home language becomes a barrier for communication. It may even lead to distancing students from each other. Hence, we are discouraged from using our mother tongue.'
- b. 'I am a speaker of Urdu and the language used in the classroom is mostly English and Urdu and both the languages are important and beneficial for us. However, there are also speakers of other languages like Bengali and some varieties of Hindi but the classroom does not provide an opportunity for these speakers to use their languages in the classroom. Some speakers of these languages feel that using them in the classroom will not be of much use as compared to English.'

The question dealing with the importance of using the home language while learning English was responded to in the following ways:

- a. 'To learn and to understand English, the role of the mother tongue or home language is of importance. To understand English, we need the support of our mother tongue.'
- b. 'Home language has its importance in the initial stages of learning English. One should immerse oneself in the target language and one's thought processes should be directed towards attaining this.'
- c. 'It is necessary to use the home language during the process of learning English. It is only while mediating through the mother tongue that one can better understand English; otherwise, it will be difficult to understand the target language.'

- d. 'Since the mother tongue facilitates learning the target language, it leads to the enhancement of the relevance and status of the mother tongue.'
- e. 'If we do not take recourse to the mother tongue, learning the target language will be impossible.'
- f. 'Mother tongue or home language has relevance for those learners only who have proficiency and mastery in their mother tongue.'
- g. 'It is observed that our native language plays a special role in learning English. We need the help of our home language to learn English. We write English words and their meanings in our native language in the initial stages. It is at the initial stage that the mother tongue plays a role in learning English. We can relate emotionally through our mother tongue.'
- h. 'Mother tongue is important because we can learn the meaning of a word coming from a new language through our mother tongue. In fact, unless you know your language well, you cannot achieve mastery in any other language.'

Conclusion

This article is based on the Academic Expertise Framework on the model proposed by Cummins (2001) where the optimal level of learning is shown in terms of cognitive engagement and identity investment. The positioning of the learner affects their output and negotiation in the classroom. The respondents were unanimous in their belief that English has an impact and hegemony over other languages. The analysis suggests that learners have invested in learning the target language and they are motivated. The multiliteracies pedagogy draws insights from the epistemology of social constructivism. Constructivism has strongly influenced educational practices and has implications for instruction and curriculum development. Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory has influenced the constructivist approach and has emphasized the importance of interpersonal, sociocultural and individual factors in learning. The feedback from learners, shows this glaring difference between the underused and underutilized resources in terms of learner cognition. Although they are equipped with knowledge resources, they are deficient in articulating it in the target language. The increase in cultural capital can lead to a number of changes in the epistemology

and pedagogy. A multilingual and multicultural classroom, instead of simply showcasing its variation, needs to use its diverse resources in meaningful ways, which can lead to achieving language literacies, not just English literacy. Multilingualism, should be viewed as a resource to be shared and used. This would lead to legitimizing the minority languages and cultures and in eradicating the imbalance in power structure. One needs to ensure that multilingual practices in the class has an acceptance of the cultural and affective values associated with the home language and the investment in the target language need not be at the cost of downgrading any other language.

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Shagufta Imtiaz has an MA in English Literature from Patna University and PhD in ELT from Aligarh Muslim University (AMU), Aligarh. She is professor and teaches at Women's College and at the Department of English, Aligarh Muslim University. Her areas of interests include Reading, Writing, Applied Linguistics, British and American Literature.

E-mail: shaguftaimtiaz.87@gmail.com

English Medium Sections in 1,000 Government Schools: A Reality Check on the Pilot Study

Ravinarayan Chakrakodi

Abstract

The challenges confronting the government's controversial decision 'to introduce English as the medium of instruction in government schools from Grade 1 seem to be enormous. Although teachers, parents and children are excited about the new initiative, using another language other than the home language as the medium of instruction seems to create barriers in learning and promote teacher-oriented pedagogical practices in classrooms.

Keywords: Mother tongue, education policy, medium of instruction, pedagogy, translanguaging, curriculum

Introduction

The National Curriculum Framework (2005: 14) states that 'mother tongue(s) should be the medium of instruction all through the school, but certainly in the primary school'. It further reports that the Working Group on the study of Languages constituted by NCERT in 1986 also recommends that 'the medium of early education' should be the mother tongue(s) of the learners. In the Indian context, it is all the more necessary because:

- (i) It enables people to participate in national reconstruction.
- (ii) It frees knowledge from the pressures of limited elites.
- (iii) It builds interactive and interdependent societies.
- (iv) It provides a greater opportunity for the advice and consent

of a greater number of groups and thus is a better defence of democracy.

- (v) It leads to the decentralization of information and ensures free as opposed to controlled media; and it gives greater access to education and personal development to a greater number of people. (NCERT, 2005: 14)

According to UNESCO's Educational Position Paper (2008), mother-tongue instruction is essential for initial instruction and literacy and should be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. Some studies (for example, Sehgal 1983) have shown that children who study through the mother-tongue medium do not suffer any disadvantage, linguistic or scholastic, when they compete with their English-medium counterparts.

The Education Policy of 1968 suggested that the medium of instruction at the primary stage should be the mother tongue and the state governments must adopt the three-language formula.

Findings from research studies conducted in schools where English is offered as the medium of instruction in Indian and international contexts reveal that children learn better if the home language is the medium of instruction (at least until Class 4). A study conducted by the British Council, The Open University, UK and Education Development Trust, UK. 2017 in Bihar (India) and Ghana (a sub-Saharan African country) found that in many South Asian countries including India, the majority of students who complete primary school are doing so without having attained the levels of home language literacy, core subject knowledge and English language ability. In Ghana, the recent studies (2013, 2015) conducted suggest that for many students levels of English are not high enough for them to be able to learn through the language when it becomes the medium of instruction in primary Grade 4. It is found that higher learning outcomes are achieved when the local language is used as the medium of instruction¹.

The following are the findings from a study² conducted by the University of Oxford and British Council in 2014:

- English Medium Instruction (EMI) could be divisive and create inequality. Concern was expressed that not all teachers were competent or able to teach through EMI with a possible generation gap; older teachers are not able to teach through EMI.

Students might suffer too, finding it too demanding to learn many languages and not able to fully comprehend the academic input.

- Lack of competent teachers: 83 per cent of countries responded that they did not have enough qualified teachers. This is a huge cause for concern.
- Lack of clear guidelines on how to teach through EMI.
- Lack of teaching resources: Difficulties were found resourcing EMI exams, securing the appropriate number of qualified teachers and providing the learning materials and textbooks.
- Lack of guidance on code-switching: 76 per cent of countries have no written guidelines specifying whether or not English should be the only language used in the classroom. Principled code-switching could be very beneficial in an EMI situation.

A study³ done by Pauline Rea-Dickins (2014), Aga Khan University, Tanzania reveals the following:

- Examining of school subject knowledge in English medium perpetuates social and economic exclusion.
- Data from examination results in EMI context reveals that there are low levels of literacy and numeracy.
- Since 2008, there is a significant increase in the proportion of secondary students failing. A small proportion of students belonging to elite group pass exams.
- English is a significant and substantial predictor of the students' performance in Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry.
- Exceedingly low levels of English vocabulary: How can these learners engage productively in English medium instruction with such low levels of basic English vocabulary?
- There is an inherent contradiction between aspiration for English and reality on the ground.
- Monolingual English language use in examinations is a barrier to access education.
- One language policy does not give all students a fair chance, does not lead to valid assessment of all students.

In spite of these findings and recommendations, the government of

Karnataka introduced English as the medium of instruction from Grade 1 in 1,000 government schools from the academic year 2019. In these schools, English medium sections were opened, on a pilot basis, in addition to the existing regional/Kannada-medium sections. The justification given for the introduction of English medium sections in government schools is as follows:

- As reported in the 'Karnataka budget 2018: 1,000 schools to welcome English medium classes' (2018), in a step that could meet the aspirations of lakhs of people from weaker sections, who wish to get their children educated in English, H.D. Kumaraswamy has announced that English-medium classes will be run along with Kannada medium ones in 1,000 government schools.
- 'Kannada is our mother tongue and it should survive, but we must ensure that children of poor people also get enough opportunities. This is a question of the education of our children. We are ready to give the poor in the state quality education in government schools and it is not right to deprive one section of children of quality education'. (Chief Minister of Karnataka, 2018).
- 'English can help youngsters in the state gain employment anywhere in the world'. (President, Karnataka Congress Committee, 2018).
- 'Government schools are dying gradually. Only children of poor Dalits and backward classes are going to government schools with no financial support to afford private schools. These children cannot compete with those in private schools. Why should students of government schools alone take the responsibility of safeguarding Kannada?' (Deputy Chief Minister, Government of Karnataka, 2019).
- Children will be given a choice as to which medium of instruction they prefer. (officials from the Department of Primary Education).
- Manika Ghosh (2019) stated: 'English is the language of heightened opportunities. It is the language of everyday living—from medical instructions, food labels, nutritional information, government forms, advertisements, street signs, to even hotel menus. It is the only intra-state and international communication

mode. English is also the language of commerce, of science and technology, of social media, of employment, and hence of development. It defies reason as to why anybody in the right frame of mind would oppose a move that will elevate the life and livelihood prospects of a large section of poor children. The progressive step taken by Karnataka will herald social engineering in the true sense of the term’.

- The State Project Director, Samagra Shikshana, Karnataka, during his interaction with the Master Resource Persons of English Medium Teachers’ Induction Programme, said that ‘this was a long pending demand. Many parents voiced their desire for having English medium sections in government schools. Teachers have also started demanding English medium sections’.

However, several writers and activists opposed the government’s decision to open English medium sections in 1,000 schools.

The Chairman of the Kannada Development Authority stated the following in response to the government’s decision:

I am against this move. It might result in the erasure of our language. We have nothing against English as a subject. It is necessary. But, it should not become the medium of instruction. If English becomes the medium, a day might come when Kannada will be forgotten completely. The government can introduce English as a medium of instruction from Class 7, but from Class 1, Kannada has to be the medium. A UNESCO study says children who get primary level education in their native language have higher IQ than those studying in a foreign language. A government school in Sira (near Tumkur), which had just three or four children, now has 800 because of the special interest taken by a headmaster. If a teacher can turn things around, why can’t the government? (English medium debate rages, 2019)

Shukla Bose, the founder and CEO of the Parikrama Humanity Foundation (2019) who successfully runs five free English medium institutions for underprivileged children, feels that the switch in the medium is not necessarily a guarantor of good education. She agrees that teaching children in English does improve their confidence, but it is possible to run great Kannada medium schools that have good facilities

with an earnest attempt to teach children the basics of language. 'There is very little child-friendly literature in the regional languages,' she points out. 'It is important to ensure that the fundamentals are put in place.' She is convinced that 'converting' to English will be more of a problem than a boon to education if it is executed without proper thought or planning.

Maya Menon, founder-director, The Teacher Foundation (2018), says:

'There is a scarcity of qualified teachers who can teach English. The government should have ideally worked on training teachers for at least three years before making such announcements'.

In spite of the dissenting voice, the government stuck to its stand and opened English medium sections from Grade I in 1,000 government schools from June 2019.

Selection of Schools

The selection of 1,000 schools was made more or less randomly but partly based on the geographical location and the infrastructure available. On an average, English medium sections were opened in 30 government schools in each district.

Media reports and statistics from the Department of Education reveal that there is an increasing demand for English medium in government schools. The data gathered from the department website reports that as of now 26,156 children are studying in 1,000 English medium sections (as opposed to 11,526 in Kannada-medium sections). This has adversely affected the admission of children in Kannada-medium sections. Nearly 250 schools have admissions less than 10 in Kannada medium and a few schools have closed Kannada medium sections as there is no admission.

The English Medium Teachers' Induction Programme (EMTIP): Orientation to MRPs

Consequent to the decision of the government, a plan was rolled out to train teachers to teach in English medium. A cascade mode of training was planned and teachers who completed a one month English Empowerment Programme at the district level were selected as Master Resource Persons (MRPs) to train in-service teachers who would teach English medium sections.

A 10-day state level training was conducted for 136 MRPs from April 29, to May 9, 2019; the MRPs cascaded the training at the district level for 15 days and trained nearly 1000 teachers.

Description of the Module

The English Medium Teachers' Induction Programme (EMTIP) was a face-to-face teacher empowerment programme for 15 days designed to help teachers use active, learner-centred, language supportive pedagogies (RIESI, 2019).

The salient features, as stated in the module, are:

- It provides opportunities to learning by doing for teachers.
- It aims to build their confidence and empower them through reflection and action.
- It integrates building proficiency, developing perspectives and practising meaningful pedagogy.
- It is embedded in the language across curriculum and multilingual approach.

There are a total of 11 themes identified for the module. These themes are rooted in the fundamental principles of language learning.

The themes identified are:

1. Context and Vision of English Medium Sections in Government Schools
2. Understanding Young Learners, Learning Styles and Strategies
3. Learning Outcomes and Assessment
4. Building a Language Rich Environment
5. Language across Curriculum
6. Multilingual Approach - Code Switching and Code Mixing
7. Listening and Speaking and Total Physical Response Tasks for Young Learners
8. Picture Reading
9. Stories for Young Learners: Story Telling and Story Reading
10. Sound-Letter Relationship Through Texts and Contexts
11. Reading and Writing for Young Learners

The training also suggested a few transitional tasks that teachers should do in the initial period. The rationale for suggesting a transitional plan, as given in the module, is as follows:

‘It would be too ambitious to expect children getting into the English medium section of Grade1 to acquire English and learn content in English. It would be irrational to start to transact textbooks without preparing children to receive content through English and respond in the same....Teachers teaching in the English medium section will have to explore the advantages of the multilingual context and ensure smooth transition through code mixing and code switching.... Comprehensible input through a fine blend of mother tongue and English can create a strong base for learning. It cannot happen if teachers begin to transact the textbook and focus on suggested learning outcomes. This transition period plan followed by simple and interesting activities provides a kind of preparatory experience to learners. The activities aim at providing an easy and joyful start to lead young learners to become confident in learning English through content and content through English.’ (EMTIP: Transition period plan and activities’. 2019, p. 3)

A few MRPs made the following observations during an interaction with them on the sixth day of the 10-day orientation:

- Teachers’ selection for English medium schools should be done carefully. Teachers must have basic spoken English skills and minimum proficiency in English language.
- Teachers are not able to handle English second language textbooks in Nail-Kali (i.e. Kannada-medium) classes even today. We need to empower them. So we need more content and activities from the textbooks to help them.
- This MRP training is for 10 days but we have to cascade it for 15 days at the district level. How can we extend it for another five days?
- Those who are good at English and those who are really interested to teach in English medium sections should be selected. There should be a follow-up. Only then will the project be successful.
- Textbooks (prepared by the NCERT) are very well designed but teachers, when handling for the first time, might think it

is somewhat heavy. How teachers are going to present it in an acceptable manner is a challenge.

- What is the focus of this module? Is this focusing on the child-oriented process or on strengthening the teacher?
- How do we train teachers to teach NCERT textbooks? They are not familiar with these textbooks, they do not know the content of the textbooks.

MRPs mainly felt that as new textbooks are being introduced for English medium sections, the training should help teachers understand the content of those lessons and units and conduct the activities suggested in those books rather than focusing on general principles and theoretical aspects of teaching English. The MRPs did not find much connection between the themes chosen for the training and the textbook lessons and activities.

EMTIP: District Level Training

Teachers from the randomly selected 1,000 schools were deputed for a 15-day training at the respective District Institute of Education and Training (DIET). Although teacher selection was crucial in the entire process, much attention was not paid towards inducting competent teachers who were proficient in English language. A diagnostic test was conducted along with written and oral tests (50 + 10 marks) for the selected 1,000 teachers. However, the module used was the same for training teachers irrespective of their language ability and varying scores/high or low performance (21/80) in the tests.

The 15-day district-level EMTIP was organized from May 13-27, 2019. Some of the concerns raised by teachers during the induction training are given below:

- Are the classrooms provided with advanced facilities?
- Which is the first language in English medium sections, English or Kannada?
- How can a first standard child get English language competency when he/she is beginning to learn the first language?
- Will the child be able to grasp concepts suddenly in the foreign language?

- How can we take English medium classes along with Kannada medium sections?
- Will the Department supply bilingual textbooks till the third standard?
- What are the prescribed steps to teach English, EVS and Maths in the first standard?

Maths and EVS textbooks were bilingual in nature. Though it was decided to use Kannada as the first language, the induction training did not address the issues of teaching Kannada in English medium schools.

Some of their expectations and suggestions were as follows:

- Most of the teachers need an empowerment programme for more than 15 days to help them teach in English medium schools.
- Students may be eager to join English medium schools but this will affect Kannada medium sections.
- Teaching in the English medium section may be challenging in the first year.
- The English medium textbooks should be colourful and attractive.
- TLM kits should be supplied for support.
- Convincing the Headmaster and staff members about the implementation of English as the medium of instruction is important.
- The training should be more activity-based rather than being theoretical.
- We should go to class with preparation and a concrete plan.
- Provide rich infrastructure for English classes.
- Recruit qualified English teachers for the first standard.
- Teachers are worried about regular Nali-Kali classes.
- A separate English teacher should be appointed in each school.
- Providing training to teachers who are interested in teaching English will be more useful.
- Allot only first standard English medium section, not any other classes.

- Teachers are worried about the academic progress of children from the marginalized sections of the society.
- Selection of schools should be done properly.

During my visits to the training centres and interactions with the MRPs, I have observed the following:

- A few headmasters have been deputed to attend the training. They expressed their inability to handle English medium sections as they have other responsibilities at the school.
- Other subject teachers are deputed to the training. They are not interested and not willing to teach in English medium sections.
- Teachers are worried that they may not be able to fulfil the expectations of parents of English medium sections. They feel they cannot do justice to the children as they themselves need to improve their English skills.
- The 15-day training is not enough to enhance their teaching skills and English language proficiency.
- Many administrative issues were raised:
 - (i) Lack of resources and TLMs for effective teaching-learning. Teachers expect more resources such as stories, reading cards and audio video materials for creating an English rich environment in the school.
 - (ii) Teachers are forced to teach other classes besides teaching Grade 1 English medium section.
 - (iii) Concerns about the availability of teachers and classrooms for next year's English medium sections.
 - (iv) Concern for Kannada medium sections.

Classroom Implementation

Visits to a few schools (in Mysore, Ramnagar and Bangalore districts) after the three months' of introduction of English as the medium of instruction have revealed the following:

Almost all the teachers seemed to be very excited about the new venture. They shared their sincere efforts in making this initiative successful. Most of the students also show an interest in learning English. Teachers use a variety of TLMs for teaching English, EVS and Maths. They

have prepared Big Books for reading based on the lessons and stories. Transition period tasks were carried out by teachers and were found to be very useful.

Unfortunately, teachers are not documenting their experiences and are not keeping any reflective notes or classroom diaries/journals. They are not able to gauge students' progress in learning, not maintaining any document to track children's progress. The stages of learning, the trajectory of students' successes in language acquisition have not been documented. They seem to rely on their memory and the oral tradition.

Parents seem to show a keen interest in English medium education. They seem to be happy when their children express a few sentences such as 'He is my grandfather', 'She is my grandmother', 'Give me a mobile', etc. at home.

In spite of the initial euphoria following the introduction of English medium, there are many concerns and challenges to be addressed:

- In most of the English medium schools that I visited, choral repetitions, mass drilling, rote memorization, etc. are found to be common practices.
- Many teachers believe in 'English only' approach. Either they have not understood a few themes such as multilingualism, language across curriculum discussed during the induction training or are not able to integrate these principles into their lessons owing to their own beliefs, prior practices or certain systemic constraints.
- There is no admission for Kannada medium sections in some schools. It was reported by some teachers that Kannada medium students were forced to sit in English medium sections. As reported by them, it was done in order to avoid discrimination among children. In addition to the 30 children in English medium sections, which itself is a huge challenge to handle, there are an additional 10 or 15 children from other sections.
- Some teachers reported that they have to teach English medium sections in addition to Nali-Kali classes, that too in the same classroom.
- A few teachers reported that they have to teach higher classes in addition to teaching English medium sections

- There are students belonging to two levels in the same English medium section– those who have come from English medium LKG, UKG classes and those who have come from Kannada medium ‘Anganawadi’ classes. Children who have studied in LKG and UKG classes seem to know English letters, words and can read and write to some extent whereas children from ‘Anganawadi’ background are just beginners as far as English is concerned. It seems to be a challenge for teachers to cater to these two different levels.
- There are differently abled children in some English Medium sections. It seems to be a challenge to teach such a mixed, heterogeneous group.
- Language seems to be thrust on these children. They are able to reproduce rhymes, stories and sentences but at the expense of comprehension. Children do not seem to know the meanings of simple words such as ‘in’, ‘out’, ‘under’, ‘above’, ‘inside’, ‘outside’, ‘near’, ‘far’, etc. which have already been introduced in previous lessons. As the ‘Poverty of the Stimulus’ argument suggests, children are not exposed to enough data to acquire the language.
- Teachers are not able to use different techniques, provide other contextually relevant examples to help children understand concepts. They have not understood the principles and benefits of multilingualism.
- Teachers are not using L1 as a pedagogic resource. L1 is at times used for giving instructions but not for teaching lessons and concepts. There is no clarity among teachers as to why and when to use other languages. English-only belief strongly persists in teachers.
- Parents seem to have great expectations from their children, teachers and the newly opened English medium sections. They seem to believe that English medium will fetch white collar jobs. These expectations have made teachers anxious and feel whether they will be in a position to fulfil parental expectations while teaching in difficult circumstances.

A Way Forward

Introduction of English as the Medium of Instruction in 1,000 government schools seems to have hindered children's classroom participation as they lack the necessary language ability. Students seem to engage in very little meaningful communication in the classroom and their language use seems to be limited to choral responses and mechanical repetition. It is important to adopt a multilingual approach, encourage teachers to make judicious and strategic use of code switching. Students can understand concepts and participate actively during lessons only if teachers code switch and if students are given opportunities for translanguaging to enhance learning.

As students coming from less privileged linguistic background and socially and economically disadvantaged families have few resources to engage with English outside the classroom, they should get access to quality, print-rich and audio-visual materials.

In rural areas where there is a shortage of qualified teachers, a lack of materials and very limited English available outside the school environment, it is perplexing to see how English medium instruction can guarantee social justice, equity and inclusion.

Teachers' lack of competence in English may lead to teachers resorting to traditional methods of teaching. Teachers who are not confident in English are likely to rely on drilling, memorization and the 'chalk and talk' method. English medium can make it difficult for teachers to use student-centred pedagogic practices. Classrooms are most likely to become teacher dominated and the focus will be on rote-learning as it is the case in many private English medium schools in India.

If monolingual (only English) approach is adopted, students will feel insecure. They will be more comfortable using their own languages to interact with teachers, ask/answer questions. They will find it enjoyable to take part in the classroom process. 'English only' approach will make classrooms teacher-centred.

As teachers' lack of competence in English and the complete absence of student talk in the classroom are two significant factors contributing to low learning outcomes, a flexible approach to language use, both by the teachers and students, should be adopted to enable learning.

Teachers' capacity building is crucial. In schools where English is

the medium of instruction, teachers' competence in the language of instruction is vital. Teachers should be empowered to develop strategies to use active, learner-centred, language supportive pedagogies.

Weblinks to the Full Reports

1. <https://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/continuing-professional-development/teacher-educator-framework/demonstrating-effective-teaching-behaviour/multilingual-classrooms-opportunities-and-challenges-english-medium-instruction-low-and-middle> retrieved on August 14, 2019
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*Ravinarayan Chakrakodi is Professor at the Regional Institute of English South India, Jnanabharathi Campus, Bengaluru. He has an MA in TESOL with distinction from Lancaster University, UK. He is involved in teacher training and teacher education, materials development, second language research studies and teacher professional development. He is the lead coordinator for the British Council's Action Research Mentoring Scheme (ARMS) for 2019-20.
E-mail: ravirie@gmail.com*

Interview

Creative Writing and the Creative Process

**Hemachandran Karah in conversation
with Professor K. Srilata**

K. Srilata is a poet, fiction writer, translator and an academician based in Chennai. She is Professor at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Madras. Her poems, *In Santa Cruz*, *Diagnosed Home Sick* won the First Prize in the All India Poetry Competition (organized by the British Council and The Poetry Society, India) in 1998. Her poetry collections include *Seablue Child* (2000), *Arriving Shortly* (2011), *Writing Octopus* (2013) and *Bookmarking the Oasis* (2015). Her debut novel *Table for Four* was long-listed in 2009 for the Man Asian Literary Prize. She also has several translations to her credit including R. Vatsala's Tamil novel *Once There Was a Girl* (*Vattathul*). Srilata is also part of the team that runs Yavanika Press, an e-publishing site specializing in poetry.

Hemachandran Karah (HK): You are a teacher, researcher, writer, and translator, and we are privileged to have you at IIT. Today I would like to focus on your journey as a creative writer in this conversation, and I am sure other aspects of your scholarship will emanate from there.

K. Srilata (KS): Thank you, Hemachandran for giving me this space.

HK: Can you briefly talk about your growing up years and when you started writing?

KS: I have been writing from ever since I can remember. As a young girl, I used to read and write sentimental poems. Then I went on to write short pieces and started sending them out for publication; that's how slowly I got into writing and that is something that has never left me. It is something that I have held on to right through my life except for a short break.

HK: I suppose that was when you were pursuing your PhD.

KS: Yes, the kind of writing that PhD demands took me away from the frame of mind one needs to function as a creative writer. The intellectual pursuit of writing a thesis created a break, but I returned to creative writing after I joined IIT as an Assistant Professor about 16 years ago and I have been at it, writing both poetry and fiction.

HK: Academic writing is often viewed as dry and has its own demands like giving references, end notes, footnotes, etc. How do you handle both research writing and creative writing? There are very few people who do both well.

KS: I am not sure how well I do both; creative writing is like being possessed by a demon or something, at least that is how it has been with me. It is something which becomes an obsession and I have to get it out on paper, otherwise it does not let me rest. And academic work is equally dear to me, especially the teaching. I would not say research as it is narrowly defined today increasingly is as dear to me, but my teaching is very dear to me as is my writing. So, I think what we need to do is actually not think of these as two separate pursuits.

Unfortunately, these are often seen as different pursuits, and creative writing is viewed as being entirely out of the range of academic scholarship. We fail to see the connections between the two, and we also fail to acknowledge and establish that connection for students.

HK: How and by what means can we acknowledge that in our classrooms as teachers?

KS: Well, I pursue it in a very bold, unafraid way. If writing is your calling, you boldly assert that it is what you want to do, and do not care if it does not get the points in the system. One has to move beyond what people think, or thinking that you are a lesser person/academic because you would rather be writing poetry or fiction than may be publishing a research paper.

Instead you should pursue what you really want to do. I know it appears that today it is easy for me to say this as I have been in this field for long, and also have a stable job. I am not advocating that it is an easy path and everyone should do it, but suggesting that ideally we should be able to work towards thinking about ourselves in that way, and then you will be able to communicate the same to your students, scholars and others that you interact with.

HK: I like your symbolism about being possessed by a demon. Because it helps me to understand that when you are gripped and moved by something, you want to put it down, whether it be a poem or a painting. Should we not follow that even in academic writing, where you listen to your voice and decide your field accordingly, instead of selecting a field that is 'fashionable'?

KS: Yes, that is right, it is ultimately a search for meanings. And you rightly say that even the choice of academic pursuits should not be driven by externals like 'fashionable area' but by what sorts of questions we want to seek or the kind of fields that we want to navigate. It is about making meaning, also in a sense making that meaning available for others; I think academic pursuits should ideally be driven by that search for meaning.

HK: Coming back to the demons, they have taken you to poetry, fiction; it looks like it is taking you in different directions.

KS: Well, I think it has kind of pushed me more towards poetry than towards fiction, but that may be because of the fact that I have a full-time job, and I tend to write in bursts in fragmented units of time. And, you can manage to write the draft of a poem in about say half an hour to an hour which you cannot really do with fiction, where you need longer stretches of uninterrupted time. But I find of late that I am also drawn to writing certain kinds of non-fiction.

HK: I remember a TV interview where the musician discussed writing of songs; he said that he would hum the song, and the writer wrote the lyrics. And sometimes, the lyricist wrote the song first, and then the musician came up with a suitable melody.

In your case, the situations and sentiment choose the literary form?

KS: Yes, that is right.

HK: It is good to know the workings behind creative writing. Please tell us more about your recent works.

KS: My new book of poems was published a month ago. It is titled *The Unmistakable Presence of Absent Humans*. When I was putting this collection together, I did not make any conscious attempt to thematically link the poems, there was no grand narrative; but then I found that one particular idea surfaced repeatedly: the idea of absent presences.

HK: Can you please elaborate this further, perhaps read some lines from the book.

KS: Let me refer to the 'Preface' of the book to explain the idea. Absent presences are quite unmistakably presences, and the idea of disappearance is often a traumatic separation. It was as though I have been trying all along to find the words for these things. The absent is always present in our lives in difficult and powerful ways, in ways that we may not always be able to explain or account for. Growing up as a daughter of a single mother I was acutely conscious of the absence of a father. My mother's challenging life as a divorcee in 1970s India had implications for my own life. It was the shadow under which I walked. For one thing we were oddities in a world where families meant not just mothers and fathers, but also uncles and aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts, and grandparents.

The constant presence in our lives was the absence of people who we felt ought not to have been absent. I think people experience absent presences as an itch and in my case I used poetry to get at it. This is also perhaps why I have tried to imagine, what absences might mean to the lives of characters in mythologies, Sita's twins Lava and Kusha for example, or Penelope, the wife of Odysseus. I have also been haunted equally by the question of what forced disappearances must mean to people in conflict-ridden zones.

There is yet another absence, a disappearance that we have recently started to experience, that of the ideals of social equality and secularism, this disappearance too has found its way into some of my poems. After having worked on this collection for several years, I noticed that this idea of absences of various sorts was what informed many of the poems. And today, looking back at my earlier work as a poet I think that perhaps that sense of blankness was fuelling my work.

HK: Would you say that your first novel, *Table for Four*, has absence as the underlying theme as well?

KS: Yes, that's right. The novel has a peculiar background to it because I had spent a year in California, Santa Cruz, as a student on a Fulbright pre-doctoral scholarship. I found the year very difficult as I was homesick, and I wanted to run back home. I had housing challenges like finding a housemate, arranging things, and by the time things settled down, it was time for me to leave.

It was my first stay outside the country, and technology like Google wasn't there, and one was clueless. I had never seen a supermarket in my life before. Many things were new, annoying and I was extremely uncomfortable. After I came back to India, got married, had a child, started working in IIT, I somehow forgot all of that. But with the setting of the novel being Santa Cruz where I had spent a very uncomfortable year, my experiences entered the book. Of all the characters, Maya perhaps is the character that is closest to my own voice. She is trying to pursue her PhD and has this strange landlord; it is a book about stories and secrets of different people. It is a loosely connected set of four stories really more than a novel.

HK: Reading your poems I felt a sense of absences, and now I have a better understanding with the author discussing her idea of absent presence! I have also observed the repeated figure of the mother sending the children off to school in many of your stories. Please tell us something more about it.

KS: It is interesting you should ask me this since the next book that I am planning and hoping to write is part non-fiction, part fiction. It is going to be a mixed genre, where I actually explore the idea of children who do not quite neatly fit into the school system. This partly comes from personal experience as a parent as raising children is very difficult in a competitive environment. When children do not neatly fit the system or do not manage to get straight as people tend to think that there is something wrong with the children. Instead we need to see that something is wrong with the system at large. The system allows only a narrow bandwidth of skills or abilities to flourish, and there are countless others.

HK: Yes, human possibilities are abundant.

KS: You are absolutely right, and as a scholar of disability studies you would have a better understanding about it. There is a huge spectrum of people who are left behind in our education system. I find that increasingly troublesome because people are literally cast out of the system unless you have somebody who can mentor you through that, or navigate it for you. This is even more difficult when you are a child who does not know how to operate in this complex world. So, you just fall through the cracks for no fault of yours.

The book that I am planning will partly be a personal account, and will

also attempt to reach out to stakeholders (though I do not like to use that word). There are parents and educators who are beginning to feel that something is not quite right with the system.

HK: So, we see things by intuition and experience.

KS: Yes. Also it explores that there are no quick fix solutions, it is not as if you take the child out of this school and put him/her in another school. Shifting from mainstream to alternate school does not mean things are solved, because there are blind spots and problems in every system. And, this is a deep flaw I think in the larger social systems which believes in standard solutions.

I think it is important to have a larger debate about different approaches to education, to consult special educators or teachers who work in mainstream schools, and parents of differently abled children or different sorts of intelligences, it is important to have that conversation.

HK: I am reminded of your story, 'You Expert Woman, You', where the narrative mocks the notion of expertise at the end. In a way the expertise is the child's, rather than the mother. That is the crux of disability studies, it is about experience, intuition and knowledge.

KS: Yes, you create your own knowledge. Whether it is children with disabilities or parents/caregivers, you are thrown into it and you come up with the most incredible solutions.

If our schools would learn to look at those solutions that come from people's experiences rather than the top down approach where they just try to push things down our throats, things could change a little.

HK: I am glad that you put it this way because now disciplines like disability studies are moving away from moral questions and social constructions about disability.

It is about inventing solutions, creating pathways, creating new temporalities. It is interesting to see your sustained engagement in the area, both in your writings and your experiences as a mother. It comes across vividly in your work.

KS: Thank you.

HK: You have talked about your creative journey. I would like to know your views about creative writing courses in India. Should we mimic the Western model of creative writing courses or can we have something

unique and specific to our own situation?

KS: I have noticed that in the last 3-4 years that writers, especially younger poets have a tremendous drive or ambition to do writing programmes, MFAs either in the US or UK. They are driven to undertake the courses even at the enormous financial cost to themselves and their families. And there is hardly any funding for these courses.

HK: And hardly a job after that.

KS: I must say that I do not quite understand that because I think one should instead observe life around, use all the resources available, thanks to the internet, and write.

With so much online material, you should be able to manage writing. I know it is lovely to have a whole year to yourself to just sit and write, go to a classroom where you can just sit down and write and so on, but it is not essential.

HK: The classroom will give you a feedback on your writing.

KS: Yes, but I think it is not essential. It can sometimes be counterproductive.

HK: May be the faculty of mind can be systematically trained for writing from early years.

KS: Yes, that might be a better approach.

HK: Thank you Srilata for sharing your insights on the creative process and education for special children.

Hemachandran Karah is an Associate Professor at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Madras, Chennai, where he teaches courses in English Literature.

E-mail: hkarah@iitm.ac.in

Language Activities

My Pencil Brings Me Luck in the Exam!

Ferit Kılıçkaya

Name of the Activity: My pencil brings me luck in the exam!

Skill Focus: Integrated (Reading, Speaking, Writing, and Listening)

Sub-Skill Focus: Expressing one's own point of view

Level: High school/university students

Estimated Time: 1 hour

Group Size: 30 and over

Learning Objectives: To develop awareness of cultural superstition and conducting independent research

Materials: A4 sheets for sharing the story, a projector and speakers for presentations

Methodology

1. Write the following sentence on the board 'Good luck or bad luck leads you to success or failure in an exam', have students read this and think about it for a while (one or two minutes).

2. Ask your students to read the story and answer or discuss the following questions:

From time to time, I have to proctor exams due to a few research assistants available or I wish to be the proctor as I think my students might need extra instructions or I feel the need to be there as some of them might have unexpected questions in their minds.

In one class, before beginning to watch students in the examination to ensure that everything ran smoothly and nobody cheated, I noticed that one of my students was holding a pencil, which was almost finished.

I thought that he forgot to bring new pencils and therefore, he had to manage with this one. I slowly approached him and kindly asked, 'Do you need a new pencil? One of your friends can lend you one.' Since I strongly believed that it was not possible to write with that small pencil and if it were, it would be a real torture.

To my surprise, he responded calmly, 'Thank you, sir, my pencil is fine'. I just stood there for a while with questioning eyes and told him that he would have difficulty in writing legibly and added that it would be better to have another pencil for that reason.

Feeling rather disturbed by being forced to explain himself clearly, he replied that, 'I know it would be difficult to write with this. But, this is the pencil that I have been using for a year in the examinations, and it never failed me. It brings me good luck in my examinations, and so far I have never failed a class.'

- (a) Do you know anyone like the student in this story?
- (b) Do you believe that something brings good luck or back luck to you before you do anything? Why do you think so?
- (c) Do you think that keeping the same pencil can lead to good luck as in this story?
- (d) Such things as irrational beliefs and/or practices that lead to good or back luck are called superstitions. Why do you think that this student believes his pencil will bring him success in the exam?
- (e) Do you know any other superstitions that people do to have good luck for exams or any other similar or different situations?
- (f) Do you think that you can achieve something without preparing, studying, or working hard for it?
- (g) Can different countries/cultures have different superstitions? Do you know any specific examples?
- (h) Humans might have superstitions. Can animals have superstitions?

Follow-on Activity: As homework or out-of-class assignment, have students work in pairs/groups and create PowerPoint/Prezi slides or Pixton to create comics based on the superstitions that people have in different cultures and/or countries. The aim of this activity is to enable participants to collaborate to find and report different superstitions,

which will both improve their intercultural knowledge and the skill to work together.

- (a) The slides/comics should include at least five superstitions that people have in a country or a culture.
- (b) These superstitions should be obtained from valid resources such as books or educational websites.
- (c) The superstitions can be presented in the Present Tense.
- (d) Each pair/group will present the superstitions that they have found in different cultures and countries and obtain their classmates' opinions on these.
- (e) As the homework/assignment will be digital work, they can be uploaded to the class blog or the students' personal blogs to reach a wider audience.

Evaluation: Students will be encouraged to present what they have prepared on superstitions next class, which will serve as an opportunity for both speaking and listening as well as peer learning and assessment. It is believed that the discussion of superstitions in our lives will encourage students to express their views based on their personal experiences. Moreover, the further activity to be given as the homework or assignment will make them aware of the other practices in other countries or cultures, contributing to their intercultural awareness.

*Ferit Kılıçkaya is a teacher trainer and is currently working for the Department of Foreign Language Education at Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University, Turkey.
E-mail: ferit.kilickaya@gmail.com*

Grammar Game

Nivedita Bedadur

Name of the Game: Stop That Story

Skill Focus: Story Telling

Subskill Focus: Responding to a story with wh questions

Objectives

To develop the skill of story telling

To practise questioning skills

Level: Grades VII to XI

Materials

A set of three random pictures cut out from different newspapers for each group.

OR

Three random words, e.g. lost necklace, crow, award for each group.

Infrastructure

A classroom where there is enough space for a group to tell a story while other groups respond by asking questions.

Time Needed: One and a half hours (This depends on the number of students in the class)

Procedure

Step 1: The students are divided into groups of three or four. A large number of students in one group will make the game less enjoyable and cumbersome.

Step 2: Give the set of three random pictures or random words to the

groups. Ask them to construct a story with the pictures or words.

Step 3: Give the following instructions:

- a. They have 15 minutes to create the story.
- b. Each member must be involved in the story telling.
- c. The words/pictures should be included in the story.

Step 4: The groups will design their story. Tell all the groups to stop after 15 minutes.

Step 5: The groups will now be paired. One group will tell the story and another group will stop the story in the middle and not allow them to proceed till they have answered questions on the story. The questions will all be wh questions, e.g. what, when, where, why, how. For example, if there are 6 groups, Group A will tell the story. Group B will ask questions. Group B will tell the story. Group A will ask questions.

Step 6 Give the following instructions before beginning the presentations.

- (a) Group A and B are paired. Group C and D are paired. Group E and F are paired.
- (b) When Group A tells the story Group B will stop them, let them not proceed by asking questions about the story using wh words where ... , what... and vice versa.
- (c) There will be 5 minutes time to tell the story.
- (d) You must answer all the questions while telling the story.

Step 7: Let the groups present and enjoy the story and the question answers.

Nivedita Kumari is a Lecturer at National Institute of Technology, Ibaraki College, Japan. She has taught English to Japanese university graduate students and her interests include comparative linguistics of Hindi and Japanese, English Language Teaching, Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics.

E-mail: nivedita16@gmail.com

Book Reviews

Richard Roberts and Roger J. Kruez, *Becoming Fluent: How Cognitive Science Can Help Adults Learn a Foreign Language*. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2015, ISBN: 978-0-262-02923

The book contains eight chapters, namely: Terms and Conditions; Set Yourself Up for Success; Aspects of Language; Pragmatics and Culture; Language and Perception; Cognition from Top to Bottom; Making Memories; And Making Memories Work for You. These eight chapters are followed by Epilogue, Notes, Suggested Readings, References and Index.

The authors begin their discussion on Adult Foreign Language Learning by talking about three myths–

- i. Adults cannot acquire a foreign language as easily as children.
- ii. Adults should learn foreign languages the way children learn languages.
- iii. When learning a foreign language, try not to use your first language.

And these are in fact, the fundamental propositions which the authors have attempted to navigate within these chapters.

Chapter 1 is relatively a short one which, apart from discussion on cognitive science, is centred around preliminary discussion on the earlier mentioned three myths.

Having built the initial dialogue in the first chapter, the authors get to business in Chapter 2. As the book talks about adult language learning, the authors term foreign language learning a complex decision. They say, 'Although some people make decisions by adding up perceived pros and cons in a loosely mathematical way, that approach doesn't work with complex decisions such as whether to start (or restart) studying a foreign language.' Moving on, the authors do talk about *availability* and *simulation heuristics* exploring the positives and limitations thereof in foreign language learning. Next they talk about habit formation and

its impact on language learning, with the headings such as- 'Does it take twenty-one days to develop a new habit?; Do setbacks mean that you have failed?; If a little study is good, is a lot of study better? The discussion is followed by 'Suggestions for developing effective language study habits' under the headings- Determine what is realistic; Go public with your goal; Find a study buddy; Study at the same time each day.

Chapter 3 presents the aspects of different languages and how learning the language x may require a different strategy from the strategy applied to learn language y. The chapter also deals with four levels of proficiency.

Chapter 4 is woven around the argument that an adult language learner has advantage over the non-adult ones and the metalinguistic ability comes really handy when learning the pragmatics of a foreign language, because an adult learner can reflect upon his language learning process.

Chapter 5 attempts to burst the phenomena like speed versus accuracy wherein he says that cognitively it is established that the adults have a relatively slower motor response and also that there is a decline in the processing of the information by the adult but that know how establishes that the older adults don't make as good and quick language learners as younger adults. The chapter further deals with the notions of accent and non-nativeness.

As the title suggests the sixth chapter of the book under- review talks about a to z of cognition with specific reference to adult foreign language learning. The very first argument that hearing is also seeing details as the readers; how we, the users of a particular language (both native and foreign) use our visual abilities to understand and comprehend our interlocutors better. This has been explained with varied examples and the authors make a clear point that sometimes we accept things as they are, even without questioning as in the case of hearing our impression goes that its only the ears who do the job, no other body part does. Thus the argument is if a learner knows how the hearing and seeing go together it can assist in overall language learning.

Chapter 7 begins with a task of memorizing the random digits and ends with the discussion on cognitive overload and ways to deal with two types of cognitive overload—overload from factors internal to language and for factors external to language.

Chapter 8 talks about the emotional aspects of memory, such as- think positive, Be specific, Be expansive. The chapter also offers some useful

suggestions like- getting hold of every small bit of information in the foreign language because it works really well for language learning.

Very interestingly, the authors take every small bit available in hearsays, discuss them with reference to language learning, but don't present 'the answers' to those questions; rather put their propositions on it and leave the rest for the reader(s) to decide what works and what doesn't for them.

Summarily, the authors draw on insights from psychology and cognitive science to show that adults can master a foreign language if they bring the skills and knowledge they have mastered during their lifetime. Adults should not try to learn as children do, rather they should learn like adults.

The authors present data which suggest that adults can learn new languages even more easily than young adults. Children appear to have only two advantages over adults in learning a language: they acquire a native accent more easily. Adults, on the other hand, have the greater advantages that they understand their own mental processes and know how to use language to do things. Adults better understand the pragmatics of new language, and the authors demonstrate how the adults can use this advantage for themselves.

The reviewer Ramnjaney Upadhyay is an Institute Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Madras, Chennai.

E-mail: raman.upadhyay@gmail.com

Anuradha Ghosh, Saroj Kumar Mahananda and Trisha Lalchandani (eds.), *Premchand on National Language (Rashtrabhasha)* (Translated from Hindi into English). Delhi: Aakar Books, 2019 (Hardback), ISBN 978-93-5002-606-9, Rs. 495.00

Premchand on National Language (Rashtrabhasha) is a collection of translations of Premchand's writings in Hindi between 1931-36 on the question of making Hindi the national language (Rashtrabhasha) of India (Bharatvarsha, then). This collection is a rich mine of Premchand's views (vichar) not only on the question of Hindi as the national language and all its ramifications but also on many other issues of national importance.

Premchand appears in these writings as a campaigner for Hindustani as the national language of India; a propagator for one language, one script, one literature and one culture as one important factor, among others necessary for nation-building. Premchand believes that Bharatvarsha has been made one nation, which it was not in the past, by the British. However, the English language has enslaved the minds of the Indian elite, mostly upper castes, and distanced them from the common people and their vernaculars and the Indian culture. In order to keep India as one nation after the departure of the British, English must be replaced by an Indian language, and that language can only be Hindi (Hindustani in Devanagari script) it being the most widely spoken and understood language in India. That Hindi would subsume Urdu under it, would be enriched by the vocabulary and literary wealth from all the regional languages and dialects, and even from the West. This new language would be spoken and understood by the common mass of people all over the country and totally free from Sanskritic and Persian vocabulary forced by Hindu and Muslim diehards into Hindi and Urdu. All this, he believes, would lead to one national literature written in Devanagari script and embedded in Hindi transformed into Hindustani. To make Hindustani acceptable to the South, Premchand wants the north Indians to work to propagate Hindustani in the South and appeals to the South Indians to accept it for the good of the nation. He assures all the regional languages that this need not affect the growth of regional literatures.

These writings encompass the whole complexity of the language question that still continues to haunt us: the spoken language vs the written language, the Hindi-Urdu controversy, use of script including developing a script common for all the Indian languages, dominance of English yet hopelessly poor standards of English language teaching and learning, use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction, lack of uniformity within regional languages in the use of terms related to science, philosophy, religion, the role of films and theatre in the propagation of a language, the opposition to Hindi from non-Hindi-speaking regions and the need for a national academy of literature. Apart from all these, Premchand reflects on several issues of national importance. He envisions an economic system free from greed and excessive love of wealth, is alive to Hindu-Muslim relations and women's issues. He is also aware that India is a country of a sub continental size with so much religious, linguistic and cultural diversity. And we also

come to know that Premchand was a smoker!

As we know, today this project of one language, one national literature in Hindustani written in Devanagari script failed to take off due to the insistence of the diehard Hindiwallahs to Sanskritize Hindi to the level of utmost unintelligibility and unrelenting opposition from Southern states who felt that this was an attempt by the North to dominate the South. The result today is that we have not one 'national' language but 22, Hindi being one of them. Hindi has retained its status as the official language along with English. Above all, English, in spite of Premchand's strong opposition, has become far more entrenched in India, so much so that a large emerging aspirational class among the common people of India has taken to English as the language of opportunity, and Hindi has lost that status because Hindi cannot provide the kind of educational and job opportunities English can. However, Hindustani has not lost the battle altogether because now more than ever it is understood and spoken in most parts of the country though with varying degrees of competence. This has not been due to the efforts of the diehard Hindiwallahs but because of Bollywood, urbanization and migrations of people in large numbers from one state to another, the print and electronic media and assimilation of a vast vocabulary from English, Urdu and other regional languages. It is well on its way to become the language of spoken discourse in the country, though it is far from competing and replacing English in science and technology, modern medicine, business in the corporate world and communication at the international level. One may also add that Premchand's idea of one national literature in one language, of spreading Hindi in South India through organizations like the Hindi Pracharni Sabha seems unrealistic for the simple reason that proficiency in a language cannot be attained by passing examinations but it evolves and is attained the way a child attains it, through motivational use and interaction. Language can't be forced upon anyone unwilling to learn it. Premchand's views on one national literature in Hindustani also seem problematic. The role of uniting different regional literatures through translations appears to be performed at present by English rather than Hindi.

The editors by making available to English readers Premchand's views on the national language have served one good purpose. These writings lay bare before us the utmost, almost chaotic, complexity of the language question in our country which is unique in having such a linguistic

diversity. And which defies solution. The editors could have dealt more elaborately with the whole gamut of issues raised in these writings. And, the book could have been copy-edited with greater diligence.

The reviewer T.C. Ghai was an Associate Professor at Deshbandhu (Evening) College of University of Delhi. He is a fiction writer, poet and translator.

E-mail: tcghai@gmail.com

David Nunan, *Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages: An Introduction*. New York and London: Routledge, 2015, Hardback ISBN: 978-1-138-82466-9

Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages: An Introduction by David Nunan is a quintessential introductory book. It fills the void of a comprehensive, encompassing volume on and about the rudimentary stage of language-teaching. The book is interactive, lucid and vivid. The limpidity with which the writer addresses the issues of second language classroom teaching is worth mentioning.

Besides the Introduction and Glossary, the book is divided into 12 chapters. Each chapter starts with a *goal* followed by *introduction* to the chapter and the topic. Right after introduction is the classroom *vignette* section, which adds vivacity to the chapter and a reader is taken across different classroom settings. Vignette is followed by *issue in focus* section, which addresses the problems related to the topic. Next is the *key principles*, in which the author provides the important rules to be applied with a particular approach. The last two sections are *what teacher wants to know* and *small group discussion*, the former further clarifies the writer's view point on a particular approach as well as addresses the instructor's doubts; while in the latter the teacher involves the students in discussion by starting a conversation on the difficult areas by posing some questions about already discussed topics. The chapters end with a *summary* followed by *further reading*, and *references*.

As is evident the book is well planned and thought of. The reader will agree with it as s/he proceeds from the first chapter to the last one. Chapter 1 is 'Language Teaching Methodology'. This chapter lays the framework for the forthcoming chapters. It discusses methods such as Grammar-Translation, Audio Lingual, etc. and issues underpinning

these methods. Relatively new methods like Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT) are elaborated. The writer encourages to evaluate these methods and devise one's own methodology as a language teacher works in varied classroom settings.

Chapter 2 is Learner-Centred Language Teaching. Nunan himself advocates the learner-centred approach. In this chapter the writer asseverates that the teacher should sensitize students about learning goals and provide them enough independence to make decisions in their own learning process. He is quite aware of the challenges this approach puts before the teachers, so his focal point here is on 'negotiated learning', i.e. negotiation between the teacher's expertise and student's preferences, which makes the core of Learner-Centred Language Teaching approach.

Chapter 3, 4, 5 and 6 talk about the macro skills for learning the second language, they are Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing (LSRW). All four skills in these four chapters are compared and contrasted.

The focus in Chapter 3 is top down and bottom up processing where he discusses the input of the given language and its inference. He later talks about how background knowledge helps us learn a language. The writer also clarifies issues like comprehensible input and $i+1$ and elaborates on background knowledge and scaffolding in small group discussion.

Chapter 4 'Speaking' distinguishes between reproductive and creative speech, focuses on finding the information gap, avoiding errors and encourages students to generate 'real conversation'.

In Chapter 5 entitled 'Reading', the writer introduces three models of reading- Top down, Bottom-up and Interactive reading; and two functions- Reading for communicative purposes and Reading for educational purposes. To enhance reading skills, the writer assigns tasks. For teachers extensive reading, intensive reading and graphic organizer is explained.

Chapter 6 is Writing, which also serves the real and educational purpose. Peer review process is introduced to students. Here the writer aptly addresses controversies around writing as a process and product. The chapter ends on the small group discussion on 'contrastive rhetoric' which is very essential to understand the process of writing in a second language.

After introducing the micro skills, the author introduces Intonation

pattern, Lexical items and Grammar of the second language. The writer has devoted three chapters for this. Chapter 7 'Pronunciation' avoiding many other technical terms, talks mainly about segmental and suprasegmental phonology. 'The role of stress' to elicit right information in the second language is shown by providing many examples.

Chapter 8 'Vocabulary' talks about the role of vocabulary to communicate in a new language. Nunan stresses that content word and function word cannot be taught in isolation and also that knowing a word consists of knowing it with all its elements.

Chapter 9 'Grammar' introduces us to some of the basics but fundamental approaches of grammar, i.e. descriptive and prescriptive grammar, deductive and inductive grammar. In his key principle the writer emphasizes to teach grammatical form vs communicative function, procedural vs declarative knowledge. The writer further elaborates on functional grammar and creative language use. He also differentiates between conscious and subconscious acquisition.

Chapter 10 'Discourse' defines discourse in relation to the context. Exchange structure analysis and concepts of adjacency pairs is elaborated for teachers to make them better understand the topic. And towards the end, there is a discussion on what teachers 'do with language in the classroom' context.

Chapter 11 'Learning Styles and Strategies' elaborates on the relationship between learning style and strategies, how a 'good language learner' uses them more aptly than the 'poor' language learners. The writer introduces his own categories for learning language. The chapter ends with affective issues that can be addressed while learning a new language.

Finally, in Chapter 12 'Assessment', the writer talks about both formal and informal assessment of students in the class. He thinks it an ongoing process in a continuum. This chapter focuses on self and peer assessment and formative assessment and evaluation.

This book literally takes you to the classroom situation and tries to solve the problem right there. Nunan very aptly addresses the real time challenges and dilemmas the teacher could face in language class, at each stage of the learning process. Though through key principles the writer has tried to guide, what can be followed while teaching a class or curriculum, but he has given enough insight to teachers to decide

and devise for themselves. The book talks about teaching, methods, techniques, underlying principles and basic theories. This book is going to be a great help to the language teacher who is new to the field and certainly is a treat to read for even those who are not so new to the field. The book can be a useful resource for those (both learners and teachers alike) who are looking for an authentic guide for Second Language Classroom Teaching.

The reviewer Khushbu Kumari is a Research Scholar in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Roorkee, Roorkee.

E-mail: khushaboobhu@gmail.com

Brian Tomlinson and Hitomi Masuhara, *The Complete Guide to the Theory and Practice of Materials Development for Language Learning*. New Jersey: Wiley & Sons Inc., 2018, ISBN: 9781119054771

Whenever we look for resources on materials development, it is difficult to find books which bring together theory and practice in an organic manner. This book does precisely that; it provides the practicality and accessibility which materials development guides possess (Tomlinson and Masuhara 2004) and the academic rigour of reports and research studies published in the field (Graton and Graves, 2014 and Harwood, 2014).

Tomlinson and Masuhara's book has three specific aims as explained in the preface. First is to help teachers, researchers, students, publishers and writers to know, understand and be constructively critical of what has been achieved to date; secondly to help them develop, adapt, use, publish, review and research materials on their own. Finally, they highlight that they want their strong opinions and approaches presented in the book to inspire readers to think independently and to develop and apply innovative approaches on their own.

These three aims seem to be very ambitious and that is the feeling you get when you read through the chapters. The book includes everything related to the theory and practice in materials development to date. Since it advocates that theory must inform practice and vice versa, each chapter includes a literature review which discusses all the major research trends in that theme. Each chapter ends with a section which includes recommendations from the authors followed by a 'What do you think?' section to encourage the readers to reflect on their own contexts. Some

chapters also include tasks which can be used for teacher education.

One striking feature of the book is that it highlights a number of gaps that exist in the research literature in the area of materials development and also paradoxes which are thought-provoking. It clearly points out in which direction further research and inquiry needs to be undertaken and underlines the need to take on empirical research in the field without discrediting the works which inform experiential understanding. By the end of the book, the reader is forced to question all that is sometimes considered as 'common understanding' about materials development. Throughout the book, the authors refer to their own experiences of having worked on various projects both at global and local levels and thereby a substantial part of the book seems to have a conversation with the reader using 'we', 'I' to refer to their experiences of working in diverse contexts. Since it reports many research studies and projects from various countries of the global south, it is able to provide the readers with an enriching understanding of the dialogues and dilemmas emerging from these diverse locations of theorizing from practice.

The book is organized in fifteen chapters. The first two chapters act as an introduction to the field of materials development and set the background for deeper engagements in the subsequent chapters. The third, fourth and fifth chapters deal with materials evaluation, adaptation and development respectively and constantly refer to various issues emerging in materials production which is linked to methodology. Chapter six discusses the process of publishing course books and provides a thorough understanding of global vs. local. Chapter seven focuses on digital materials and clearly highlights the need to experiment with blended formats to maximize interaction in learning. Chapters eight and nine focus on materials for acquisition and development of skills and show the linkages between materials, methods and acquisition studies. The authors repeatedly highlight the limitations of PPP, grammar centredness, focus on forms (FoFs) which seem to dominate textbook production globally. They suggest a text-driven approach which encourages discovery and provides ample flexibility for both learners and teachers to try out innovative pedagogies and processes. Chapter nine focuses on development of skills and critiques the present trend of developing skills separately in order to attract global markets by earning face validity. The authors recommend the use of pedagogic approaches in which the four skills (LSRW) are integrated such as text-driven, scenario, task-based and CLIL approaches.

Chapters ten and eleven discuss ways to develop materials for specific age groups that is young learners, teenagers and adults. They highlight that consideration of age-specific factors has been overlooked in research. Chapter twelve advocates a gradual syntactization approach for materials development in which the focus is on meaning, communication and confidence in the lower proficiency levels and accuracy and effectiveness become significant as the learners progress to intermediate and advanced levels. This chapter includes a section on ESP and EAP and argues for humanizing EAP materials. Chapter thirteen introduces the readers to the objectives, types and effects of visuals, layout and design in text books and provides some principles and procedures for material writers, publishers and teachers. Chapter fourteen includes detailed discussion on writing instructions for activities highlighting the issues by providing ample examples and also includes criteria which can be handy. The final chapter points out various directions for further exploration and experimentation to be done in the field.

There are a number of useful principles, criteria and questions provided in many of the chapters for materials evaluation, analysis and development which in no way is prescriptive. The authors clearly state that the recommendations are to trigger discussion and they encourage readers to critically evaluate and then apply them to various contexts and arrive at their own frameworks to address local needs and requirements. Although at times the book seems overwhelming as it attempts to provide everything about materials including dense references and detailed research evidences, it successfully achieves its aim to address a wide audience from publishers, researchers to teachers.

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The reviewer Monishita H. Pande is an Assistant Professor in Ambedkar University Delhi.

E-mail: monishita@aud.ac.in

Call for Papers

Fortell, Issue 41 (July 2020)

Special Issue on

Teacher Research as a Tool for Professional Development

As awareness about professional development of teachers is spreading in the 21st century, there is an attempt to find tools that may help teachers upgrade their skills in relation to teaching methodology, assessment, materials development and technology integration. Some of these professional development practices are of a very short duration, often ranging from a day to a week. Moreover, most teachers have very little say in professional development activities. However, the recent research across the world has emphasized 'the importance of providing teachers with participant-driven and intensive opportunities to engage in inquiry and reflection over time with their colleagues about issues that matter to them in the course of their daily work.' (Zeichner 2003, p. 302). Several other scholars have emphasized the role and importance of teacher research as an effective form of professional development across the board at all levels of teaching. It has been argued that the teachers should research their own practices as a form of professional development. Terms such as 'classroom-based research', 'action research', 'exploratory action research', 'practitioner enquiry', etc. are often used alternatively to describe teacher research. Articles are invited on topics including, but not limited, to the following:

- action research studies
- effectiveness of new pedagogic experiments
- mentoring of teacher researchers
- impact of teacher research on students' language skills
- role of factors like management, culture, motivation, etc.

Apart from the theme area, **articles of general and wider interest to teachers of English language and literature are also welcome.**

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Guest Editors

Rachna Sethi is Assistant Professor at the Department of English, Rajdhani College, University of Delhi.

Santosh Mahapatra is Assistant Professor at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Birla Institute of Technology and Science, Pilani (Hyderabad Campus).

Last date for submission: 29 February, 2020

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Call for Papers

Fortell, Issue 42 (January 2021)

**Special Issue on
Key issues in Materials Development
for Teaching English Language and Literature**

English Language Teaching in second and foreign language contexts in Asian countries and in other similar contexts across the globe is a complex network of country-specific language policy, curriculum, instructional materials, and teacher-learner transaction of each of these constructs to pave way for target language development in class and beyond it. The goals of such a language education are immediate as well as long term and for their realization, learner needs would have to be catered to, which quite often are not entirely present in the instructional materials included in the prescribed textbooks. This necessitates that we look for good practices in developing classroom based teaching materials that would benefit ESL/EFL teachers as well as materials developers. In recent times, there are a multitude of theoretical concepts that inform materials development such as task-based language teaching, content based language teaching like teaching language through literature and folklore, use of multilingual materials to suit the needs of learners who come from a variety of L1 backgrounds, and use of corpora and ICT to design materials for the development of the four skills in an integrated manner.

In this issue of *Fortell*, we invite papers from teachers, early career researchers and ELT practitioners who can contribute to ESL/EFL teachers' understanding of adapting, producing and transacting materials to teach English as a language as well as a subject, commonly referred to as Teaching of English Literature, to suit learners' needs and address their real life goals.

The sub-themes include, but are not limited to:

- Process of Materials Development: selection, adaptation, evaluation and production
- Materials for integrated language learning
- Need for teacher training in Materials Development

- From theory to practice: Real classroom transactions
- Materials for distance education/blended learning
- Needs-based materials production: Some case studies
- Materials for Specific purposes (ESP,EAP etc)
- Materials for socially and physically disadvantaged children
- Teachers as materials developers: Boon or bane?

Apart from the theme area, **articles of general and wider interest to teachers of English language and literature are also welcome.**

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Guest Editors

Ruchi Kaushik is Associate Professor at the Department of English, Sri Ram College of Commerce, University of Delhi.

Lina Mukhopadhyay is Associate Professor, Department of Training and Development, English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad

Last date for submission: August 31, 2020

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About FORTELL

FORTELL (Forum for Teachers of English Language and Literature), an autonomous organization was set up in 1989 in Delhi by about a hundred teachers of English. From its humble beginnings three decades ago, it has grown to nearly 500 members from schools and colleges across the country. It is an internationally recognised body and is an affiliate of TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), USA and an associate of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language), UK.

FORTELL has organized numerous workshops and seminars over the years in areas of teaching methodology, materials development and curriculum design for professional development of teachers of English. Its resource persons are academically recognised for training programmes in English Studies. Moreover the journal published by **FORTELL** is its most visually recognized face in academia. *Fortell* is a bi-annual peer-reviewed journal available in both print (ISSN 2229-6557) and online (ISSN 2394-9244) versions. It has published 40 issues so far, and the entire archive through its open access policy is available on the website (www.fortell.org). The journal, with its thrust on pedagogical issues, is a pioneer in attempting to bridge the fields of literature and language and in linking theoretical concerns with classroom practices. Catering to both college and school teachers, it plays a significant role as an interface between school teaching and higher education.

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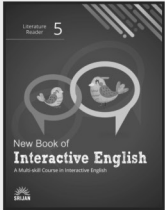
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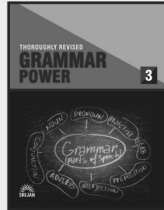
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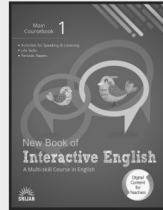
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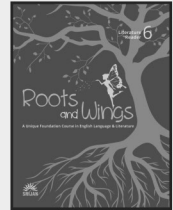
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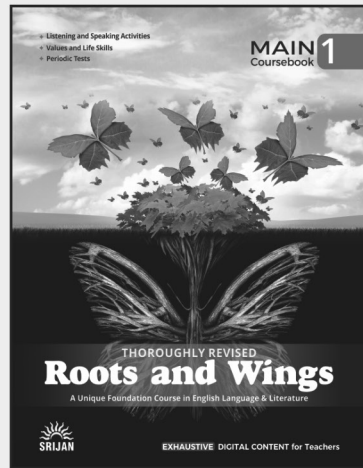
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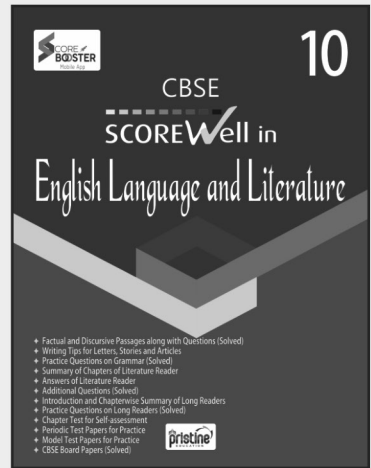
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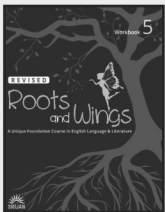
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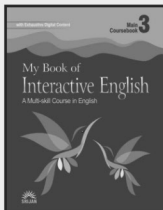
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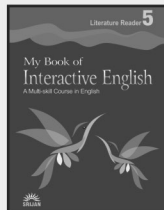
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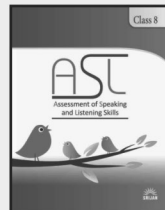
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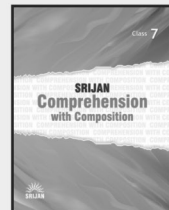
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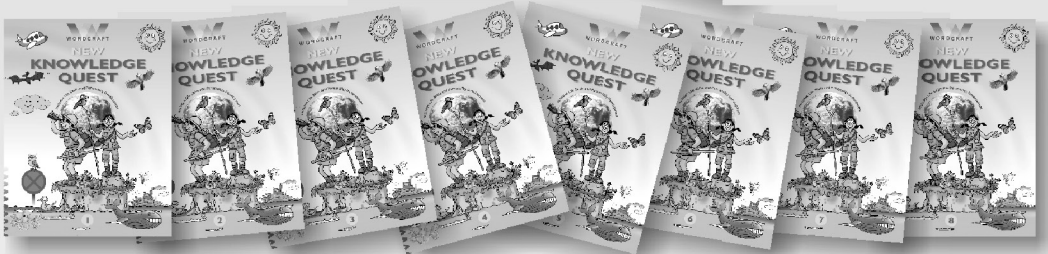
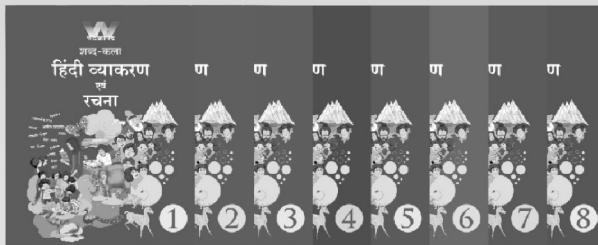
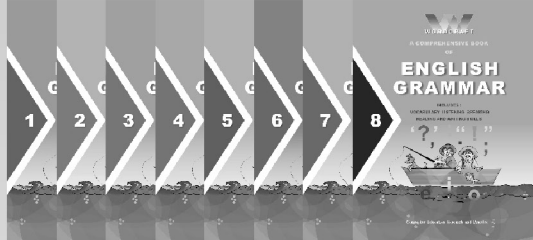
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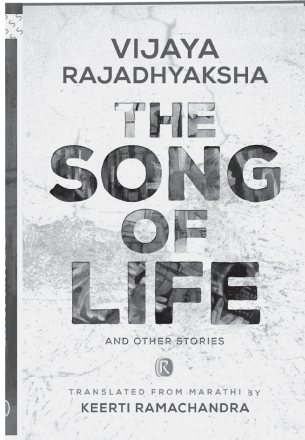
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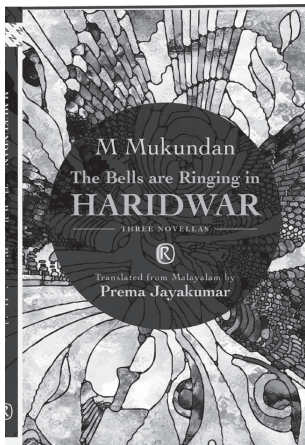
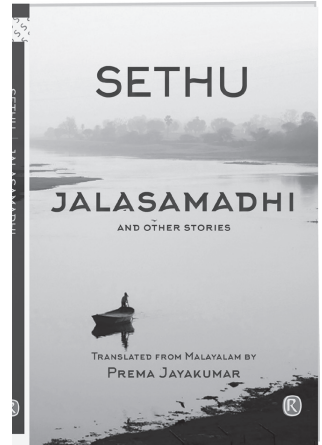
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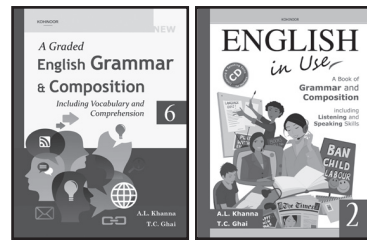
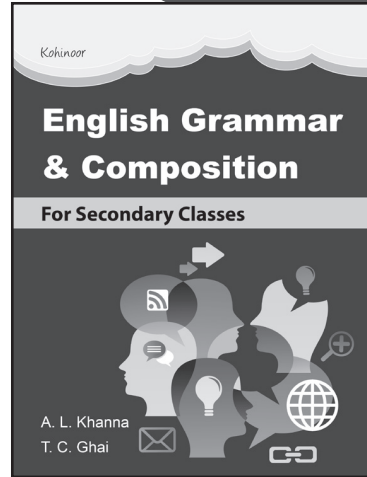
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