



NETAJI SUBHAS OPEN UNIVERSITY

STUDY MATERIAL

PGELT

PAPER 1
Modules 1- 4

POST GRADUATE

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PREFACE

In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students of Post-Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post-Graduate course in a subject is introduced by this University is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation.

Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post-Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analysis.

The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Cooperation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of a proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in 'invisible teaching'. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other.

The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that they may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University.

Needless to add, a great deal of these efforts are still experimental—in fact, pioneering in certain areas. Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned.

Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar

Vice-Chancellor

PREFACE

First Reprint : July 2019

Printed in accordance with the regulations of the Distance Education
Bureau of the University Grants Commission.

POST GRADUATE : ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING
[PG : ELT]

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MODULES - 1-4

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Unit 1 □ Traditional Approach to Linguistics

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0.1 Objectives

The objectives of this unit are to enable you to—

- have a clear idea of what the terms “language” and “linguistics” mean—
 - be aware of the very long history of language study;
 - become particular with some of the basic questions which have determined the study of language;
 - recognize the continuity of some basic concepts in the study of language;
 - be aware of the distinction between scholarly studies of languages and school grammars.
-

1.0 Introduction to the Module

As part of the M.A. (ELT) course you will be introduced to various important theoretical notions that would be of great relevance to you. This module will introduce you to various approaches to linguistics. But before these different approaches are discussed it is felt necessary to tell you very clearly about (i) what we mean by language and (ii) what is meant by linguistics. Usually these notions are taken for granted and not clearly defined. We will, therefore, try to define or describe them in clear and unambiguous terms to steer clear of any confusion or vagueness. Then we will pass on to the three major approaches to linguistics—the traditional, the structural and the cognitive. Our objectives will be to help you understand these three different

approaches to language and language study and the nature of their differences. We will discuss the theoretical postulations and practical frameworks within which they operate. This module, therefore, proposes to familiarize you with the complex and fascinating world of language and linguistics.

1.1 Language

Linguistics is usually defined as 'a scientific study of language'. As language is the subject of linguistic enquiry any discussion on linguistics has to begin with a note on language. Language has always been the subject of interest and investigation of not only linguists, but also of philosophers, psychologists, logicians, literary critics, poets and other creative artists. Naturally, they all have looked at language from different perspectives; and no satisfactory definition of language has ever emerged. The term 'language' in your course has been used in a restricted sense; it refers to natural languages like Bangla, English, Hindi, French, Sanskrit, etc. which are (or were) spoken by human beings at one time or another. Gesture languages, like the language of the deaf, and artificial languages like the Morse code or the traffic signal system, etc. are not natural languages and, therefore, outside the scope of our discussion.

1.1.1.

It will perhaps be easier for you to understand the entity called 'language' if we talk about some of its salient features. Language is primarily a means of communication. By using language, members of a speech community can communicate between themselves. And this act of communication becomes possible as language uses vocal symbols.

1.1.2.

Another remarkable characteristic feature of linguistic symbols is that they are internally structured. For example, the word 'tip' derives its meaning from the way its sounds are arranged—[t] first, [i] next and [p] finally. If this structure of the sounds is changed, then we would get either a different word 'pit' or a few nonsense strings. This principle of patterning is used not only at the level of sounds making words but also at the higher level of words making sentences. This feature of language is called 'Structure dependence'.

1.1.3.

The feature of internal structuring with the possibility of combining a fixed set of words in different ways by using the grammatical rules of a language leads to what we call 'creativity' or 'productivity' of language. And it is this feature of creativity that distinguishes human language from animal communication systems.

1.1.4.

Language is a unique possession of man. Though animals, birds and insects also have their own system of communication, there is a whole world of difference between language and those animal communication systems. No animal communication system is 'creative' or 'open-ended'. They are closed systems where no new message can be created or communicated; but in a language, by creatively ordering and re-ordering

the words in different structures, an infinite number of messages can be communicated.

1.1.5.

Language is conventional and non-instinctive. It is a set of conventions shared by the members of a speech community. And language learning is learning these conventions. On the contrary, animal communication systems are instinctive and genetically programmed. Moreover, human language is extendable and modifiable; there is scope for any human language to acquire new items or words. But animal communication systems are static, beyond any modification or open-endedness.

1.2. Linguistics

We have already mentioned that linguistics is a scientific study of language. 'Language' we have discussed in some detail. Now, what is a scientific study?

A study is an investigation or careful observation. So 'studying' a language is investigating into the mechanism of that language. In other words, it is looking into how that language system operates.

And a study becomes scientific if it works within the rigid set of principles of a science. For instance, every science has a clearly defined subject-matter and the scientist follows a rigorous procedure for observing and recording data for his subject-matter. The scientist's objective or goal is to offer scientific explanation by constructing a theory. And a good and effective scientific theory, therefore, (i) explains data already observed and also (ii) predicts potential data. For example, Newton's theory of gravitation provides us with not only an explanation of observed data (the apple falling down rather than going up) but also a prediction of potential data (how far a stone will reach when it is thrown upwards with a certain speed, etc.).

As a science, linguistics has language as its subject matter. Like any other science it follows a set of scientific methods to observe, record and explain matters related to language. A linguist, therefore, constructs a theory on language that explains data already observed and predicts potential data. Linguists are continually improving and modifying their principles of observation and constructing better theories. Thus linguistic theories like other scientific theories, continually change. A theory which is found inadequate in its predictive and explanatory ability is superseded by a better theory with greater explanatory power. You will later see in this course how one linguistic paradigm differs from another in fundamental ways (the traditional paradigm, the structuralist paradigm and the generative paradigm).

1.3. Traditional Linguistics

The term traditional in linguistics today is used as almost a blanket term covering about two thousand five hundred years of language study beginning with the pre-Socratic philosophers till the 20th century, i.e. the time of Ferdinand de Saussure. During this vast span of time we had the Greeks, the Romans, the thirteenth century scholastic philosophers /speculative grammarians, the seventeenth century Port Royal grammarians in France, the eighteenth century grammarians Leibniz and Sir William

Jones due to whom we had the famous 19th century brand of linguistics known as comparative philology. Alongside this scholarly tradition of linguistics we also had a very rich tradition of school grammars which tried to capture the structural essence of linguistic configurations in human languages. When we refer to traditional linguistics we refer to both the scholarly tradition and the tradition of school grammars. On the one hand, the school grammars had a number of intrinsic limitations and weaknesses which are now known as fallacies of traditional grammar and on the other hand, the scholarly tradition of linguistics did have a principled approach to language and language study which, down the centuries, has shaped our way of looking into language as a human phenomenon and linguistics as a science.

1.3.1. General Comments

It has already been mentioned that for more than two thousand years language has been an object of interest and inquiry. From the earliest days of human civilization scholars and philosophers have noticed a philosophical and religious association of language. In many cultures God or a divine being is believed to be the creator of language. According to Egyptian mythology the god Thoth created speech and writing; the Hindus owe their gift of writing to Lord Brahma; the Icelandic sagas refer to Odin as the creator of runic script; a god-sent water turtle brings the gift of writing to the Chinese. And, according to the Book of Genesis : And the Lord God having formed out of the ground all the beasts of the earth, and all the fowls of the air brought them to Adam to see what he would call them: for what-so-ever Adam called any living creature the same is its name...

In many religions there are sacred texts occupying a central position which are deemed to be protected from any linguistic change, modification and corruption; in some religions introduction to literacy takes place through the religious scriptures. The relation between language and religion, therefore, is as old as religion itself. Here is a list of the sacred texts of some of the major religions of the world.

Buddhism : The Pali Canon contained the teachings of Lord Buddha and was based on oral tradition.

Hinduism : The Vedas were written in Sanskrit and preserved through the oral tradition (Shruti).

Judaism : The Old Testament in Hebrew is traditionally believed to have been written by Moses.

Christianity : The Bible consists of 39 books of the old Testament written in Hebrew and 27 books of the New Testament written in classical Greek.

Islam : The Qur'an is written in classical Arabic and is believed to have been dictated to the Prophet Mohammed by Allah during the month of Ramadan.

From the early times scholars and thinkers have tried to understand and interpret not only the relation between language and religion but also the relation between language and other branches of knowledge, like philosophy, logic, art, literature, mathematics, etc. Even various issues of language analysis were addressed and aspects of language structure, like pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar were studied with great introspection.

1.3.2. The Greeks

The history of western linguistics, as in the case of other branches of knowledge, begins with the Greeks. The earliest records that we have had access to show that even Pre-Socratic philosophers and early rhetoricians did talk about language and its structure though their observations and comments appear to be fragmentary and incomprehensive. The first extant document on language is found in one of Plato's dialogues, Cratylus, which presents a debate on the subject of the origin of language and the relation between words and their meanings. The dialogue takes place first between Socrates and Hermogenes and then between Socrates and Cratylus. Hermogenes holds the opinion that language is 'conventional' (a product of convention) and the relation between words and their referents is just arbitrary. On the other hand, Cratylus holds the view that there is a 'natural' relation between words and their meanings. This debate between the conventionalist and naturalist position continues and no conclusion is arrived at. But this debate initiated and led to a detailed study of the Greek language.

The traditional classification of words into 'parts of speech' was first introduced by Plato and he recognized for the first time the distinction between a nominal, onoma and a verbal, rhema. But his categories were logical categories — a noun (onoma) being a 'term' in a 'proposition' and a verb (rhema) being a 'predicate' in a proposition. For instance, the sentence Mohan teased Manini is a proposition which has two terms — Mohan and Manini — and a predicate teased. Thus Plato used logical criteria for the description of linguistic facts in Greek.

Aristotle maintained Plato's criteria but added a new class — syndesmoi — which covered pronouns, articles and conjunctions (and perhaps prepositions also). He defined the word as a minimal meaningful unit or component of the sentence. (Aristotle's definition of the word reminds us of the Bloomfieldians' definition of the morpheme) He also recognized the tense of the verb and, like Protagoras, identified gender in nouns.

The stoic philosophers proposed a four 'parts of speech' framework which included nouns, verbs, articles and conjunctions. The system of eight parts of speech is associated with Dionysius Thrax, the great Alexandrian grammarian who is known in the west as the writer of the first comprehensive and systematic grammar of a language (Hé Techné Grammatike). In addition to the four parts of speech of the Stoics, Dionysius recognized adverbs, participles, pronouns and prepositions. Like the Stoics, he also classified the adjectives with the nouns. Though Aristotle identified certain features of what may be called changing word-forms, the discovery of inflections including case is associated with the Stoics.

As already evident, Greek linguistics started off as part of philosophy and logic and the Greek linguists were chiefly concerned with the metaphysical problems of language. And throughout the period the focus was mainly on the written form of language. (In fact, the word 'grammar' — grammatike — originally meant 'the art of writing'.) 'Speech' was considered to be a deviation from the standard of the written form and therefore a 'corrupt' form of language. The importance of literature reinforced this supremacy of the written form over speech — a phenomenon which continued down the centuries.

The great achievement of the Greek linguists and language philosophers was devising and systematizing a formal terminology for the description of the Greek language which has served as the basis of a metalanguage for language study for generations of linguists all over the world for more than two thousand years. As H. Robins (1980) comments :

The Greek triumph in intellectual civilization is to have done so much in so many fields; their work in logic, ethics, politics, rhetoric, and mathematics, to mention only some subjects, comes to mind at once. Their achievement in that part of linguistics in which they were strongest, namely grammatical theory and grammatical description, is strong enough to deserve and to sustain critical examination. It is almost such as to inspire our gratitude and admiration.

1.3.3. The Romans

As elsewhere, in linguistic studies also, the Romans were greatly influenced by the Greeks. They followed basically the Greek framework for the description of Latin and used the Greek categories and terminology without any substantial change. It is believed that the linguistic thoughts and observations of the Greeks were first brought to Rome by Crates (2nd century B.C.), a stoic philosopher and commentator on Homer. He came to Rome as an envoy and while sightseeing met with an accident and was therefore detained there. While convalescing, he passed his time giving lectures on language and literature and it was through this series of lectures that Greek linguistics entered Rome.

However, the first comprehensive grammar of Latin was written by Marcus Terentius Varro (116 - 27 B.C.). His De lingua Latina ('on the Latin language') is a systematic treatise on Latin grammar which comprised twenty five volumes, of which only six books and fragments of a few others survive. Here we have the threefold division of language study into etymology, morphology and syntax. Varro's linguistic description broke away from the Greek tradition and on several issues his observations appear to be strikingly modern. For instance, he recognized the social and communicative function of language as more important and primary than its function as a tool for logical analysis and enquiry.

Towards the end of the first millennium and the beginning of the second century a number of works on language and rhetoric made great contributions to the subject. Cicero (106 - 43 B.C.) wrote on style, Julius Caesar (102 - 44 B. C.) on grammatical regularity, Quintilian (1st century B. C.) dwelt on education as well as grammar and usage and Donatus (4th century A. D.) wrote Ars Major which was a very popular and influential work.

But the most influential Latin grammar was the grammar of Priscian (512 - 600 A.D.) written in Constantinople. This book, Institutiones grammaticae ('Grammatical Categories'), was a monumental work comprising eighteen books rich in quotations from classical authors. It became famous in the Middle Ages and survives in more than a thousand manuscripts. Priscian's description of the language of classical Latin literature was very systematic. He begins his discussion with pronunciation and syllable structure and then passes on to morphology, defining the word as the minimal unit of sentence structure and finally moves on to the description of the

syntax of Latin. On the whole, Priscian's grammar was influenced by the works of Dionysius Thrax and it drew heavily on the works of Apollonius Dyscolus. Priscian's use of the classic authors like Virgil and Cicero rather than his contemporaries as the data for his linguistic analysis did reinforce the Greek misconception that the great literary pieces of the 'golden' past constituted 'pure' language which was worth studying whereas the contemporary language was 'base' and therefore deserved the grammarian's neglect.

In reviewing Priscian's work as a whole it should be remembered that it is more than the end of an era. It is the result of a long period of Greco-Roman unity. It is also the bridge between antiquity and the Middle Ages in linguistic scholarship.

1.3.4. The Indians

While the Greeks and the Romans were shaping what we have referred to as early Western linguistics, a rich tradition of language study was being developed by the Indian linguists about the same time and even earlier. These descriptive studies could have influenced western thinking on language and linguistics to a very great extent had they reached the western world during that time. But it was only in the 19th century that these findings of oriental linguistics came to be known in the west.

The motivation for early Indian linguistics was to preserve the sacred religious texts, The Vedas, which were orally transmitted and to protect them from change (with the change of time) as change was considered to be profanation, if not corruption. Therefore, a need for producing an authoritative text was felt and a framework for comprehensive, yet minute, linguistic description (including phonetics, etymology, syntax and metrics) was evolved and quite systematically formalized. That is to say, the response to the stimulus of preserving the sanctity of the text went far beyond and, as a scholar has observed :

... a scientific curiosity, coupled with keen audition and an effective methodology, led to descriptions which must surely have transcended their original terms of reference.

The first extant linguistic description of Sanskrit is found in the famous works of the great grammarian Panini (between 5th and 7th Century B.C.). His grammar Astadhyayi ('Eight books') is presented in the form of 4000 sutras (aphorisms) and is considered to be the earliest description of any Indo-European language". As Bloomfield (1935) has commented, it is "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence". Astadhyayi deals chiefly with word formation but it is also significant for its phonetic description and the notions of Sandhi (the morphophonemic processes in which sounds influence each other in connected speech). The treatise is remarkable for its precision and hence the sutras have required extensive and elaborate explanation and commentary down the centuries.

This work of Sanskrit Indian scholarship was the inspiration for the successive generations of Indian scholars who engaged themselves in linguistic works, like Tolkappiyam (2nd century B. C.) which is one of the earliest descriptive grammars of Tamil.

1.3.5. The Medieval Period

What is known as the Middle Ages in Europe is a long span of about nine centuries between the fall of the Roman empire and the Renaissance. The first six centuries after 'the decline and fall' of the Roman empire was a period of turmoil, known as the Dark Ages, and very little is known about the developments of language and language study during this period. But it is evident that Latin remained the language of learning and it served as a link between the classical and medieval periods. It is also evident that the basic educational framework during this time was firmly rooted in 'the seven liberal arts': grammar, dialectic (logic) and rhetoric constituted the first part, trivium, and music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, the second part, quadrivium. Grammar was thus the foundation of medieval education both as a liberal art and as a means of reading and writing Latin.

From the twelfth century onwards medieval civilisation started gaining its lost glory and in the history of linguistic science this period was significant as the period of scholasticism. The scholastic philosophers, under the influence of Aristotle's principle of logical deduction, tried to attain Truth through deductions from the premises. They believed that language reflected reality and, therefore, one effective way of analysing reality was analysing language. And the grammarians of this period, therefore, were known as 'speculative grammarians' (the term 'speculative' is derived from speculum which means mirror). This view of language reflecting the essential reality underlying the physical world led to the conception of an underlying universal grammar for all human languages — a recurrent theme in theoretical linguistics and an object of a quest for the successive generations of linguists till today including Chomsky with his notion of 'innatism' and 'universal grammar' (UG).

Other important developments that took place in the medieval period were in the fields of lexicography and translation. This happened with the increase in Christian missionary activities and the Byzantine writers' enthusiasm for introducing and expounding the Greek authors in the East.

1.3.6. The Renaissance and After

During the renaissance the discovery of the New World and the revival of ancient learning influenced the field of language study to a very great extent. Developments in different fronts — missionary activities producing enormous linguistic material, the discovery of the Chinese linguistic tradition, developments in Arabic and Hebrew studies, the writing of grammars of many exotic languages in the sixteenth century, systematic study of many European languages and publication of the first grammars of many of these languages, setting up of various academies, availability of printing, etc. — brought about many changes in the orientation and attitude to language study during and after the Renaissance.

During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the debate between the empiricists and the rationalists dominated the philosophical world and their respective views substantially influenced the treatment of various linguistic issues and questions already raised. Empiricism grew as a challenge to the prevailing ideas of medieval scholasticism while the rationalist grammars were in certain ways the successors of medieval scholastic grammars. During more or less the same period

several other factors moulded the shape and structure of linguistic study — the replacement of Latin as a 'universal medium of communication' by modern languages, proposals for universal languages, shorthand systems and secret codes, an awareness of the needs for a systematic approach to phonetics, production of grammars based on universal principles (the seventeenth century Port Royal Grammar is an instance) and the development of a tradition of school grammars.

But it was only in the nineteenth century that linguistic study started taking a scientific turn in the study of historical relationship between languages with the consequence of the emergence of comparative Philology as a distinct linguistic science.

1.3.7. Comparative Philology

As mentioned already, language study had remained mostly unscientific till the nineteenth century. The issues related to the origin and development of languages and man's first language were strongly and even passionately debated. Many scholars subscribed to the view that Hebrew was man's first language. But there were others with different views. Interestingly, one Swedish scholar, Andreas Kemke, held that in the Garden of Eden God spoke Swedish, Adam spoke Danish and the Serpent, French.

Though Sir William Jones' discovery of the historical kinship of Sanskrit with Latin, Greek and the Germanic languages is considered to be one of the greatest achievements in the field of linguistics, it was not really the beginning of historical comparative linguistic study. Historical issues had been raised before and historical relations between languages had been studied down the centuries, though not always very systematically. The works of J. J. Scaliger (1540 -1609) and Leibniz (1646 - 1716) were very significant in this respect. In fact, Leibniz's interest in studying the relationship between languages and establishing a linguistic genealogy paved the way for the systematic and scientific study in historical comparative linguistics in the 18th-19th Century. Leibniz found nothing wrong in having a monogenetic theory of the world's languages but he never sought their origin in any living or attested language including Hebrew. He inspired his contemporaries to study and describe extant languages and establish their genealogy.

But the contribution of Sir William Jones is considered to be one of the four major 'break throughs' in the development of modern linguistics up to the present day. During his 9-year stay in India as a judge in the British court here Jones studied Sanskrit with a remarkable interest and devotion and acquired an impleccable mastery of the language. He was fascinated and surprised by the striking similarities between Sanskrit, the classical language of India and Latin, Greek and the Germanic languages of Europe. The year 1786 is regarded as a landmark in the history of linguistics as he read his famous paper (on 2 February that year) to the Royal Asiatic Society. Jones observed :

"The Sanskrit language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine the Sanskrit, Greek and

Latin, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic had the same origin with the Sanskrit."

The effects of Jones' statement were profound and far-reaching and his observations inspired a whole generation of linguists to make in-depth studies of the similarities and differences between languages across the borders of countries and continents. Later researchers showed that many European languages and some Asian languages had their origin in the same source language — Proto Indo-European. Language families were established; changes at the levels of sound systems, lexis and grammar were scientifically studied and described; the rich Indian linguistic tradition came to be somewhat widely known in Europe as Panini's description of Sanskrit gained international acclaim for its exhaustiveness, systematicity, clarity and precision.

Jacob Grimm, following his contemporary Rasmus Rask, discovered certain systematic correspondence between the sound system of Indo-European languages (e.g. the correspondence between [p] and [f], etc.). His principled study of such interrelations at the level of sound changes is now famous as Grimm's Law and it had left its indelible mark on the later researches of the Junggrammatiker or Neogrammarians.

The major contributions of comparative philology can be outlined in the following way :

(i) It established a methodology for studying the similarities and differences between languages at different levels of linguistic representation which led to the setting up of language families.

(ii) It tried to develop a general theory for linguistic change and linguistic interrelations.

(iii) It established the importance of the linguistic facts of languages (the real linguistic data) rather than the speculation or perception about languages in carrying out language study and research systematically.

And all this paved the way for making linguistics what it is today - an autonomous scientific discipline.

1.4. Summing up

This thumbnail sketch of the historical development of traditional linguistics gives us some idea about the traditionalists' approach to language. We will see in the next unit on the structuralist approach to linguistics that they rejected the traditionalist's mode of language analysis and their perception of language. But in reality the structuralists' reaction was against the tradition of school grammars which had many limitations and shortcomings. The Western and Oriental scholarly tradition of language study, as we have seen already, was free of many of the limitations of school grammars.

The practical framework of language study in this traditional school did have many strengths also. Their syntactic analysis was based on 'Parsing'. They described the parts of speech, the grammatical form and function(s) of a word in a particular sentence and then divided sentences into parts (i.e. different constituents, phrases,

clauses, etc.) and described their grammatical forms and functions by capturing their syntactic interrelations.

The traditional linguists used meaning and intuition in their descriptive framework as a tool but later linguists like Chomsky and the Chomskyans did utilise the native speaker's intuition as data, though not as a tool. Though the structural linguists rejected traditional linguistics primarily as an 'unscientific' model of description, the cognitivists (or generativists) borrowed many of the insights of traditional linguistics in a remarkable way. In fact, they reacted more severely against the structuralists and looked upon traditional linguistics with great but cautious attention.

Review Question 1

- (i) What do you think are the greatest achievements of the Greek linguists and language philosophers?
- (ii) What is 'Cratylus'? What is its subject?
- (iii) What is meant by the debate between the conventionalists and the naturalists?
- (iv) What is Varro's contribution to linguistics?
- (v) Comment on Priscian's Grammar?
- (vi) Why did Bloomfield say that Panini's Astadhyayi "is one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence"?

(These answers should not exceed 100 words each)

Review Question 2

- (i) Write a note on the development of linguistics during the Renaissance. (150 words)
- (ii) Write a short essay on Sir William Jones' contribution to linguistics. (200 words)
- (iii) What is Comparative Philology? What are the major contributions of Comparative Philology in the field of language study? (150 words)

1.5 Books Recommended

1. Duineers, F. P. 1967 : *An introduction to General Linguistics*. New York etc : Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
2. Howalt, A. P. R. 1984 : *A History of English Language Teaching*. London : Oxford University Press.
3. Kelly, L. G. 1969 : *25 Centuries of Language Teaching*. Rowley, Mean : New bury House.
4. Robins, R. H. 1979 : *A Short History of Linguistics*. London : Longman. First edition 1967.

Unit 2 □ Structuralist Approach to Linguistics

Structures

2.0 Objectives

2.0.1. Introduction

2.1 The Structuralist Criticism of Traditional Grammar

2.1.1. The Latinate Fallacy

2.1.2. The Semantic Fallacy

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1.0 Objectives

The objectives of this unit is to enable you to –

- become familiar with the basic assumptions of the structuralist approach to linguistics and its approach, method and technique.
- handle various kinds of linguistic data and apply structuralists' principles to these.
- determine or identify phonemes and allophones from data provided.
- make morphological analysis and name the processes involved.
- make labelled IC analyses of English sentences.

1.0.1. Introduction

Linguists belonging to all schools of thought in all ages can be referred to as structuralists as they all deal with the structure of language. But the term 'structuralist' in linguistics is applied specifically to the approach, method and technique of language study undertaken in America by the linguistics of the first half of the 20th century who came under the influence of the American anthropologists-turned-linguists — Boas, Sapir and Bloomfield.

American structuralism, therefore, had its roots in anthropology. In the early years of the century the anthropologists were actively engaged in the study of the American Indian (Red Indian) tribes of North America. They were in a desperate bid to study as many of the tribes and that too as fast as possible, because many of the tribes were fast dying out. In course of their work they came in close contact with an enormous diversity of native Red Indian languages and were confronted with many startling facts about them. They found that these languages, mostly without any alphabet, were essentially very different from familiar languages like Greek, Latin, English, etc. For instance, in one of the languages they discovered strange facts about the Pronominal system. In English the pronouns are marked with person (First Person, Second Person or Third Person), Number (Singular or Plural) and, in some cases, Gender (Masculine, Feminine or Neuter). But in this language distinctions between animate long and animate short, animate moving and animate at rest were made. So a noun would be replaced by one pronoun if the noun is tall and another if it is short. It will have one pronoun if it is running and another if it is lying in bed. These anthropologists were stuck by such strange and hitherto unknown linguistic features. Their expectation that all human languages would behave more or less like English (or any other Indo-European language) received a jolt but they were fascinated by the strange complexity of these languages. As a result, these anthropologists turned into linguists and faced the challenge of scientifically describing these exotic languages. And their linguistics borrowed a lot of things from anthropology, the fieldwork methodology being the most salient one.

Against the background of this revelation of linguistic facts of a very different nature, these linguists now looked back at English (and other familiar languages) to check if the grammar of the language was really a description of its linguistic facts. And they found that the traditional grammars of English mentioned and described

many linguistic features and categories which never existed in the English language. For example, the traditional grammars of English talked about three Tenses and six cases though there was evidence for only two Tense forms (Past and Present) and three Case forms (Nominative, Possessive and Objective) in English. On close scrutiny they detected many limitations and shortcomings of traditional grammars which they called the fallacies of traditional grammar. Let us now look into this structuralist critique of traditional grammars. (Please remember that these fallacies are associated with the tradition of school grammars in particular. The rich and scholarly tradition of Western linguistics was free of most of these fallacies.)

2.1. The Structuralist Criticism of Traditional Grammar

2.1.1. The Latinate Fallacy : The traditional grammarians borrowed the framework of Latin grammar for describing English and other languages. As a result, the English version of Latin grammar passed on as English grammar. And, therefore, there was no support of linguistic evidence from English to prove that English had six cases (English has two cases for Nouns and three for Pronouns) or three Tenses (English has two). This proves that the case system or the Tense system was borrowed from Latin instead of an in-depth study of English. This fallacy of using the grammatical model of one language for the description of another is known, therefore, as the Latinate fallacy. Modern linguists would say every language is a unique system and, therefore, it has to be studied in its own right and merit.

2.1.2. The Semantic Fallacy : The traditional grammarians used meaning in the definition or description of grammatical categories. This use of meaning as a tool or criterion in linguistic description makes grammar unscientific because meaning itself cannot be scientifically captured. Meaning is vague, context-bound and subjective.

Let us consider the definition of an interrogative sentence in traditional grammar: "An interrogative sentence is one that asks a question". Now, a sentence like "Could you pass me the salt?" is an interrogative sentence as we all know. But does it ask a question? Of course, not. It is actually making a request. The point is that such meaning-based definitions are misleading, fallacious and, therefore, unscientific. The definition of an interrogative has to be form-based or structure-based and not meaning-based. This is true of many definitions in traditional grammar which are meaning-based and thus fallacious.

2.1.3. The Logical Fallacy: The traditional linguists held that the rules of grammar should be governed by the laws of logic. This belief they inherited from the speculative grammarians of the Middle Ages who thought that human language mirrored the universe and because the principle, of logic governed the universe they governed language also.

But we find that in every human language there are expressions/utterances which may not be considered valid from the point of view of logic. Expressions like 'rounder' or 'more perfect' are very common for the speakers of languages (as in English) though they are not logically valid (as something can be either round or not/round or perfect or not). Therefore, such expressions by the native speakers of a language are

linguistically well-formed and acceptable, irrespective of their logical validity. In English, the traditional grammarian's observation that it has three tense forms - past, present and future - is an example of logical fallacy. As there are three times - past, present and future - there has to be three tenses. But we know that English has no future tense; futurity is expressed with the help of various linguistic devices, like the use of modals, like shall or will, etc. Tense is an inflection and there is no future tense marked on an English verb.

In Bangla, for instance, we have three tenses-

khaj - eat (I eat)

khelam - ate (I ate)

khabo - shall eat (I shall eat)

And all the tenses are marked on the root verb kha as inflections. But in English we have only the present and the past tense. The logic that three times will have to be represented by three tenses is not linguistically validated for English.

Please note here that this traditional statement regarding three tenses in English is also an illustration of Latinate fallacy as well as semantic fallacy.

In modern linguistics we say that there need not be always a one-to-one correspondence between tense and time. Time is a semantic category and Tense is a grammatical category and there may not be a logical one-to-one correspondence between the two. This is true of sex and gender and countability and number.

2.1.4. The Fallacy of 'lack of explicitness'

Many definitions or descriptions in traditional grammar are not explicit. In other words, they are not clearly, precisely and unambiguously stated. For example, let us take Jespersen's definition or description of subject (and also predicate) in his famous book Essentials of English Grammar :

"In such a simple sentence as The dog barks - and naturally also in clauses like that the dog barks or when the dog barks - we call the dog subject and barks predicate."

The grammarian's description of the notion 'subject' is inexpertly and yet he assumes that the reader/learner understands what a 'subject' is.

2.1.5. The Fallacy of Mixing up Different Criteria

The traditionalists mixed up various criteria in their description of grammatical items and structures. Sometimes they used semantic criteria, sometimes formal and sometimes functional. Depending on the context, they would describe the same item in different ways and assign it different categorical status. For example, they would describe 'science' as a noun, let us say, in a structure like He's studying science and would call it an adjective in a structure like He is studying in science college because in the latter sentence science functions as a modifier of the noun college. Thus they mixed up different criteria leading to a descriptive framework which does not remain scientific. Modern linguists, therefore, reject such a framework and they are in favour of a consistent and formal set of criteria for defining different word-classes.

2.1.6. The Written Form Fallacy : The traditional linguists used the written form of the language as their data and, therefore, their description of a language was the

description of the written form of the language. The spoken form was completely ignored. From the modern linguist's point of view, this is a fallacy because speech is primary and the written form is only a codification of speech. This fallacy led to the neglect of phonology in traditional grammar. You will perhaps remember that we have already said that the traditional linguists dealt with two basic units in language - word and sentence.

2.1.7. The Prescriptive Fallacy : The traditionalists prescribed, in many cases, the norms of language use for the native speaker. For example, many grammarians had suggested that in English split infinitives should be avoided. But many native speakers of English use this structure; they would prefer 'to kindly grant me' to 'kindly to grant me'. A grammarian's job is to observe data i.e. the native speaker's speech and then describe it faithfully and scientifically instead of prescribing norms for the speaker. In other words, linguistics, according to the modern linguists, should be descriptive and not prescriptive.

2.1.8. The Fallacy of Ignoring Language Variations

The traditional grammarians considered language 'monolithic'. They ignored different varieties of the same language - dialectal and register varieties - and paid attention to only one variety, the written language of great literary writers of the past. This is a huge fallacy because language is what people speak and all varieties of a language need to be scientifically studied.

2.2. Summing Up

We have touched on some of the major fallacies in traditional grammar. This was done in order to make you understand why this model of linguistic description was later discarded by the structural linguists of the twentieth century.

The traditional grammarians thus gave us a model of linguistic description which was based on 'parsing'. They described the parts of speech, grammatical form and function of a word in a particular sentence and then divided sentences into parts (i.e. different constituents, phrases, clauses, etc.) and described their grammatical form and functions by capturing their syntactic interrelations. Though they came under severe criticism from the structuralists (1920s - 1960) they presented a model which, in spite of its intrinsic limitations and the fallacies in practice, did have insights that were used by the linguists after the structuralists.

The traditional grammarians used meaning and intuition in their descriptive framework as a tool but later linguists like Chomsky and the Chomskyans did utilize the native speaker's intuition as data, though not as a tool in their framework.

The structuralists' severe reaction against the traditionalists made the pendulum swing to the other extreme and it appears that the traditionalists' lack of "scientificness" made the structuralists 'scientific' with almost a vengeance - and in the latter units we will look into this 'scientific' model of syntactic analysis in some detail and see what sort of reaction they attracted from their successors in the field, namely the transformational generativists.

As the course proceeds we will keep on seeing all these paradigms of the 20th

Century and affirming the ancient truth about science: The history of any science is a history of successive modifications. And when the modifications can no longer explain the truth, a scientific paradigm is discarded and replaced or superseded by another.

Review Question 3

- (a) What is meant by a 'fallacy'?
- (b) Answer in one or two sentence(s) on what you understand about the following
 - (i) Latinate fallacy.
 - (ii) Written form fallacy.
 - (iii) Logical fallacy.
- (c) What fallacies of traditional grammar would you associate with the following statements?
 - (i) Noun is the name of a place, person or thing.
 - (ii) 'I don't find none' - this sentence means 'I find someone because two negatives make an affirmative.'
 - (iii) shall and will are markers to prove that English has a future tense.
 - (iv) A speaker of English should say "It's I" in place of It's me.
- (d) What role does meaning play in traditional grammar?

2.3. Structural Linguistics Some Basic Principles

On the basis of this observation of the weaknesses in traditional grammar the structuralists arrived at certain conclusions.

(i) Every language is a unique system and the grammar of a language should be the actual description of the linguistic facts of that language.

(ii) The grammatical description of a language should be the description of the spoken form of that language (because language is primarily speech).

(iii) The linguistic description has to be made rigorously scientific and, therefore, a mindless, mechanistic procedure ('discovery procedure' as they call it) has to be evolved for the analysis and description of unknown languages using native speakers of these languages as informants. And this linguistic description has to be given at different levels of linguistic representation - phonology, morphology and syntax.

(iv) Meaning should be banished from the domain of linguistics. It has to be so because meaning is subjective, context-bound and, therefore, cannot be captured scientifically. As a result, it cannot be used as a criterion in a science.

2.3.1. Leonard Bloomfield

Leonard Bloomfield (1887-1948) was the central figure in the American structuralist school; hence this school is also known as the Bloomfieldian school. For the linguists during the four decades from 1920 to 1960 Bloomfield was the final authority and his Language (1933) their Bible in language analysis. As Bloomfield had been under the influence of Behaviourist Psychology the theoretical basis for Bloomfieldian linguistics was Behaviourism and his notions of language acquisition and language function were behaviouristic in character. For the Bloomfieldians language was a

form of behavior - they called it verbal behavior - and they did not believe in anything cognitive or mentalistic about language. They interpreted language function in terms of a stimulus-response network of activity.

Bloomfield explains the stimulus-response network with the help of his famous Jack and Jill Story. Jill is hungry and wants an apple. This hunger is the stimulus (S) which causes the reaction (R) for getting the apple. This chain may be symbolized as $S \rightarrow R$. But Jill wants Jack to get the apple for her instead of she herself getting it. That is to say, she uses a substitute reaction (r) instead of the reaction (R) which creates a substitute stimulus (s) in Jack in the form of his listening to her request. This substitute stimulus (s) leads to the real reaction (R) in Jack for getting the apple. This stimulus-response network could be captured by the formula:

$S \rightarrow r \dots\dots s \rightarrow R$ in which the speech events are symbolized by (r.....s). The job of the linguist is to study this speech event and the job of the language learner is to interpret the interrelation between $S \rightarrow r$ and $s \rightarrow R$ in a particular speech community.

It has already been mentioned that the structuralists wanted to make linguistics an autonomous discipline. They maintained that linguistics had hitherto remained a parasite discipline attached to various independent disciplines, like philosophy, religion, psychology, literary criticism, etc. Language had rarely ever been studied in its own right and on its own merit. Comments on language and language study had been by the way. So the structuralists' one aim was to raise linguistics to the status of an independent discipline.

And because of the other objective of making linguistics a science whatever could not be captured scientifically was kept outside the scope of linguistics. Therefore, as we have mentioned already, meaning was banished from linguistics in the structuralist paradigm. In fact, meaning could come back into the field of linguistics only in the late fifties with what is known as the Chomsky revolution. For about forty years during the heyday of American structural linguistics meaning could be used neither as a tool nor as a category in linguistic description. Its only use was in finding out whether certain structures were similar or different.

The structuralists formulated their three-tier framework for linguistic description under the basic assumption that language was a structured entity and it exhibited layers of structuring. They had the Saussurean view that language was a system of various sub- systems. They thought that it would be scientifically more valid to begin linguistic analysis at the lowest level of speech sounds (phonology). After identifying, describing and classifying the speech sounds in terms of their categorial and functional properties they would move up to the next higher level of morphology and morphophonemics. And after scientifically capturing the relationships between various morphemes in the structure of words and compounds they would move up to the highest level - the level of syntax. And at this level they would find out how words, phrases and clauses are interrelated with each other in the structure of sentences/ utterances.

As mentioned earlier, the Bloomfieldian method of linguistic investigation was so meticulously organized into a rigorous scheme that almost nothing was left to the individual linguist's imagination. There were various stages through which this investigation was to be undertaken and there were specific sets of objectives that

had to be achieved. The operation began with the collection of linguistic data and ended in giving a complete and explicit description of the grammar of the language.

2.3.1.1. Collection of data

For collecting linguistic data the structuralists evolved a fieldwork methodology. The linguist presumably is not a native speaker of the language that he is working on. He collects the data at random through his informants who are native speakers of the language. This data is processed at the language laboratory for a detailed phonetic transcription. And the phonetically transcribed version of this 'representative' sample of native speaker's speech becomes the 'linguistic corpus' for the linguist to work on.

2.3.1.2. Discovery Procedure

Central to the structuralist framework of linguistics is their concept of 'discovery procedure'. This procedure or technique was formulated in such a manner that once applied on the 'corpus' it would identify and discover the linguistic elements of the language at various levels and capture their interrelations. In other words, it is a set of principles to be applied mindlessly on the data with a view to giving an adequate scientific description of the language at the levels of phonology, morphology and syntax.

2.4. Structural Phonology

The structuralists start their linguistic analysis on a bottom-to-top basis. They begin at the lowest level of speech sounds. Here they first study the phonetic features of the speech sounds in a language and then study how these sounds or 'phones' are organized and patterned in the sound system of the language. Central to their phonological study are the following notions or concepts.

2.4.1 The Phoneme

A phoneme is a minimal distinctive unit in the sound system of a particular language.

Let us consider the following three pairs of English words :

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| [pin] | [big] | [bit] |
| [bin] | [bag] | [big] |

Words in each of these pairs have different meanings. [pin] and [bin] have different meanings and this difference is brought about by the initial sounds [p] and [b]. Similarly, in the second pair the medial sounds [i] and [a] bring about the change of meaning between [big] and [bag]. And in the third pair the sounds responsible for semantic change are the final sounds [t] and [g]. The structural linguists call these three pairs 'minimal pairs'. A minimal pair is a pair of words in which the difference lies at the level of only one sound segment and because of this difference the words have different meanings. So here we have three minimal pairs. And in these minimal pairs the replacement of one sound by another brings about a change in meaning. This meaning - changing property is called 'distinctive'. So in the first pair [p] and [b], the initial sounds are distinctive and they are, therefore, different phonemes in English.

2.4.2. The Environment

We have seen that in the first pair above [p] and [b] occur in identical environment because they are initial sounds and both are followed by [-in]. Linguistic environment therefore, is to be ascertained by what occur(s) before the sound and what occur after the sound. Here in the word [pin], for instance, [p] is preceded by boundary and followed by [-in] and same is the environment for [b] in [bin]. So far both [p] and [b] the environment is [#-in] (# indicates the word boundary). In other words [p] and [b] occur in identical environment. If we talk about the immediate environment of these two sounds here, we have to say that their immediate environment is [i]. Immediate environment is constituted by what immediately precedes the sound and what immediately follows it.

2.4.3. Distribution

The occurrence of a particular sound in an environment is its distribution. The notion of 'distribution' is very crucial in structural linguistics in general and structural phonology in particular. As the structuralists discard meaning as a criterion in linguistic analysis. They depend on distribution for identification and analysis of data. Their principles of phonemic analysis are based on their study of the distribution of speech sounds in the data.

2.4.4. The Principles of Phonological Analysis

The structuralists evolved a 'discovery procedure' for identification, description and classification of linguistic data. This principle, they assume, is mechanistic, mindless and rigorous in such a way that, when applied on the data, it would automatically give the scientific description of the data. At the level of phonology they have five principles of phonemic analysis to determine the phonemes of language. These principles constitute the discovery procedure at the level of phonology and they are applied on the phonetic data to find out which phones belong to which phonemes and what kinds of interrelation they have between them.

(i) **The Principle of Contrastive Distribution:** When two sounds occur in identical environment and their replacement by each other brings about a change in meaning they are said to be in contrastive distribution. Take into consideration the three minimal pairs mentioned earlier. In [pin] and [bin], [p] and [b] are in contrastive distribution because [p] and [b] occur in identical environment and their replacement by each other brings about a semantic change. Similarly, [i] and [a] are in contrastive distribution in [big] and [bag] and in the pair [bit] and [big], [t] and [g] are in contrastive distribution with each other. Sounds in contrastive distribution belong to different phonemes.

(ii) **The Principle of Free Variation:** When two sounds occur in identical environment but their replacement by each other does not bring about any change in meaning, they are said to be in free variation. For example, [kʌp] in English means 'cup' and [kʌp̚] also means the same. So [p] and [p̚] in English are in free variation. (Please note that [p] is a released plosive and [p̚] is an unreleased, unexploded plosive). This is true of the other voiceless plosives - [t] & [t̚] and [k] & [k̚]—also.

And if two sounds are in free variation they can never be different phonemes; they will be allophones of the same phoneme. [p] & [pʰ] are, therefore, allophones of the same phoneme.

(iii) **The Principle of Complementary Distribution** : When two sounds can never occur in each other's environments they are said to be in complementary distribution with each other. For example, voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated plosives in English are in complementary distribution. [p] and [pʰ] are in complementary distribution; [t] and [tʰ] are in complementary distribution and, again, [k] and [kʰ] are in complementary distribution in English. This is so because the voiceless aspirated plosive and its unaspirated counterpart cannot occur in each other's environment. The aspirated one occurs only in accented syllable initial position in English where the unaspirated can never occur.

(iv) **The Principle of Sufficient Phonetic Similarity** : This refers to the phonetic or physical similarity between the sounds in question. For example, [p] and [b] are phonetically similar as they are both bilabial plosives. Similarly, [p] and [pʰ] are also phonetically sufficiently similar as they are voiceless bilabial plosives - one being aspirated and the other unaspirated. This sufficient phonetic similarity is very crucial for sounds being allophones of the same phoneme. Two sounds in complementary distribution will be allophones of the same phoneme if they have sufficient phonetic similarity. For example, in English [p] and [pʰ] will be allophones of the same phoneme as (i) they are in complementary distribution and (ii) they are phonetically sufficiently similar.

(v) **The Principle of Pattern Congruity** : In all human languages there is usually a pattern in which the sounds are organized. Consider the following data from a hypothetical language.

- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1. [bed] - go | 2. [be:d] - cat | 3. [Sut] - you | 4. [Su:t] - they |
| 5. [Sok] - tiger | 6. [So:k] - cow | 7. [mɪks] - girl | 8. [mɪ:ks] - boy |

We can easily see that in this language short vowels are in contrastive distribution with their long counterparts. If we come across another pair of short and long vowels, say [i] and [i:], in the language but we do not get any minimal pair to show that they are in contrastive distribution we can conclude that these two vowels will also belong to different phonemes. This conclusion is arrived at by the application of 'Pattern Congruity' as in this language short vowels and their long counterparts are different phonemes as confirmed by the data. The pattern of the language shows that vowel length is phonemic in this language.

At the level of phonology, therefore, the structural linguist applies his 'discovery procedure' to identify the phonemes in a language and the various allophonic variants that a phoneme has. His objective is to identify, describe and classify the speech sounds by applying these various principles of phonemic analysis. He idealises the actual phones (or Speech Sounds) in a language to a minimal number of distinctive sounds (or Phonemes). He does so as minimization/idealization is an essential exercise in a science and the structuralist would make linguistics a science - a rigorous science - at any cost.

Review Questions 4

- What is a phoneme? How would you differentiate between a phoneme and its allophones?
- How would you distinguish between contrastive distribution and free variation?
- What is meant by 'linguistic environment'? Answer with illustrations.
- Examine the data given below and find out if [t] and [d] are allophones of the same phoneme or different phonemes. State your reasons.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. [ridu] – girl | 6. [metro] – key |
| 2. [sade] – house | 7. [Iamte] – beer |
| 3. [sistu] – donkey | 8. [madin] – tap |
| 4. [kadu] – boy | 9. [setke] – tail |
| 5. [ruktun] – soap | 10. [semti] – height |

[This problem, I know, is difficult for you. But if you try, you might solve it.]

2.5. Structural Morphology

Now that the linguist's job at the level of phonology is over the structuralist would move up to the next higher level of linguistic organization known as morphology and morpho-phonemics. Morphology is the study of words and their structure. And morphophonemics, as a branch of morphology, deals with the phonological realizations of morphemes (we will explain the term 'morpheme' now).

At the level of morphology the linguist tries to look into how morphemes are combined to make higher/larger units like words or compounds.

2.5.1 The Morpheme

The traditional grammarians worked with two basic units of linguistic description – the word and the sentence. The assumption was that everybody was familiar with these two units and, therefore, there was no serious attempt at defining these terms. They were almost taken for granted. Moreover, the traditional grammarians dealt with the written form of language and so their data was marked with various punctuation signs like the full stop, or the note of interrogation, etc. And words also are separated from each other in the written form by spaces.

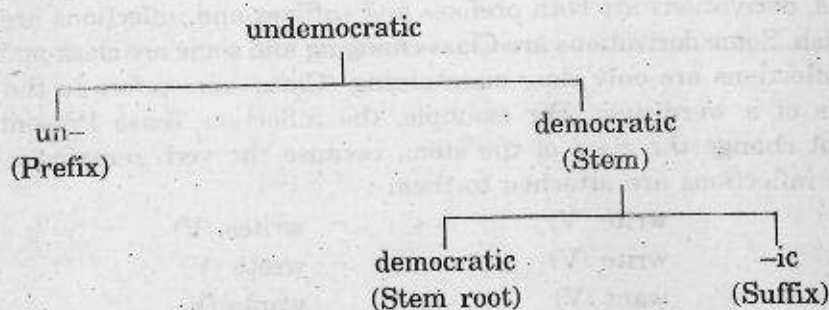
The structuralists, therefore, wanted to have a scientifically definable unit in the grammatical system. They postulated such a unit called 'morpheme'. Take for example the word girls. This can be divided into two constituents – girl and -s. Let us call these units morphemes. Similarly, undemocratic is made of three morphemes un-, democrat and -ic. A morpheme, therefore, is a minimal meaningful unit in the grammatical system of a language.

In doormat there are two morphemes – door and mat, because door is a meaningful and minimal unit and mat is also a minimal and meaningful unit. And the word

derives its meaning from the meanings of these two morphemes. But the word carpet is a single morpheme. Though car and pet are separate morphemes, carpet is not derived from these two as they are semantically unrelated.

2.5.1.1. Free Morphemes and Bound Morphemes

Morphemes can be broadly divided into two categories – **Free** and **Bound**. A free morpheme can occur independently in the language but a bound morpheme cannot occur on its own; it needs the support of another morpheme or morpheme combination for its occurrence. For example, boy, girl, bus, wife are free morphemes but un-, en-, in-, -ly, -ness, -ic -ion are bound morphemes. Bound morphemes are called **affixes**. In the structure of undemocratic un- is an affix (it is called a prefix as it occurs before the free form democratic and -ic is another affix (it is called a suffix as it is attached at the end of the free form democrat) and democrat is a free morpheme. The free form that receives an affix (either a prefix or a suffix) is called a stem and when a stem becomes an indivisible unit, i.e. a free morpheme, it is called a root. Let us have a diagrammatic representation of the word undemocratic in its morphological structure.



2.5.1.2. Derivations and Inflections

As on the basis of their position or occurrences in a stem the linguists divide the affixes into Prefixes and Suffixes, on the basis of their functional status affixes can be classified further into **inflections** and **derivations**.

Inflections are said to change the form of a word and derivations constitute processes of word formation. In other words, inflections function within a paradigm (a paradigm is a set of related items) whereas derivations create new paradigms. For example, let us consider the following paradigm of eat.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|-----|---|--------------------|
| 1. eat | - | eat | + | Tense Present |
| 2. eats | - | eat | + | Tense Present |
| 3. ate | - | eat | + | Tense Past |
| 4. eating | - | eat | + | Present Participle |
| 5. eaten | - | eat | + | Past Participle |

But within this paradigm of 'eat' we cannot have eater (eat + er), because with

the suffix -er, eater gets a paradigm of its own. So -er does not function within the paradigm of eat, instead it has created a paradigm of its own. The paradigm of eater has the following items :

| | | | | |
|------------|---|-------|---|---------------------|
| 1. eater | - | eater | + | Singular Number |
| 2. eaters | - | eater | + | Plural Number |
| 3. eater's | - | eater | + | Possessive Case |
| 4. eaters' | - | eater | + | Plural + Possessive |

In English the major Inflectional suffixes function within the paradigms of verbs, nouns and adjectives. For example,

| <u>Noun</u> | <u>Verb</u> | <u>Adjective</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| boys - (Number) | writes - (Tense Pres) | sharper - (Degree Comp.) |
| | writing - (Progressive) | sharpest - (Degree Superlative) |
| boy's - (Case) | wrote - (Tense Past) | |
| | written - (Past Participle) | |

All inflections in English are suffixes but all suffixes are not inflections. And all prefixes in English are derivations but all derivations are not Prefixes. In other words, derivations are both prefixes and suffixes and inflections are only suffixes in English. Some derivations are Class-changing and some are class-maintaining though all inflections are only class-maintaining. 'Class' here refers to the 'part of speech' status of a word/stem. For example, the inflection Tense Present or Tense Past cannot change the class of the stem, because the verb remains a verb ever after these inflections are attached to them :

| | | |
|-----------|---|------------|
| write (V) | → | writes (V) |
| write (V) | → | wrote (V) |
| want (V) | → | wants (V) |
| want (V) | → | wanted (V) |

But derivations, as already mentioned, can be both class-maintaining and class-changing. Consider the following class-maintaining derivations.

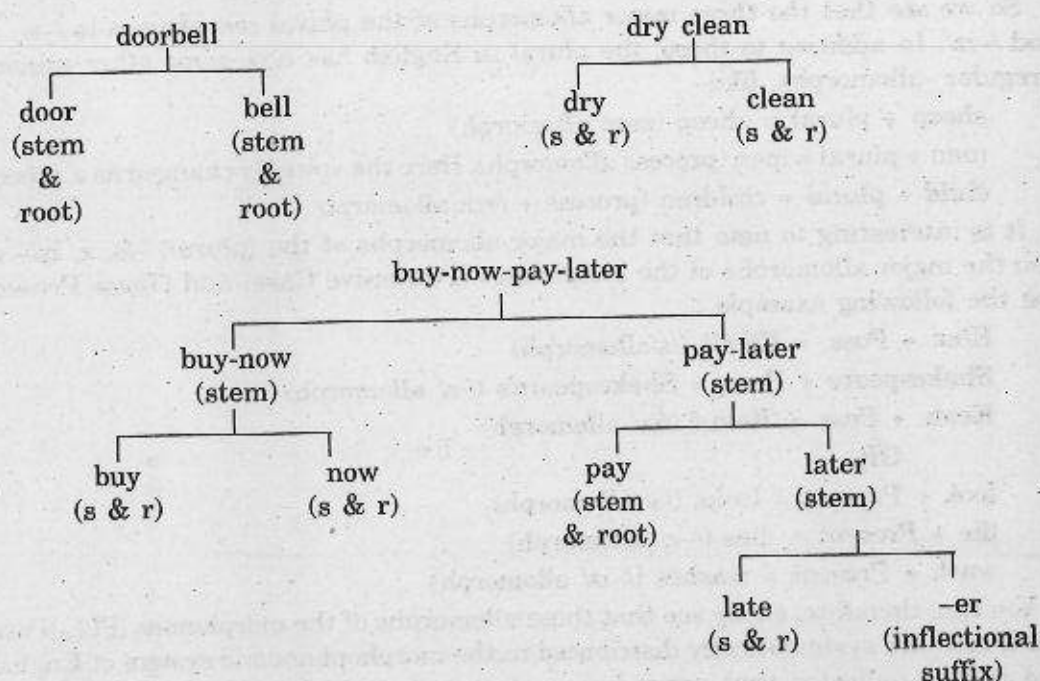
| | |
|------------------|------------|
| impossible | greenish |
| Incorrect | friendship |
| illegal | boyhood |
| disproportionate | cowardice |

Some class-changing derivations in English :

| | |
|------------|--|
| encourage | - (a noun becoming a verb) |
| before | - (noun/adjective becomes a preposition) |
| confront | - (noun becomes a verb) |
| singer | - (verb becomes a noun) |
| motionless | - (noun becomes an adjective) |
| selective | - (verb becomes an adjective) |

This process of a stem receiving affixes is known as the morphological process of

affixation. There is also another process in which two or more stems are combined together. This morphological process is called compounding. For example,



2.5.1.3 Word-building Processes

The structuralists also talk about various other word-building processes, like reduplication (e.g. *d^hire d^hire* (very slowly) in Bangla), vowel change (e.g. write-wrote, or abide → abode, etc.), acronym (e.g. WHO/hu:/ – World Health Organisation), blends or portmanteau words (e.g. motel → motor + hotel), back formation (e.g. resurrection → resurrect or editor → edit), etc.

Thus the structural linguists applied their discovery procedure at this level of morphology by looking into the morphological structuring of words and compounds. They study the interrelations between morphemes in a word/compound structure scientifically without using meaning as a tool or criterion in the analytical framework.

2.6 Structural Morphophonemics

Morphophonemics or morphophonology is a branch of morphology which deals with the interrelations between morphemes and their allomorphs. In other words, it is concerned with the various phonological realizations of the morphemes. In our discussion on structural phonology we have told you about the notion of the phonemes and their respective allophones and that is comparable to the notions of the morphemes and their allomorphs. For example, {plural} is a morpheme in English which may be realized in different phonological forms.

{cat} + {plural} = cats/Kæts/. {Plural} has here the I-s/ allomorph.

{boy} + {plural} = boys/bɔɪz/. /-z/ allomorph occurs here.

{bus} + {plural} = buses/bʌsɪz/. /-ɪz/ allomorph occurs here.

So we see that the three major allomorphs of the plural morphemes is /-s/, /-z/ and /-ɪz/. In addition to these, the plural in English has also some other minor irregular allomorphs, like-

sheep + plural = sheep (zero allomorph)

man + plural = men (process allomorph). Here the vowel is changed as a process

child + plural = children (process + /rcn/ allomorph)

It is interesting to note that the major allomorphs of the {plural} -/s, z, ɪz/ are also the major allomorphs of the morphemes {Possessive Case} and {Tense Present}. See the following example :

Eliot + Poss. = Eliot's (/s/ allomorph)

Shakespeare + Poss. = Shakespeare's (/z/ allomorph)

Keats + Poss. = Keats' (/ɪz/ allomorph)

OR,

look + Present = looks (/s/ allomorph)

die + Present = dies (/z/ allomorph)

wash + Present = washes (/ɪz/ allomorph)

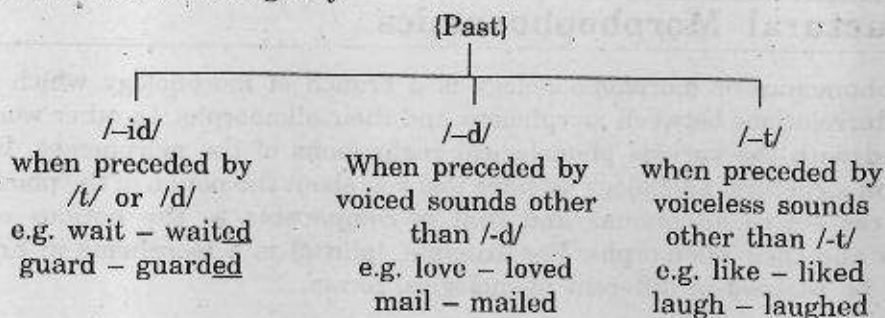
You can, therefore, easily see that these allomorphs of the morphemes {Pl.}, {Poss.} and {Pres.} are systematically distributed in the morphophonemic system of English. And it also indicates that every human language is highly systematic and well organized. The rules of distribution of these three allomorphs of the {Plural}, {Present} and {poss.} can be stated in the following way.

(i) The /-ɪz/ allomorph occurs when it is attached to a stem ending in any one of the six sibilants in English - s, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, z, ʒ and dʒ. In other words, these three suffixes (morphemes) will be realized as /-ɪz/ when preceded by a sibilant.

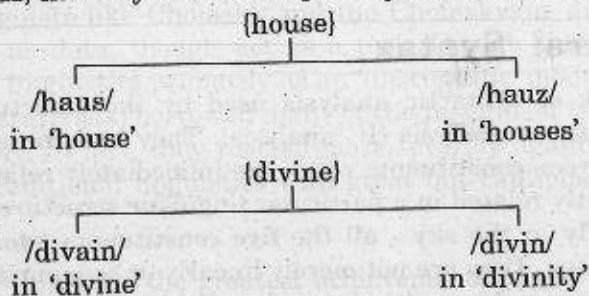
(ii) The /-z/ allomorph occurs when it is preceded by voiced sounds other than the three voiced sibilants - z, ʒ and dʒ.

(iii) The /-s/ allomorph occurs when preceded by voiceless sounds other than the three voiceless sibilants - s, ʃ, and tʃ.

Again, we can formulate the morphophonemic rules of distribution of the {Past} in English in the following way.



Like the affixes, the free morphemes also have allomorphic variations. Some free morphemes in English may have only one allomorph; but some may have more than one. For example, {bus} has only one allomorph – /bʃ s/ but {house} has two allomorphs.



The structuralists have also taken note of some very important morphophonemic processes in English.

(a) **Assimilation** : When morphemes are combined (as in Sandhi rules in Bangla, Sanskrit, etc.) the neighbouring phonemes become phonologically more like each other. For example, /in/ + /pɒsɪbl/ → /im'pɒsɪbl/

Here /n/ becomes /m/ in the environment of or under the influence of /p/.

(b) **Syncope** : It is a process of deletion of medial vowels or consonants.

Hindi : /ðsɔɪ/ + /i:/ → /ðsli:/ (real)

Colloquial English : /ju:/ + /həv/ → /ju:v/

(c) **Addition of phoneme or Epenthesis** : When two or more morphemes are combined a new phoneme may be added in the process. For example,

/strɒŋ/ + /e/ → /strɒŋge/ (/g/ is added)

/sɒldəm/ + /aɪz/ → /sɒldəmaɪz/ (/n/ is added)

(d) **Stress - Shift** : When an affix is attached to a stem the stress shifts from one syllable to another.

'Photograph → Pho'tography → Photo'graphic

'President → Presi'dential

e'lectric → elec'tricity

The structuralists thus applied their discovery procedure at this level of morphology and tried to find out and explain the morphological and morphophonemic process by capturing the interrelations between different morphemes and between morphemes and their allomorphic variations. Their focus of attention at this level was the words and the compounds as linguistic units.

Review Questions 5

(a) Give morphological analysis of the following English words with the help of tree diagrams :

1. personal

2. salesgirl

3. incorrect

4. ability

5. characterization

6. theatrical

7. hardwares

8. unconditional

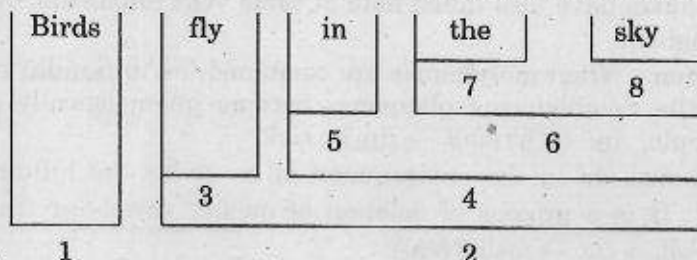
9. Indianness

10. men.

- (b) How would you distinguish between a morpheme and an allomorph ?
- (c) What is the difference between morphology and morphophonemics?
- (d) How would you differentiate between affixation and compounding?

2.7. Structural Syntax

The framework of syntactic analysis used by the structuralists is known as Immediate Constituent analysis (IC analysis). They had the objective of capturing interrelations between constituents which are immediately related rather than those remotely or distantly related in a particular linguistic structure. For example, in the sentence - Birds fly in the sky - all the five constituents (words) do not have the same syntactic status. They are not merely linearly or sequentially related with each other; they also have a hierarchical relation within the structure :



This five-word structure has eight immediate constituents in the syntactic hierarchy. And their relation is as follows: 1 and 2 are ICs, 3 and 4 are ICs, 5 and 6 are ICs and 7 and 8 are ICs.

You must have noticed from the above box diagram that the linguists have used bracketing convention to capture the IC interrelations. And this bracketing convention they have borrowed from mathematics. This bracketing device helps to disambiguate structures which are otherwise ambiguous. Let us consider the following problem.

$$2 \quad 3 + 4 = ?$$

The answer to this problem could be either 10 or 14 depending on the order of application of the rules of addition and multiplication. If we apply multiplication first and addition next, we get 10. But if we use addition first and multiplication next we get 14. In order to avoid such problems of ambiguity the mathematicians use the bracketing convention.

For example.

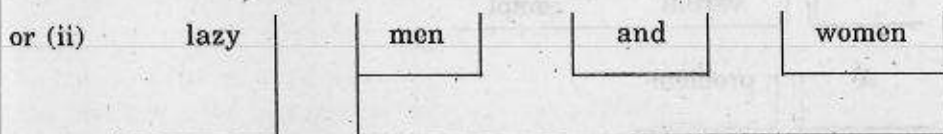
$$(2 \quad 3) + 4 = 10$$

$$2 \quad (3 + 4) = 14$$

Thus the ambiguity is resolved. For resolving such ambiguity in linguistic structures, the linguists also use the bracketing system. Let us consider the following linguistic structure.

La3y men and women

The ambiguity here lies in the scope of modification of 'la3y'. If it modifies men alone we have one meaning but if 'la3y' modifies both men and women we have another meaning. By using bracketing we can disambiguate this structure :

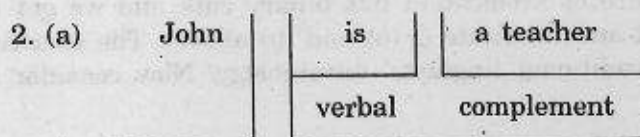
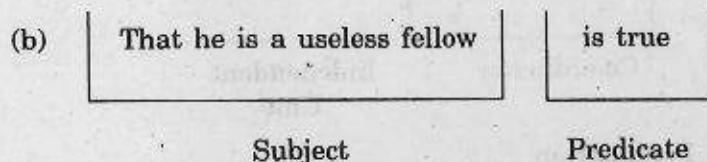
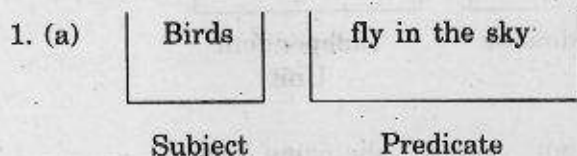


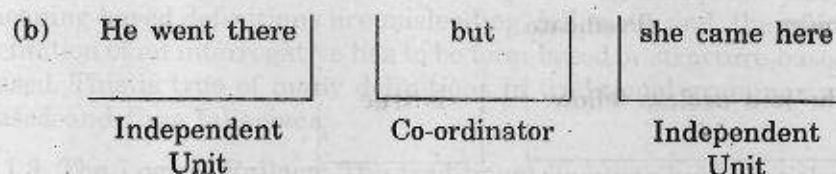
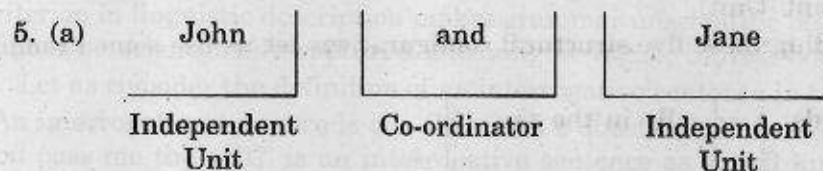
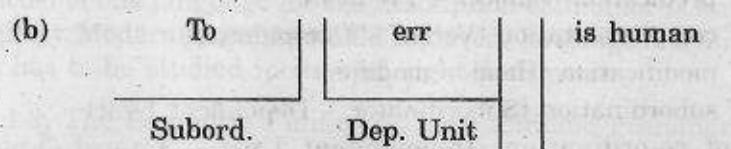
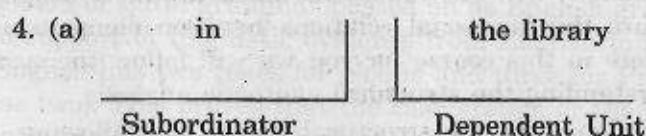
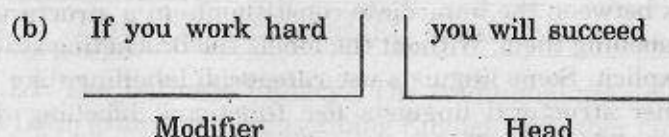
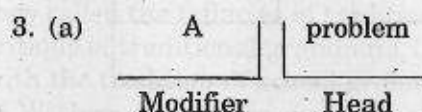
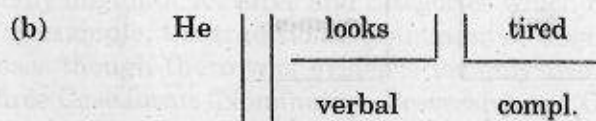
This model of syntactic analysis is known as IC analysis. The structural linguists not only capture the relations between the immediate constituents in a structure by bracketing them but also by labelling them. Without the labels the bracketing system would be inadequate and inexplicit. Some linguists use categorial labelling (like NP, Verb, PP, etc.) and some other structural linguists use functional labelling (like subject, verbal, complement, modifier, etc.) The functional labels are more insightful and explanatory as they capture the functional relations between elements in a specific structure. Therefore, here in this course for you we will follow the system of functional labelling in understanding the structural syntactic analysis.

The five major structures explained by the structuralists are the following .

1. The structure of predication (Subject – Predicate)
2. The structure of complementation (Verbal – Complement)
3. The structure of modification (Head – modifier)
4. The structure of subordination (Subordinator – Dependent Unit)
5. The structure of co-ordination (Independent Unit – Co-ordinator – Independent' Unit).

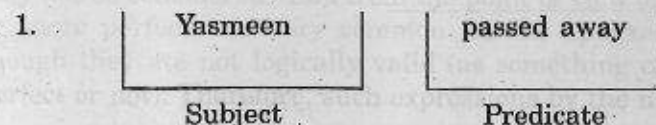
For understanding these five structural configurations let us use some examples.





2.7.1. The Structure of Predication

As shown above, the structure of Predication has binary cuts and we get the immediate constituents—Subject and Predicate (I (a) and (b) above). The structural linguists have used here the traditional linguists' terminology. Now consider the following sentences.



| | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----------|
| 2. | The book on the table | is mine |
| | Subject | Predicate |

| | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 3. | That he is very intelligent | is beyond doubt |
| | Subject | Predicate |

2.7.2. The Structure of Complementation

This is also a binary structure in which one constituent is 'verbal' and the other one is 'complement'. For example,

| | | | |
|----|---------|-----------|------------|
| 4. | John | is | a teacher |
| | | verbal | complement |
| | Subject | Predicate | |

In this structure the complement is grammatically a complement in the sense of traditional grammar. In traditional grammar they say that a complement is an element without which the sentence remains incomplete and ungrammatical. Therefore, in structures with be-type or become-type verbs the verb will be functionally called verbal and the element(s) following the verb will be the complement.

Consider the following sentences with be-type and become-type verbs.

| | | | |
|----|---------|-----------|------------|
| 5. | He | looks | tired |
| | | verbal | complement |
| | Subject | Predicate | |

('look' is a be-type verb)

| | | | |
|----|---------|-----------|------------------|
| 6. | He | became | an administrator |
| | | verbal | complement |
| | Subject | Predicate | |

| | | | |
|----|----------|-----------|------------|
| 7. | The milk | turned | sour |
| | | verbal | complement |
| | Subject | Predicate | |

('turn' here is a become-type verb)

| | | | |
|----|---------|-----------|------------------|
| 8. | He | got | terribly annoyed |
| | | verbal | complement |
| | Subject | Predicate | |

('get' is a become-type verb)

There are a number of such verbs which function as be-type / become-type verbs 'look', 'appear', 'seem', 'turn', 'get', 'happen', etc.

In addition to complements being marked or labelled as 'complements', the structuralists treat objects also as complements. So a sentence with a transitive verb and its object(s) will be captured the same way. Look at the following examples.

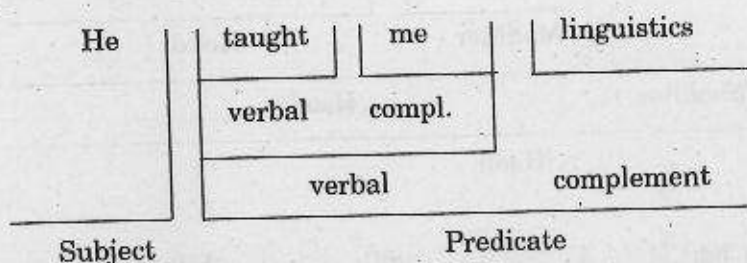
| | | | |
|----|-------------|-----------|------------|
| 9. | The teacher | loves | her pupils |
| | | verbal | complement |
| | Subject | Predicate | |

| | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------|--------------------|
| 10. | She | eats | fried cockroaches. |
| | | verbal | complement |
| | Subject | Predicate | |

You have just seen that the verbal-complement structure is easy to capture when the verb is a monotransitive verb (a verb with one object). But it will be difficult to capture the interrelations between a ditransitive verb (a verb having two objects) and its two objects. If we treat the verb as verbal and the two objects together as complement, then we will find it difficult to capture the syntactic relation between the two objects. Examine the following sentence.

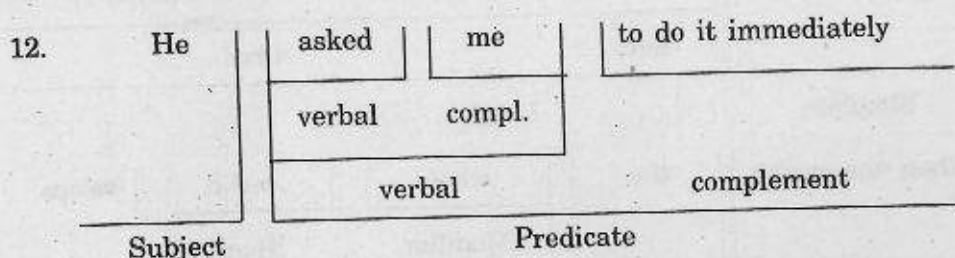
| | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| 11. | He | taught | me | linguistics |
| | | | ?? | ?? |
| | | verbal | complement | |
| | Subject | Predicate | | |

Are the two objects me and linguistics really immediate constituents? your sense of English and intuition about the structure will tell you that me is immediately related to taught just as linguistics is also immediately related to taught. (He taught me and he taught linguistics – appears to be the meaning). Therefore, me and linguistics cannot be immediate constituents. So the linguists capture the syntax of this sentence the following way.

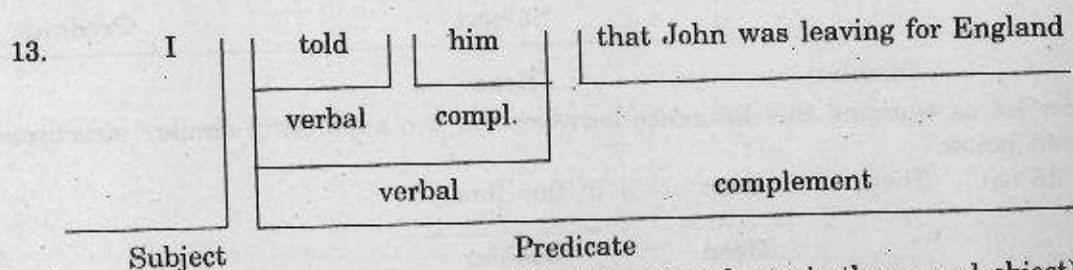


(Please note here that this is not very scientific to call the verb-the first object as the verbal but this is the better of the two options in the framework).

Let us work out a few more sentences with this structure.



(The infinitival phrase 'to do it immediately' is the second object of the ditransitive verb 'asked'.



(Here the that-clause is the second object)

2.7.3. The Structure of Modification

In this binary structure of modification we have two elements– Head and Modifier. Modifiers usually perform adjectival or adverbial functions. But any element modifying another will be called a modifier and that which it modifies will be called a head. Look at the following examples.

14. A | mystery

Modifier | Head

15. All | those | wonderful | lonesco | plays

Modifier | Head

Modifier | Head

Modifier | Head

Modifier | Head

16. If you touch her | I | will | kill | you.

Modifier | Head

Verbal | Compl.

Subj. | Pred.

Modifier | Head

17. When she smiles | the | whole | world | weeps.

Modifier | Head

Modifier | Head

Subject | Predicate

Modifier | Head

Now let us examine the difference between the two apparently similar structures given below.

18 (a). They | sleep | in the library

Head | Modifier

Subject | Predicate

18 (b). They | are | in the library

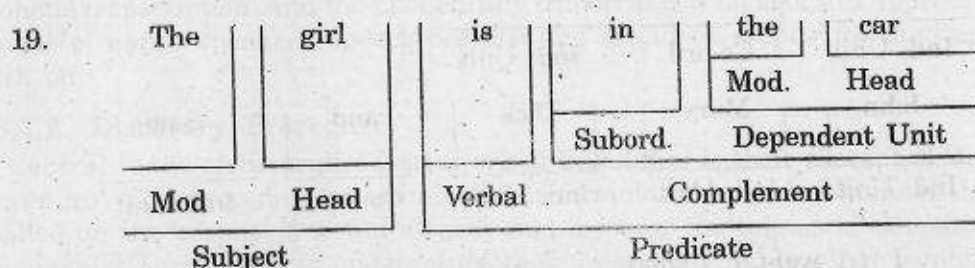
verbal | Complement

Subject | Predicate

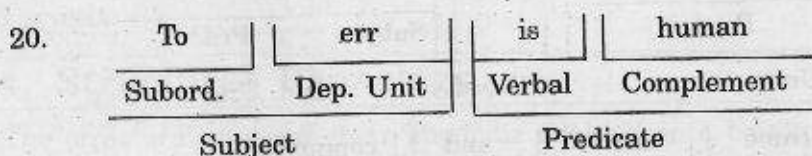
In 18 (a) 'in the library' functions as a modifier of the Head verb 'sleep' and it not a complement because we can stop after 'sleep'. But in 18(b) the same element a complement as it occurs after the verb be (are). Thus the functional labelling in C analysis helps us to capture the structural interrelations in a unique way.

7.4. The Structure of Subordination

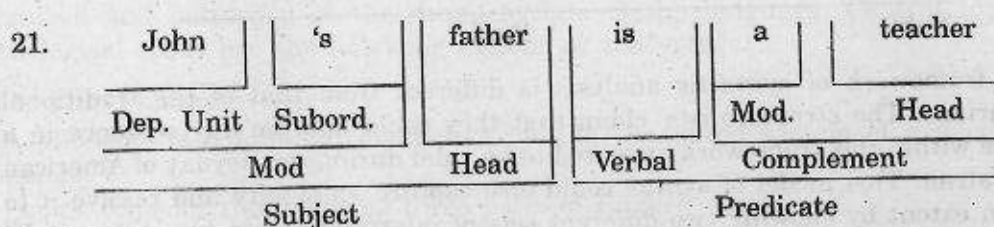
In this binary structure one immediate constituent is subordinator and the other a dependent unit. Look at the following examples.



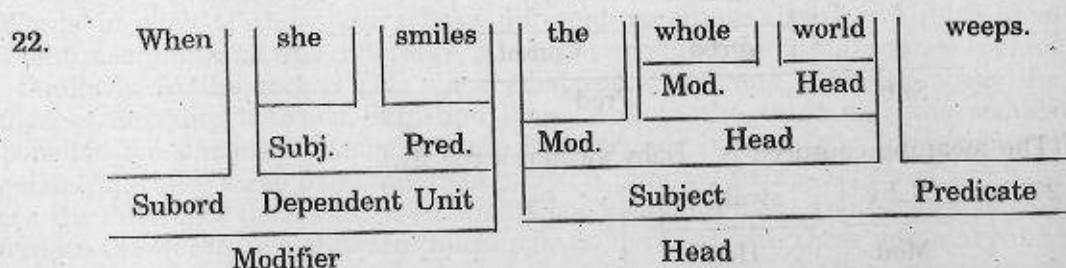
(The Preposition in subordinates the following noun phrase the car.)



(Here the infinitive to subordinates the verb phrase err.)



(Here the possessivizer('s) subordinates the noun phrase John.)



(Here the subordinating conjunction when subordinates the sentence she smiles which is reduced to a subordinate clause to the main clause the whole world weeps.)

2.7.5. The Structure of Co-ordination

This is the only structure in IC analysis which is non-binary. The immediate constituent in this structure, therefore, will be more than two—Independent unit - co-ordinator Independent unit. The total number of independent units could be as many as possible depending on the structure.

Consider the following structures.

23.

| |
|------|
| John |
|------|

| |
|-----|
| and |
|-----|

| |
|------|
| Mary |
|------|

Ind. Unit Co-ord. Ind. Unit
24.

| |
|------|
| John |
|------|

| |
|------|
| Mary |
|------|

| |
|------|
| Dick |
|------|

| |
|-----|
| and |
|-----|

| |
|-----|
| Sam |
|-----|

Ind. Unit Ind. Unit Ind. Unit Co-ord. Ind. Unit
25.

| |
|---|
| I |
|---|

| |
|------|
| went |
|------|

| |
|-------|
| there |
|-------|

| |
|-----|
| and |
|-----|

| |
|-----|
| she |
|-----|

| |
|------|
| came |
|------|

| |
|------|
| away |
|------|

| |
|------|
| Head |
|------|

| |
|------|
| Mod. |
|------|

| |
|------|
| Head |
|------|

| |
|------|
| Mod. |
|------|

Subj. Pred. Subj. Prd.
Ind Unit Co-ord Ind. Unit
26.

| |
|-----|
| She |
|-----|

| |
|------|
| came |
|------|

| |
|-----|
| saw |
|-----|

| |
|-----|
| and |
|-----|

| |
|-----------|
| conquered |
|-----------|

Ind. Unit Ind. Unit Co-ord. Ind Unit
Subj. Pred.

This framework of syntactic analysis is different from that of the traditional grammarians. The structuralists' claim that they could analyse any sentence in a language within this framework appeared to be valid during the heyday of American structuralism. This model of syntax could also capture ambiguity and resolve it to a certain extent by showing two different sets of interrelations in two different IC structures.

- 27 (a)

| |
|------|
| Baby |
|------|

| |
|----------|
| swallows |
|----------|

| |
|-----|
| fly |
|-----|

Verbal Compl.
Subj. Pred.

(The meaning captured is : Baby swallows the fly.)

- 27 (b)

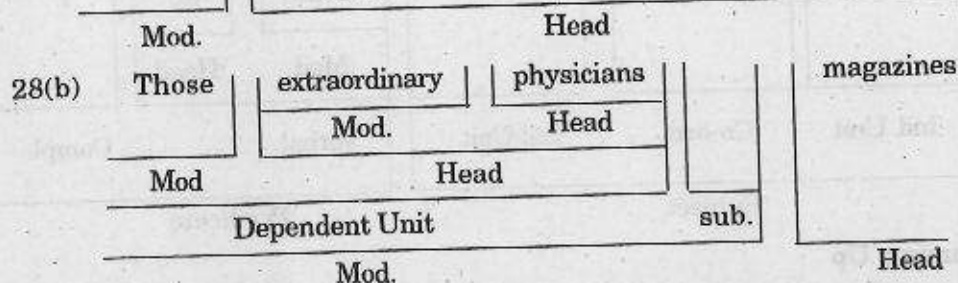
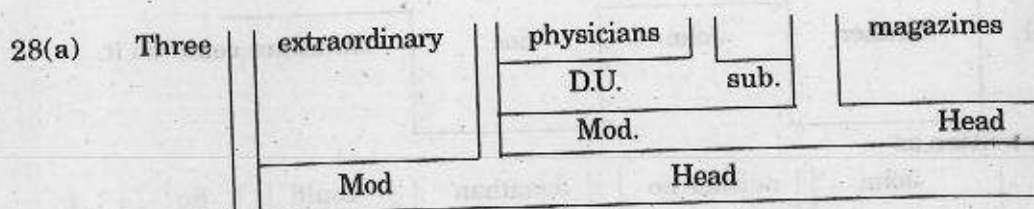
| |
|------|
| Baby |
|------|

| |
|----------|
| swallows |
|----------|

| |
|-----|
| fly |
|-----|

Mod. Head
Subject Predicate

(The meaning captured is : Small swallows fly.)

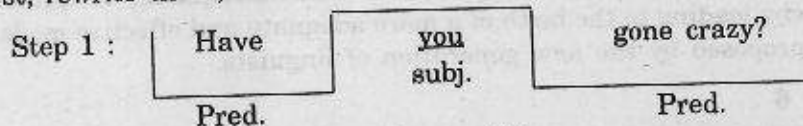


2.7.6 Non-contiguous IC Structures

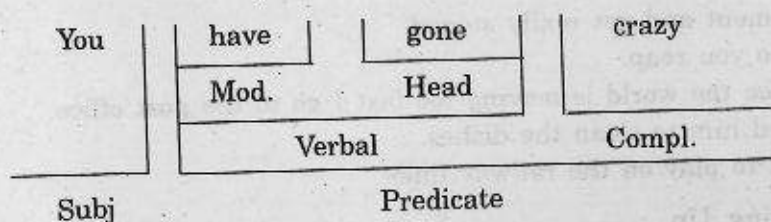
Elements belonging to the same constituent may not occur in their normal word order always. This is true of all human languages. Sentences having such constituents with displaced word order present certain problems in IC analysis. Consider the following interrogative sentence.

29. Have you gone crazy?

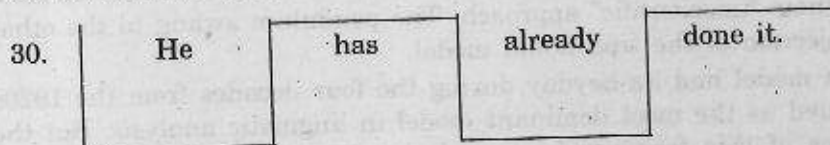
Here the verbal unit have gone is non-contiguous because of the inversion. The auxiliary element have has been shifted from its normal position to the left of the subject NP you. In such cases the linguist would show the discontinuous elements first, rewrite them, and then label them.



Step 2 : This sentence may be rewritten as



Let us consider a few more sentences with discontinuant elements.



Rewritten as : He has done it already.

31. Neither John nor Jonathan could do it.

Rewritten as

| | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------|---|
| John | neither no | Jonathan | could | do | i |
| | | | Mod. | Head | |
| Ind. Unit | Co-ord | Ind Unit. | Verbal | Compl. | |
| Subject | | | Predicate | | |

2.6.8. Summing Up

Now that we have presented the structural model of syntax in a simplified way rather briefly, you could possibly say that there is nothing revolutionary in this framework. But in spite of this there is no denying the fact that this model had a significant role in the development of the later models of syntax in modern linguistics. It systematized traditional formulations following its own theoretical stance. The framework was first outlined by Leonard Bloomfield in his *Language* (1933) and later elaborated and formalized by the Bloomfieldians. The framework has many weaknesses and limitations and cannot answer many questions satisfactorily but it has drawn our attention to innumerable questions that it has raised. And in the process of trying to understand these questions and solve these problems about language and linguistics, this model appears to be inadequate, mindless and mechanistic, thereby leading to the birth of a more adequate and effective model of syntactic analysis proposed by the new generation of linguists.

Review Questions - 6

Give immediate constituent analysis of the following English sentences. Use topless box diagrams.

- Drink wet cement and get really stoned.
- As you sow so you reap.
- Whenever I feel the world is moving too fast I go to the post office.
- His wife asked him to clean the dishes.
- I told her not to play on the railway lines.

2.8.1. More Summing Up

It is to be noted that the structuralists rejected the traditional framework as a severe reaction to their "unscientific" approach. The pendulum swung to the other extreme in their rejection of the traditional model.

The structuralist model had its heyday during the four decades from the 1920s to 1960 and continued as the most dominant model in linguistic analysis. But the inherent weaknesses of this framework started showing themselves at different levels of analysis and with respect to different syntactic structures. As a result of

this, the basic assumptions of the structuralist approach were questioned and its theoretical foundations were shaken. A completely new model of syntactic analysis was proposed as an alternative to the structuralist model by Noam Chomsky in his revolutionary work *syntactic structures* published in 1957. This proposal came in the form of a challenge to American structuralism and hence known as the Chomsky revolution. In the following unit on Cognitive Approach to Linguistics we will learn more about this post-structuralist framework.

2.9. Relevance of Structural Linguistics to English Language Teaching

You must be wondering why you need to know so much about structural linguistics or what its relevance is to E(nglish) L(anguage), T(eaching). The answer to that is that structural linguistics, directly and indirectly has brought about a phenomenal change in the field of language teaching. In fact, the very concept of language teaching has been transformed as a result of the developments in structural linguistics. For instance, it is now recognized that the teaching and learning of a language means the acquisition of its spoken form rather than its written form. In other words, the very aim of language teaching has changed. This shift of focus has led to a change in syllabus or curriculum design (= content), the writing of text books and teaching materials, the methodology of teaching and classroom techniques.

For instance, during the Second World War, utilising insights from linguistics and psychology, exotic languages like Japanese were taught to ordinary (= not brilliant) American soldiers with remarkable success within a short time, so that they were able to take part in normal everyday communication with native speakers. In the process, the so-called audio lingual method, pattern practice, mimicry and memorization, the use of audio visual aids etc. were utilised.

The success of the Army Programme demonstrated the practical relevance of linguistics. Since then, the application of linguistics has exercised the minds of many scholars. Specially in language teaching hopes have been raised that better, more efficient and quicker results can be achieved if the insights of linguistics are applied properly. [In Paper II you will be introduced to some of these concepts.] Such a quest has resulted, first, in the search for and development and deployment of the so-called "best method" (e.g. the audiolingual method right through to the communicative approach in recent times), and secondly, in the emergence of an entirely new interdiscipline. Applied Linguistics with which you will become more familiar in Paper II.

2.10. Books Recommended

1. Bloomfield, B. 1933. *Language*. New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
2. Gleason, H. A. 1961. *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
3. Gleason, H. A. 1965. *Linguistics and English Grammar*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
4. Hockett, C. F. 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Unit 3 □ Cognitive Approach to Linguistics

Structures

3.1 Objectives

3.2 Introduction : The human mind and its sciences.

3.3 Some Areas of Study

3.3.1. Cognitive Psychology

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3.3.3. Cognitive Linguistics

3.3.4. Major Figures in Cognitive Sciences

- 1. Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee-Whorf**
- 2. B. F. Skinner**
- 3. Noam Chomsky**
- 4. Sidney Lamb**
- 5. Jerry Fodor**
- 6. George Lakoff.**

3.4. Summing Up

3.5. Glossary

3.6. Comprehension Questions

3.7. Books Recommended

3.1. Objectives

This unit aims at helping you to understand the relationship between language and human mind. It introduces the kind of linguistics that treats language basically as a product and agent of mental processes. A basic point which needs to be made clear at the outset is that this unit is not solely about Psycholinguistics. [This will be introduced in Paper 2]

The issues related to language and mind are dealt with in a broad way in this unit. The discussion includes historical facts as well as contemporary developments in the study of human mind and human language. The aim is to make you aware of the different areas of study with a view to the fact that these are not water-tight compartments. While talking about investigations on language and mind, this unit proposes to broaden the scope by introducing the recently emerging umbrella of disciplines, Cognitive Science, instead of narrowing down the discussion within the

purview of Psycholinguistics. It provides an overview of relevant issues in the interdisciplinary field of Cognitive Science. Since the field includes Psychology, Linguistics, Neuroscience and Philosophy, - the discussion on Linguistics centres around the idea that Linguistics is a branch of Cognitive Science. As a result, you will be able to see the notional links that the field of Linguistics has with the other fields of Cognitive Science. This unit consciously tries to undo one practice in linguistic pedagogy, namely, over-emphasis of Chomskian Revolution that started in 1957 with the introduction of Transformational Generative Grammar. Here, you will come to know about the developments in other fields and understand the emergence of generative linguistics in a historical perspective. The discussion also touches upon Cognitive Psychology as it deals with the faculty of mind related to language you will also be introduced to the ideas of some eminent scholars who thought about the relation between language and mind before and after Chomsky.

3.2. Introduction : The Human Mind and Its Sciences

Cognitive Science has recently emerged as a domain of scientific inquiry. A number of disciplines such as Psychology, Philosophy, Linguistics, Neuroscience and Artificial Intelligence have converged in it. During the 1950's and 1960's there have been radical developments in these fields. In general, there is a broad consensus that the problems of mind, language, knowledge and perception do not belong exclusively to any single discipline, but belong to all of them. So as students, we need to look at each of them in order to understand their relations.

Cognitive science is the systematic study of mental processes with an interdisciplinary approach. Cognitive science seeks to elucidate two principal mechanisms of human mind : one, how information is acquired and two, how information is processed. These mechanisms are the basis of cognitive tasks like the following :

- perception,
- recognition,
- storage of information,
- retrieval of information from memory,
- acquisition of concept, and
- problem solving.

Some cognitive tasks are linguistic in nature, i.e. they involve language in a direct way. Linguistics takes interest in cognitive tasks such as the following :

- language acquisition,
- language comprehension, and
- language production.

A cognitive scientist's task is to construct and test explicit theories of mind. He specifies the kinds of information processing that occur in cognitive activity. He also tries to work out a model of the ways in which the ability to perform such tasks is acquired, modified or impaired. Almost all cognitive scientists express their models of mental processes in explicitly formal and/or computational terms. This is so because

models developed in cognitive science are made to fit for use in software products. It thus contributes to other areas such as Artificial Intelligence, Knowledge Engineering and Expert Systems.

Linguistics has become more significant and relevant to Psychology, Philosophy and other fields of Cognitive Science since the Chomskian Revolution and the introduction of Transformational Generative Grammar. It was not just a major revolution in the scientific study of language. It had broad implications for traditional issues concerning the nature of the mind. For example, the classical philosophical dispute between the 'Rationalism' of Descartes and the 'Empiricism' of Locke revived in a contemporary setting as issues of 'innateness'. Innateness refers to the biological basis of language and the extent of language 'learning', Chomsky's famous critique of Skinner's Behaviourism (discussed later) and the Generative Grammarian's collective effort to define the knowledge of language had a lot of impact on the developments in Psycholinguistics and Cognitive Science.

In this unit we are trying to understand Linguistics in relation to other areas of Cognitive Science. In order to do that, we shall first look at Psychology, the scientific study of human mind. It is the science of behaviour and mental processes. It investigates the mental processes through observable behavioural patterns. It includes the application of the resultant findings to the solution of problems. Thus the word 'Psychology' simultaneously refers to a science which involves the study of the behaviour of humans and animals and to various treatments and therapies in the mental processes and behavioural patterns of people. Psychology differs from Anthropology, Sociology and Political Science because it studies the behaviour of individuals rather than the behaviour of groups or communities, as these three disciplines do.

Scholars' interest in the mechanisms of the mind is not new. In ancient times Socrates was interested in the origins of knowledge. Aristotle was interested in the origins of knowledge and memory. He proposed the first theory of memory. Descartes reflected on how knowledge is represented mentally. It is interesting to note that the central issue addressed by Chomsky in recent times is called 'Plato's Problem'. The problem addressed by both the ancient scholar Plato and the modern scholar Chomsky is how human beings can acquire a very rich and specific knowledge of language when the evidence available to them is very meagre. In other words, the experience of language received is very limited but the mind can frame intricate systems of understanding. The question here is, what is the source of such knowledge? The question is addressed by both Plato and Chomsky, but their replies are different. Plato insisted that this knowledge comes from the memories of past existences. Chomsky, on the other hand, emphasizes innate properties of the mind. We shall talk about Chomsky's theories elsewhere.

3.3. Some Areas of Study

3.3.1. Cognitive Psychology

While basic questions of psychological interest were asked in ancient times, for example, by Aristotle in his *On Memory and Recollection*, Psychology emerged as

separate discipline only recently. The first person to be called a "psychologist" was Wilhelm Wundt who opened the first psychological laboratory in 1879. Psyche, the root of the word Psychology means "soul" in Greek, and Psychology was sometimes considered a study of the soul (in a religious sense of this term). Its emergence as a medical discipline can be seen in Thomas Willis' anatomical treatise "De Anima Brutorum" or "Two Discourses on the Souls of Brutes" (1672) where he refers to Psychology (the "Doctrine of the Soul") in terms of brain function. Among a number of subfields of Psychology, Cognitive Psychology is the study of phenomena such as thought, mental processes and representations, and the acquisition of skills. Research areas in Cognitive Psychology include perception, memory and organization of knowledge.

Wilhelm Wundt is regarded as the founder of psychology as a formal academic discipline and the first person in history to be designated as a Psychologist. Wundt was born in 1832 in Neckarau Baden, Germany. He established the first laboratory of Psychology in Leipzig, Germany in 1879 and published the first journal, *Philosophische Studien*. It contained reports of experimental results. Wundt taught at the University at Leipzig from 1875 to 1917. He founded the Psychological Institute there. He believed that Psychology is based on the observation of experience and that Psychology should be concerned with consciousness. He assumed that the mind was able to observe its own inner workings. In order to do that, he developed the method of Introspection. Introspection is the self-reporting of personal mental states under carefully controlled conditions, by trained observers.

Broadly speaking, Cognitive Psychology is a discipline of empirical investigation of mental events and knowledge involved in recognizing an object, remembering a name, having an idea, understanding a sentence, and solving a problem. In other words, it investigates mental processes and activities used in perceiving, remembering, and thinking, and the act of using those processes.

It is related mainly to the following :

- Attention – how to filter or select important information from the environment,
- Knowledge – the store of general information and algorithms for performing tasks,
- Memory – a process for storing, retrieving and working with information,
- Decision making – set of higher-level processes that work together and allow us to function in day to day affairs.

Cognitive Psychology developed as a separate discipline during the period between 1950's to 1970's; there is no agreed upon date that can mark the beginning of a tradition of investigation. However an important landmark is the publication of Ulric Neisser's book *Cognitive Psychology* in 1967. Cognitive Psychology emerged as a field of study due to two major factors. One of them is the dissatisfaction among scholars with the account of complex behavior as it was being handled by Behaviourism. The other factor was that during the Second World War, the need for new domains of investigation was perceived by scholars the world over. Several other fields during this time were converging to address newer empirical problems. In recent times, Cognitive Psychology is concentrating on two areas. They are Human

Performance and Artificial Intelligence. Tools are being developed to study the abstract ways of processing of information as it is done by the human mind. Research is also being conducted to enhance the understanding of mental activities such as attention and perception.

3.3.1.1. Artificial Intelligence

Artificial Intelligence (AI) as a branch of study has developed since computers had begun to be used as an information processor. With the goal of designing different models of computer programmes to process information, Artificial Intelligence seeks to mimic the human system of information processing. This in a way necessitates the development of tools for studying human cognition. AI is the science and engineering of making intelligent machines, especially intelligent computer programmes. It is related to the similar task of using computers to understand human intelligence. However, AI does not have to confine itself to methods that are biologically observable.

AI is a new discipline formally initiated in 1956, when the name was coined. At that point work had been under way for about five years. Along with modern Genetics, it is regarded as a discipline which scientists of all branches take interest in. AI addresses one very pertinent question :

- How is it possible for a small brain, whether biological or electronic, to perceive, understand, predict, and manipulate a world far larger and more complicated than itself ?

3.3.1.2. Different Schools of Psychology

Different schools of Psychology have led to the development of Cognitive Psychology. They are Structuralism, Functionalism, Behaviourism and Gestalt Psychology. We mention them briefly here :

1. Structuralism :

The first organised study of Psychology started in Germany under the structuralist school. Wilhelm Wundt's work was under the structural method. He and his followers studied the smallest elements of the mind with the method of Introspection. Their investigations were on the actions of the mind, such as, what the mind does when one sees an object. The positive influence of Structuralism was that it introduced a scientific approach to understand the structure of the mind. It also initiated the efforts of understanding the process of cognition. The only negative influence of it was that it adopted Introspection as the major methodology of scientific inquiry.

2. Functionalism :

The Psychologist who started to work under the Functionalist paradigm was William James. The main queries of the Functionalists are, (a) Why does the mind work? and (b) What is the nature and purpose of attention? Functionalists were influenced by Charles Darwin's work as they adopted naturalistic observations as a methodology. One positive influence of functionalism was that it shaped some relevant questions such as why the mind does what it does. Another positive influence was that it identified and emphasised emotion as a factor in cognition. Its negative influence is that it had a relatively poor methodology which was not objective.

3. Behaviourism :

Behaviourism was a movement in Psychology and Philosophy, the chief exponents of which were J.B. Watson and B. F. Skinner. It emphasized the outward behavioural aspects of thought. It dismissed the inward experimental and the inner procedural aspects. It was a movement on the basis of the methodological proposals of John B. Watson, who coined the name. Watson, in his 1912 manifesto, proposed abandoning introspectionist attempts to make consciousness a subject of experimental investigation. He wanted to focus on behavioural manifestations of intelligence. B. F. Skinner later consolidated the behaviourist strictures. He excluded inner physiological processes along with inward experiences as items of serious psychological concern. Consequently, the successful "cognitive revolution" of the nineteen sixties was a revolt against Behaviourism.

Behaviourism is regarded as a doctrine, or a set of doctrines, about human and non-human animal behaviour. Behaviourism is committed to the truth of the following two sets of claims :

- (1) Psychology is the science of behaviour. It is not the science of mind.
- (2) Behaviour can be described and explained without making reference to mental events or to internal psychological processes. The sources of behaviour are external, not internal, i.e. they are in the environment and not in the mind.

In general, three aspects of behaviourism were pursued by the scholars. They are, Methodological Behaviourism, Psychological Behaviourism and Analytical Behaviourism.

Methodological Behaviourism is about the scientific conduct of Psychology. It claims that Psychology should concern itself with the behaviour of organisms of human and non-human animals. Psychology should not concern itself with mental states or events or with constructing internal information processing accounts of behaviour. According to methodological behaviourism, reference to mental events (such as an animal's beliefs or desires) adds nothing to what Psychology can and should understand about the sources of behaviour. Mental events are private entities which do not form proper objects of empirical study. Methodological behaviourism is a dominant theme in the writings of John Watson (1878-1958).

Psychological Behaviourism is a research programme within Psychology. It purports to explain human and animal behaviour in terms of external physical stimuli, responses, learning histories, and reinforcements. Psychological behaviourism is present in the work of Ivan Pavlov (1849-1936), Edward Thorndike (1874-1949), as well as John Watson. Its fullest and most influential expression is B. F. Skinner's (1904-90) work on schedules of reinforcement.

Analytical Behaviourism is a theory within Philosophy about the meaning or semantics of mental terms or concepts. It says that the very notion of a mental state or condition is the notion of a behavioural disposition or family of behavioural tendencies, for example, when we attribute a belief to someone, we are not saying that he or she is in a particular internal state or condition. Instead, we characterize the person in terms of what he or she might do in particular situations. Analytical behaviourism is found in the work of Gilbert Ryle (1900-76) and the later work of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951).

Behaviourism is unpopular at present. Cognitive scientists developing intricate internal information processing models dismiss it. Cognitive ethologists and ecological psychologists who think that its methods are irrelevant to studying how animals and persons behave in their natural and social environment, tend to neglect it. It is rejected by neuroscientists who are sure that direct study of the brain is the only way to understand the causes of behaviour. And linguists of almost all specialized areas are convinced that the origin of language is in the human mind and not in the behaviour. So they too do not depend much on Behaviourism. The most complete reason for discarding behaviourism is its commitment to the thesis that behaviour can be explained without reference to mental activity. Many philosophers and psychologists find this thesis very restrictive. They reject behaviourism because of it.

4. Gestalt Psychology

Gestalt Psychology, founded by Max Wertheimer, was to some extent a rebellion against the molecularism of Wundt's programme for Psychology which was in coordination with that of many others at the time, including that of William James. Gestalt Psychology, a term derived from the German term 'gestalten' or organized wholes, was a theory of perception which was regarded as the most popular theory during the early twentieth century. In fact, the word Gestalt means a unified or meaningful whole, which was to be the focus of psychological study instead. Gestalt is a German word that may also be translated as "configuration".

Gestalt Psychology was a movement in experimental Psychology. It originated just prior to World War - I. It made significant contributions to the study of perception and problem solving. German researchers such as Kurt Koffka, Wolfgang Kohler and Max Wertheimer began studying the ways in which perceptions are formed and how the processes are determined by context, configuration, and meaning rather than by the simple accumulation of sensory elements. The researchers also identified several new perceptual phenomena. This focus on meaning, context, and configuration also informed the Gestalt psychologists' studies of higher mental processes, which laid the foundations for later work in Cognitive Psychology.

Since the 1950s the term Gestalt has been adopted to describe certain forms of Psychotherapy. Gestalt psychotherapies, pioneered by Friedrich S. (Fritz) Perls have two main assumptions :

- separation of mind and body is artificial
- human organism responds holistically to life events.

The theory emphasizes awareness and the accurate perception of three things of oneself, of one's needs, and of the world. It says that experience can lose balance when a person avoids awareness of unpleasant events. The person's holistic responses, or Gestalten, are then incomplete and may interfere with later experiences. As a person who is aware, on the other hand, lives in the present and is not unduly influenced by past or future events.

Gestalt Psychology had a pervasive effect on many different areas such as Learning, Ethics, and Social Psychology. It philosophized that learning is most effective when students learn generalizations and principles that can be applied to new situations, as opposed to rote memorization that is more of a conditioned response than actual

learning. While stranded in the Canary Islands during World War I, Wolfgang Kohler, a physicist and Gestalt scholar, documented applications of this. Kohler observed a caged chimpanzee, Sultan, who was a part of scientific station there, use sticks as tools to gather fruit that was just out of reach outside of his cage. Kohler was impressed that Sultan developed his entire scheme as soon as he discovered the sticks and used the term 'insight' to describe this spontaneous restructuring of the situation. In another experiment, Kohler observed some chickens which were trained to peck at a gray board when it was presented with a black board. They could transfer this learning by pecking at a white board when it was presented with a gray board. Instead of the chickens only learning a single task, they learned to associate the reward (corn) with the board that was lighter, showing that they understood the relationship between the stimuli. This is known as 'transposition', and is applied to humans, as in the generalization of knowledge from one situation to another.

3.3.2. Psycholinguistics

Psycholinguistics or Linguistics of Psychology is the study dealing with the psychological and neurological factors that enable humans to acquire, use and understand language. Psycholinguistics emerged as a hybrid discipline out of the psychologist's interest in language and the Linguist's interest in the mind. The linguists recognize the relevance of Psychology since they want a thorough understanding of mental and behavioural operations. Similarly, the psychologist needs to know the elements and structure of languages and hence has to depend on the discipline of linguistics. The interdependency of the two disciplines is a rather recent trend, say 50 years old. It is a result of theoretically recognizing language as a mental phenomenon. Psycholinguistics, as a discipline, despite being relatively young, has its own set of assumptions, theories, and research methodologies. The major concerns of psycholinguistics are the following :

- Encoding or how language is produced
- Decoding or how language is comprehended, and
- Acquisition or how language is acquired.

The ultimate goal of investigations in psycholinguistics is to describe the operation of the mind, at least of the portion of the brain that deals with language.

In the first half of the 20th Century, coordination of Psychology and Linguistics was largely influenced by Behaviourism. Maximum attention was given to the study of speech behaviour. The goal of analysing a language was realized in analysing the speech of its speakers. The task of the linguist was to analyse the behaviour and not the mind of the speaker. Mental operations were not taken into consideration in studying language. The behaviourist tradition set the goal of language study in a very straightforward way. One task was to describe the sound system of a language. This was done by describing the individual sounds that occurred in the language, by classifying them into phonemes and allophones, in terms of their functional distinctiveness. (You will learn more about phonemes and allophones from your lessons on Phonetics.) The other task was about words and sentences — how words are made, how they are combined into sentences and which were the permissible sequences and which were not. The role of meaning or the study of semantics for

that matter was of least importance. It was limited to the issues like changes in word meaning or morphological analysis (see unit 2) or the restricted set of meaning relations existing between different constituents of a sentence which are immediately related (for details see immediate constituent analysis in unit 2).

Modern Psycholinguistics started with the development of Transformational Generative Grammar. The position of Chomsky and the Transformational-Generative grammarians is a mentalistic one. This psychological approach to grammar naturally aroused the interests of psychologists. They attempted to investigate language behaviour with the Transformational-Generative paradigm.

One of the major distinctions made in Psycholinguistics is that between performance and competence. Performance refers to the actual speaking and comprehending processes, which are influenced by such factors as fatigue, attention, and memory. Competence refers to the speaker-listener's knowledge of the language, uninfluenced by any psychological restraints. Language competence is the knowledge of a language that enables speakers to construct or encode and to understand or decode sentences.

The major problem confronting early psycholinguistic research was the assumption that the psychological theory or model of language competence should be identical with the Linguistic model. Early researchers assumed, for example, that all sentences were formed from the simple, active, affirmative, declarative sentence by applying transformations - that is, linguistic rules by which additions, deletions, substitutions, or permutations - are made in sentences. The derivational theory of complexity assumed that there was a one-to-one correspondence between linguistic complexity and psychological complexity. Thus sentences with a large number of transformations would be more difficult to comprehend, to judge as true or false, to recall, or to remember than sentences with fewer transformations.

When empirical evidence indicated that this correspondence did not always hold, Psycholinguists began to search for a purely psychological model of language behaviour. The model had to take into consideration the data of linguistics and such distinctions as those between performance and competence and between deep and surface structures. It was not possible, however, for the psychological model to attempt to mirror the linguistic model to describe sentence structure or complexity.

Psycholinguistics investigates all levels of language organisation - the levels of sound, structure and meaning. The following paragraphs will give you some idea of these.

3.3.2.1. Phonology

At the phonological level or the level of sounds, contemporary psycholinguistic research has attempted to address such issues as whether there exists a one-to-one correspondence between the acoustic signal and the perceived linguistic unit. Researchers are trying to understand why different acoustic signals are often perceived as the same sound. Another issue is the relation between speech perception and speech production. The Motor Theory postulates that a listener, in perceiving speech, uses essentially the same mechanisms that he uses to produce speech. Thus, one perceives accurately what someone else is saying because the listener himself imitates.

the sequences the speaker goes through. We know what the speaker is saying because we know what we would be saying with similar movements.

3.3.2.2. Syntax

Most psycholinguistic research has been directed at the syntactic level. A lot of attention has been given to the role of ambiguity — its effects on sentence comprehension and how ambiguities are recognized, analysed, and decoded by a listener. Paralinguistic phenomena such as rhythm, intonation, and pauses have been investigated to determine their effects on sentence comprehension and their role in sentence production. Some researchers have directed their efforts to the connection between semantics and syntax and the ways in which meaning is related to syntactic processing.

3.3.2.3. Semantics

At the semantic level, researchers are trying to define the nature of meaning and its role in encoding and decoding of sentences. One assumption is that word meanings are bundles of certain lexical features. For example, the meaning of wife would consist of such features as [human], [female], and [married]. Under this assumption, psycholinguistic research at the semantic level is directed at exploring and discovering what the features are, whether it is possible that there is universality of the features across all languages, and their role in such psychological processes as recall, comprehension, and memory.

Some psycholinguists have the assumption that meaning is derived from the individual's attempt to match linguistic information into his or her own cognitive system. Thus the meaning of a sentence is integrated with various other kinds of information — information from other sentences, from previously acquired knowledge, and generally from an understanding of the way things are related in the real world. Under this assumption, psycholinguists investigate the ways in which such meanings are integrated and the varied psychological processes the speakers influence and by which they are influenced.

Psycholinguistics analyses the processes that make it possible to form a correct sentence out of vocabulary and grammatical structures. This process is called codification. Psycholinguistics also studies the factors that account for decodification, i.e. the psychological structures that allow us to understand utterances, words, sentences, texts etc. To give an example, one field of research deals with questions like 'How do people learn a second language?' and 'How do children learn their native language?' According to a widely spread claim, humans have an innate Universal Grammar (i.e. an abstract concept containing the grammatical rules of all world languages). Opponents to this view claim that language is learned only through social contact. (Refer to the unit on Recent Trends in Linguistic Theory for details on these opposite views.) However, it is scientifically proven that every healthy human being has the innate ability to learn at least one language, his native language.

3.3.3. Cognitive linguistics :

Cognitive Linguistics, a new approach to the study of human language emerged in the 1970's as a reaction against the generative paradigm which was following a

view that language is an autonomous system. According to the generativists, human beings' perception, interaction and conceptualisation are extra-linguistic factors. The language faculty, they say, is itself an autonomous component of the mind and it is independent of other mental faculties. It has a device which can generate the sentences of a language through the rules. These rules are recursive; they are applied on structured strings of symbols, coordinating between syntax and semantics. Some of the assumptions of this dominant generative view were not in accordance with the experimental data in the fields of Linguistics and Psychology. As a reaction to this, the new approach of Cognitive Linguistics was introduced.

The main task of Cognitive Linguistics is to show how language relates to human cognition and behaviour in natural ways. It questions the Saussurian claim that language is arbitrary. It also rejects the other dichotomies standardised by Saussure, such as *langue/ parole*, synchronic/diachronic. Cognitive Linguistics also rejects the Chomskyan claim that language competence is separate from other aspects of human perception and behaviour. In contrast, Cognitive Linguistics claims that language is an integral part of general human cognition and hence there is no need to hypothesize that there is a separate language faculty. Cognitive Linguistics approaches linguistic faculties as integrated and not as modular. According to Cognitive Linguistics, Grammar is a conventional symbolization of semantic structure. It does not propagate any clear distinction of lexicon, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. A number of issues in contemporary Cognitive Linguistics are based on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (discussed below) which insists that language and human cognition are related in non-arbitrary ways.

Cognitive Linguistics is a branch of Linguistics and/or cognitive science, which aims to provide accounts of language that match well with current understandings of the human mind. The guiding principle behind this area of linguistics is that language use must be explained with reference to the underlying mental processes. In the last three decades, Cognitive Linguists have made sufficient progress in the study of the mind. They have done so by asking questions relating to psychological reality at large. For most Cognitive Linguists, 'cognitive' seems to be synonymous with 'psychological'. This is not the way the term is used, for instance, among cognitive psychologists. For them, *cognitive* means 'something related to knowledge'. Some scholars think that just as it is wrong to reduce cognition to neurocognition, it is wrong to reduce cognition to psychology also. When it comes to matters of the *brain* (i.e. biological reality), there is not a lot of interest at present. There are certainly multiple references in the reports of the work done to the "mind/brain". In fact, mind and brain are vastly different entities: the former is psychological, the latter biological. Peeters 1996 has pointed out, "The mind is what the brain does for a living".

In this connection, it would be relevant to mention at this point the work of scholars such as George Lakoff, Paul Deane and Terry Regier. Deane is the author of a very impressive book called *Grammar in Mind and Brain*. He has also worked on the effects of aphasia and on neurological support for Cognitive Linguistics. Regier has shown that spatial relations as expressed in language have no objective existence in the world. They depend directly upon the structure of the human brain. He is a close associate of Lakoff, who, for the last ten years or so, together with

cognitive scientists Jerry Feldman, Lokendra Shastri, David Bailey and Srin Narayanan, has been working at a "neural theory of language". There will be a small section of Lakoff below, but it would be relevant here to mention the main questions regarding mind and brain that he and his followers are addressing. It is common knowledge that a human brain consists of a very large number of neurons. They are connected up in specific ways with certain computational properties. Now the questions are the following :

- How is it possible to get the details of human concepts, the forms of human reason, and the range of human languages out of a lot of neurons connected up as they are in human brains?
- How does one get thought and language out of neurons?

These are the questions Cognitive Linguists are trying to answer in their laboratories through the computational neural modeling of thought and language.

We must note here that Cognitive Linguistics is not a totally homogeneous framework. There are at least three main approaches related to it :

- **The Experiential approach** : This approach pursues a practical and empirical description of meaning. It does not postulate logical rules and objective definitions based on theoretical considerations. More importance is given to the speakers and their experiences. There are attempts to understand what goes on when the speakers produce and understand words and sentences. The main idea is that of a transfer that a language user does from familiar knowledge to unfamiliar knowledge. Human beings have some experience and knowledge of the things that they know well. This experience and knowledge is transferred to other objects, events and abstract entities which they are not so familiar with. George Lakoff was among the first few scholars who studied this conceptual potential through the study of metaphors.
- **The Prominence approach** : The founder of this approach is the Danish Gestalt psychologist Rubin. He showed that when human beings look at an object in the environment they single it out as a perceptually prominent figure standing out from the ground. This principle is applied by the Cognitive Linguists in the study of language.
- **The Attentional approach** : The main concept of this approach is the notion of a 'frame' introduced by Fillmore. A frame is an assemblage of the knowledge human beings have about a certain situation. Different linguistic expressions result from the highlights of a frame. Different aspects of a frame are highlighted depending on human beings' cognitive ability to direct the attention.

Despite difference in approaches as described above, Cognitive Linguists follow some basic tenets. The first is that the human beings construct and understand meaning on the basis of their interaction with the world. This interaction depends on the following :

- spatial and temporal orientation,
- perception of surroundings,
- bodily movements.

Guided by the research in the areas such as Cognitive Psychology and

Anthropological Linguistics, Cognitive Linguists argue that features of a language and human beings' ability to use them depend on the following :

- general cognitive abilities,
- kinaesthetic abilities,
- visual and sensorimotor skills,
- human categorisation strategies,
- cultural factors,
- contextual factors and
- functional parameters.

The second main idea is that meanings do not exist independently from the people who create and use them. All linguistic forms act as clues activating the meanings that are there in our minds and brains. This activation of meaning is not totally the same in different individuals since meaning is based on individual experience as well as collective experience.

We need to mention here that though both Generative Linguistics and Cognitive Linguistics concentrate on the mind and not on the behaviour, their approaches are different. Generative Linguistics insists that the ability to learn one's mother tongue is a unique faculty. It is a special innate mental module. Generative linguists understand language as a product of general cognitive abilities. (For details on 'modularity hypothesis' see Chomsky 1986).

In contrast to the notion of 'modularity', Cognitive Linguistics propagates the notion of 'embodiment'. It says, mental concepts and linguistic categories are not abstract and independent of human experience. They are created on the basis of our concrete experiences and under the constraints imposed by our bodies. According to Lakoff and Johnson 1999, there are three distinct levels of embodiment of concepts. They are the following :

1. Phenomenological level : relates to everything one can be aware of, for example, mental states, physical states, environment and physical and social interactions;
2. Neural embodiment level : relates to structures which define concepts and operations at the neural level;
3. Cognitive consciousness level: relates to all mental operations that structure the conscious experience.

In general, Cognitive Linguistics claims that the structure of reality as reflected in language is a product of the human mind. People form mental categories from their experience and understanding of the world. These mental categories are reflected in the semantic structures. This approach to meaning presupposes that our linguistic skills are the results of our cognitive abilities.

3.3.4. Major Figures in Cognitive Sciences

In the sections below, we will introduce some scholars who have made significant contributions to the study of mind and language.

1. Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf :

Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf brought attention to the relationship between language, thought, and culture. But neither of them formally wrote the

hypothesis nor supported it with empirical evidence. Through a thorough study of their writings about linguistics, researchers have found two main ideas as follows :

- First, a theory of linguistic determinism that states that the language we speak determines the way we will interpret the world around us,
- Second, a weaker theory of linguistic relativism that states that language merely influences our thoughts about the real world.

Edward Sapir studied the research of Wilhelm von Humboldt who wrote *Gesammelte Werke* about one hundred years before Sapir published his linguistic theories. Humboldt proposed a strong version of linguistic determinism which said: "Man lives in the world about him principally, indeed exclusively, as language presents it to him." Sapir adopted this idea and expanded on it further. Although he did not always support this hypothesis very firmly, his writings state that there is clearly a very close connection between human language and human thought.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis theorizes that thoughts and behaviour are determined (or are at least partially influenced) by language. Since its inception in the 1920s and 1930s, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has caused controversy and motivated research in a variety of disciplines such as Linguistics, Psychology, Philosophy, Anthropology, and Education. Till date, it has not been completely disputed or defended. But it has continued to intrigue researchers around the world. Neither Sapir nor Whorf actually named any of their ideas about language and cognition the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. This name appeared after their death.

Benjamin Lee Whorf was Sapir's student. He devised the weaker theory of linguistic relativity which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same impression of the universe. He also supported the stronger linguistic determinism. To Whorf, this connection between language and thought was also an obligation and not a choice.

According to Whorf, we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. We isolate from the world of phenomena some categories and types which are to be organized by our minds. This is done largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We segregate nature into components, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances. We do that largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way. This is an agreement that holds throughout our speech community. It is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory.

Both Sapir and Whorf agreed that it is our culture that determines our language. Our language in turn determines the way that we categorize our thoughts about the world and our experiences in it. For more than fifty years researchers have tried to design studies that will support or refute this hypothesis. Support for the strong version has been weak because it is virtually impossible to test one's world-view without using language. Support for the weaker version has been minimal. Yet this hypothesis continues to fascinate researchers. One problem with the hypothesis is that it requires a measurement of human thought. Measuring thought and one's world-view is nearly impossible without the confounding influence of language, another of the variables being studied. Researchers settle for the study of behaviour

as a direct link to thought. Another problem is that if one is to believe the strong version of linguistic determinism, one also has to agree that thought is not possible without language. In that case, we do not have answers for the following :

- What about the pre-linguistic thought of babies?
- How can babies acquire language without thought?
- And, where did language come from?

In the linguistic determinist's view, language would have to be derived from a source outside the human realm because thought is impossible without language and before language there would have been no thought. Yet another problem with the hypothesis is that languages and linguistic concepts are highly translatable. Under linguistic determinism, a concept in one language would not be understood in a different language because the speakers and their world views are bound by different sets of rules. Languages are in fact translatable and only in select cases of poetry, humour and other creative communications are ideas "lost in the translation."

One problem researchers have found with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is Whorf's lack of empirical support for his linguistic insights. Whorf uses language nuances to prove vast differences between languages and then expects his reader to infer those differences in thought and behaviour.

2. B. F. Skinner :

B. F. Skinner was famous for his theory of Operant Conditioning. He believed that behaviours and languages are learned through reinforcement. He invented the Skinner box, which was used to control and measure learned animal behaviour. He believed that behavioural changes resulted from responses of the individual to environmental stimuli. His conviction was so strong that he thought that the cognitive revolution was a backward, rather than a forward, step in the history of Psychology. Skinner's main idea is that language is verbal behaviour. Language evolves from reinforcement. It is a matter of selecting the right enforcement to create learned associations.

His main scientific works were *The Behavior of Organisms* (1938) and *Verbal Behavior* (1957). Behaviourism as propagated by Skinner caused the study of mental events to be put aside. In many ways it was a reaction against Wundt's introspection. The behavioural revolution in America with the leadership of Skinner wanted psychology to be concerned with external behaviour only and "should not try to analyze the workings of the mind that underlay this behavior" (Anderson, 1995). Scholars today feel that the behaviourist programme and the issues pursued by it postponed any serious research in cognitive psychology by 40 years. But undoubtedly the most important contribution of behaviourism is a set of sophisticated and rigorous techniques and principles developed by the behaviourists for experimental study in all fields of psychology, including cognitive psychology.

Behaviorism was the dominant (though not sole) school within Psychology for a considerably long period, from about 1920 to 1960. A basic tenet of behaviourism was that the inner workings of the mind are unobservable and hence they do not form legitimate objects of scientific study. Verbal reports and introspection do not yield data which can be independently verified. Therefore they are not admissible as

evidence. The science of mind must limit itself to the study of behaviour, and the explanations that followed were framed in terms of stimulus-response pairings which do not involve the action of unseen mental processes.

However, explanation of the behaviour of a person with regard to external stimuli and learned responses is very limiting. This became most clear in the behaviourist treatment of language. Skinner's book *Verbal Behavior* (1957) charted the course of language acquisition by children as a series of reinforcements. In that series, the child learns how to produce a desired reward by uttering an appropriate utterance (e.g. "more"). The series also shows how to use words appropriately through positive and negative feedback. In 1959, Noam Chomsky published a strong criticism of Skinner's book, which made psychologists and linguists aware of the shortcomings of hard core behaviourism. It served to reintroduce the role of mental structures and processes as explanatory concepts in the science of mind. It is true that Skinner did not have a cognitive approach to language and linguistics. But had there been no Skinner, the field of linguistics would not have got scholars like Chomsky, Lakoff and Lamb.

3. Noam Chomsky :

Chomsky contradicted Skinner. He said that there was no way that a child can obtain language from only the primary linguistic data that the child receives from its parents, teachers and environment. This is so because language that the child is exposed to is neither sufficiently rich nor sufficiently grammatical. It is too inadequate to allow him/her to learn the complex rules of grammar. This argument is often called the 'poverty of the stimulus'. He claimed instead that an infant enters this world with a predisposition to learn a language fluently, and this predisposition is encased in our biological make-up, innate to all humans. It has now become known as the 'Language Acquisition Device' or LAD.

Chomsky highlighted that Skinner's account cannot explain the ability of native speakers to creatively construct sentences which are entirely new, yet which are understood and judged to be grammatical by other speakers. Chomsky, with his famous example "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously" argues that a child dealing with a novel sentence like this will have no difficulty in constructing an entirely unique and grammatical sentence. These cannot have been learned from his environment; but must result from some generative mechanism. Chomsky claimed that the speaker/listener develops a 'generative grammar', defined as a "finite set of rules operating on a finite vocabulary to generate an infinite number of acceptable grammatical sentences and no un-acceptable ones". (Note that "grammar" here refers only to the syntax, and makes no reference to meaning (semantics). While the environment can provide much information which shapes this grammar, and ultimately determines whether the child grows up speaking Chinese or English, the basic form of the grammar must be innate and universal.

In contradicting Skinner's view, Chomsky suggested that language is a generative system and it is an active, not passive, process of organizing information. He and his followers, for about half a century now, have developed a new understanding and form of Grammar. Their grammar, as we all know, is known as Generative Grammar. It had a tremendous impact on psychology and linguistics. The main

points that influenced scholars across disciplines and subdisciplines related to mind and language are the following :

- **Language has an underlying uniformity :**

All languages have some form of action (verbs/temporal) which come in typical forms, such as, I'll see you tomorrow. There are some exceptions to this general principle, for example, Native American languages seem to be based on the 'here' and 'now' type of structures and do not show a bias towards a temporal language.

- **Language is a generative system :**

When we perform in a language, i.e. when we speak or write we create something. Young children are learning to create and generate responses when they sometimes say outrageous things.

- **Principles of cognition :**

Within the underlying structure of languages, there are principles of cognition which reflect innate organizing. Historically this shifted the mode of inquiry in Psychology from behaviourism to a more cognitive basis.

There is not much scope for an in-depth discussion of the debates over the claims of innateness and universality. The battles continue even today. Interested students may consult the books mentioned in the bibliography.

Chomsky has been one of the most successful critics of Behaviourism. In his review of Skinner's book on verbal behaviour, Chomsky argued that some behaviour (linguistic behaviour in particular) has to be understood in terms of internally represented rules. He said that these rules are not products of learned associations. They are part of our native psychological endowment as human beings. Chomsky charged that behaviourist models of language learning cannot explain various facts about language acquisition. For example, it cannot account for the rapid acquisition of language by young children, which is sometimes referred to as the phenomenon of "lexical explosion". A child's linguistic abilities appear to be radically under-determined by the evidence of verbal behaviour offered to the child in the short period in which he or she acquires those abilities. By the age of four or five (normal) children have an almost limitless capacity to understand and produce sentences which they have never heard before. Chomsky argues that the basic rules or principles of grammar, therefore, must be innate.

The problem Chomsky refers to is the problem of behavioural capacities outstripping individual learning histories. It seems to go beyond merely the issue of linguistic behaviour in young children. It appears to be a fundamental fact about human beings that our sensitivities and behavioural capacities often surpass the limitations of our individual learning histories. Our history of reinforcement often is too impoverished to determine uniquely our behaviour. Much learning, therefore, seems to require pre-existing or innate representational structures within which learning occurs.

4. Sydney Lamb :

As a Cognitive Linguist, Sydney Lamb is widely known for having succeeded in capturing the biological reality to a very considerable extent. He also presented that reality, in its full complexity, to his fellow linguists in a relatively easy way. In his

newly published *Pathways of the Brain* (Lamb 1999), which appears to have become a highly controversial work, he provides a fascinating neurocognitive account of the workings of language (and other cognitive abilities). Instead of isolating linguistics from other scientific endeavours, he builds bridges to other disciplines.

Lamb sees the brain as the organ of knowledge and organizer of our abilities. It is our means of recognizing a face in a crowd, of conversing about anything we experience or imagine. It is our mechanism of forming thoughts and developing ideas. It allows us to instantly understand words coming rapidly in conversation. Lamb's questions are :

- How does it manage all this?
- Does it represent information in symbols or in the connectivity of a vast network?

His book, *Pathways of the Brain* builds a theory to answer such questions. Using a top-down modelling strategy, it charts relationships among words and other products of the brain's linguistic system to reveal properties of that system. Going beyond earlier linguistics, it sets three plausibility requirements for a valid neurocognitive theory : operational, developmental, and neurological: It must show how the linguistic system can operate for speaking and understanding, how it can be learned by children, and how it is implemented in neural structures. Unlike theories that leave linguistics isolated from science, it builds a bridge to biology. Lamb's work is of interest to anthropologists, linguists, neurologists, neuroscientists, philosophers, psychologists, and anyone interested in language or the brain.

Lamb is a scholar of the neurocognitive basis of language. He has contributed significantly to the opening up of the field of neurocognitive linguistics, which explores how the brain learns, represents, and utilizes linguistic information. Neurocognitive linguistics aims to offer a better understanding of both language and the brain : To do so, it examines each in relation to the other : it explores how the brain works through investigation of language, and it attempts to understand the nature of language by examining its relationship to the brain. There has been sufficient progress in the field in last two decades. It has been possible to analyse the linguistic data to reveal systematic structure. Some of this reflects properties of its neurocognitive basis. It has also been found that language is richly connected to other cognitive systems, as is clear from the fact that we are able to use language to talk about so many different kinds and aspects of human experience. Language, thus, occupies a central position in neurocognitive structure, which allows us to gain access to an understanding of other cognitive subsystems. The basic tenets of neurocognitive linguistics are the following :

- Phonemes, words, phrases, concepts, and other units are related to one another; linguistic knowledge is a network of relationships. Linguistic knowledge is a distributed representation of information.
- Speaking and other processes spread activation in the network. Parallel processing go on in the network.
- Thoughts are associated with speech through bidirectional processing. Visual,

auditory, and conceptual subsystems have their interconnections with the linguistic subsystems.

- Memory has distributed connectivity.

5. Jerry Fodor :

The philosopher Jerry Fodor took two of Chomsky's main themes and developed them into theories of the architecture of mind. Fodor's first seminal hypothesis came in the book *The Language of Thought* (1975).

Fodor's Language of Thought Hypothesis (LOTH) postulates that thought and thinking take place in a mental language. This language consists of a system of representations that is physically realized in the brain of thinkers and has a combinatorial syntax (and semantics) such that operations on representations are causally sensitive only to the syntactic properties of representations. According to LOTH, thought is, roughly, the tokening of a representation that has a syntactic (constituent) structure with an appropriate semantics. Thinking thus consists in syntactic operations defined over such representations. Most of the arguments for LOTH derive their strength from their ability to explain certain empirical phenomena like productivity and systematicity of thought and thinking.

Secondly, influenced by Chomsky's arguments for the existence of a LAD responsible for syntax alone, Fodor argued in *Modularity of Mind* (1983) that the mind is composed of functionally independent modules. This bold claim suggests that it should be possible to study perception, say, without worrying about memory, or to model reasoning without taking account of emotion. More specifically, Fodor claims that "higher" cognitive functions such as reasoning do not interact with low-level input/output functions like perception. This modularity claim has philosophical antecedents in the notion of mental faculties. The problem of defining just what the set of clearly isolated faculties is has not gone away.

According to Fodor, 'thought' is independent of low-level functions. 'Thought' is realized as a language, or, more specifically, as syntactic operations defined over representations. The basic units of this language are conceived of as symbols : entities which themselves are content-less or arbitrary. It is by virtue of their structural relationships and the structural transformations that are possible that these symbols can serve as the vehicles of thought.

6. George Lakoff :

George Lakoff did his Ph. D. in Linguistics from Indiana University in 1966. He taught at Harvard and the University of Michigan before his appointment as Professor of Linguistics at the University of California at Berkeley in 1972. In the early stages of his career, he was one of the developers of Transformational Grammar. He was also one of the founders of the Generative Semantics movement of the 1960s. In around 1975, he gave up on formal logic as it did not seem to be an adequate way to represent conceptual systems. Since then, he has been one of the major developers of Cognitive Linguistics which integrates discoveries about conceptual systems from the cognitive sciences into the theory of language. In the late 1970s, Lakoff was heavily influenced by the work of Len Talmy and Ron Langacker, who argued that regularities in the semantics of natural language can only be accounted for in terms

of a schematic mental imagery. This led Lakoff to reject the formalist, neo-Chomskyan approach to semantics he had originally developed. He started developing a new approach according to which the meanings of linguistic items are metaphorical extensions of 'basic level categories'. These are determined by our embodied experience in the world. Lakoff has numerous publications. Among them, the following are particularly representative: *Metaphors We Live By* (with Mark Johnson, 1980), *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things : What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (1987), and *Cognitive Semantics* (1988). Within Cognitive Linguistics, his current research covers many areas of Conceptual Analysis. They are :

- The nature of human conceptual systems :

Lakoff works especially on metaphor systems for concepts such as time, events, causation, emotions, morality, the self, politics, etc. He also includes the study of such systems in languages and their manifestations in linguistic form;

- The development of Cognitive Social Science :

Lakoff applies of Cognitive Semantics to the Social Sciences. He looks for practical applications of cognitive linguistics to help social advocates reframe social and political issues;

- Neural foundations of conceptual systems and language:

Working in collaboration with Jerome Feldman of the International Computer Science Institute, Lakoff is seeking to develop biologically-motivated structured systems to model both the learning of conceptual systems and their neural representations. This makes him include the development of a neural theory of grammar to be used in natural language processing.

Lakoff also tries to establish links between Cognitive Science and Philosophy on the one hand and Cognitive Science and Mathematics on the other.

To understand the major idea of Lakoff we may look at his own view:

"We are neural beings. Our brains take their input from the rest of our bodies. What our bodies are like and how they function in the world thus structures the very concepts we can use to think. We cannot think just anything – only what our embodied brains permit."

In his book *Philosophy in The Flesh*, co-authored with Mark Johnson, he makes the following points :

- The mind is inherently embodied.
- Thought is mostly unconscious.
- Abstract concepts are largely metaphorical.

According to Lakoff, metaphor appears to be a neural mechanism. It allows us to adapt the neural systems which are used in sensory-motor activity to create forms of abstract reason. If this hypothesis is correct, our sensory-motor systems would limit the abstract reasoning that we can perform. Anything we can think or understand is shaped by, made possible by, and limited by our bodies, brains, and our embodied interactions in the world.

The main contribution of Lakoff is the notion of "embodiment". According to this, concepts are shaped by the sensory motor system, by neural structures, and by

bodily experience in the world. Language is constituted by direct links between conceptual and phonological structures. Each of them is embodied through some systems like the sensory motor system and the emotional system. The basic unit of grammar is construction. It is a multi-faceted entity consisting of direct links between conceptual structures and the sound structures expressing them. Conceptual structures include constraints on context, knowledge, discourse structure etc. The basic properties of linguistic systems come from the properties of the neural systems. And, the neural systems constitute the embodied foundations of both conceptual and phonological systems. Grammar is constituted by a circuitry connection between them.

3.4. Summing Up

This unit has tried to give an overall view of the study of language and human mind. It has placed Linguistics as a branch of a newly emerging interdisciplinary field called Cognitive Science which includes Cognitive Psychology, Psycholinguistics, Cognitive Linguistics and other branches of investigation related to the understanding of the role of human mind in processing and storage of linguistic and non-linguistic information. The three branches that are discussed here deal with the activities of mind in relation to the acquisition, comprehension and production of language. In the discussion that followed, the issue of Behaviourism has come quite naturally due to its historical significance. The major intellectual tussle of approaches that occupied these fields of study in the 20th century is that of behaviour versus cognition. Newer domains could open up only because mind (and cognition) was chosen to be the object of investigation and not behaviour. Discussion in the section on Cognitive Psychology focuses on its scope and application of study and its historical background. The section on Psycholinguistics discussed how sounds, sentences and meaning are studied with respect to the psychological and neurological mechanisms of human beings engaged in encoding, decoding and acquisition of language. The third section was on Cognitive Linguistics, the most recent area of study which has taken multiple directions. The discussion mentioned how human brain is being studied to understand linguistic operations. The following section discussed the contribution of major scholars of the 20th century who studied language and human mind in great detail.

3.5. Glossary

Cognition : Comes from the Latin root '*cognoscere*', - to know, attention, thinking, problem solving, remembering and all such mental processes that are related to information processing.

Perception : the process of gaining knowledge of properties of matter and the external world through the senses.

Recognition : the process of memory that identifies an object or a person or an idea already known or experienced.

Language acquisition: natural, untutored way of picking up the mother tongue, in contrast to structured, organized and formally instructed learning of a second language.

Genetics : A branch of biological sciences which deals with interaction of the genes in producing the similarities and differences in plants and animals due to inherited characteristics of a species.

Transformations : formal devices in Transformational Generative grammar to show the relationship between one structure and another one, the second derived from the first; for example, I was seen by Peter is in passive form, derived from the active Peter saw me through a passive transformation.

Neuron : a nerve cell with all its processes and functions.

Aphasia : partial or total loss of the ability to articulate or understand language due to damage to the cerebral cortex.

Metaphors : anecdotes, parables and stories with figures of speech in which one object is seen as similar to the other, as if it is the other.

Kinesthetic abilities : (Greek roots: *Kinein* "to move"; *aisthesis* "the feeling") abilities related to sensory modality or muscle sense which helps perceiving bodily position, weight, movement etc.

LAD : Language Acquisition Device; the key hypothesis of generative grammarians; it says that the human being possesses a special mental faculty or mental organization which permits the acquisition of language as an automatic, pre-programmed process requiring only exposure to a particular language.

3.6. Comprehension Questions

1. What do you understand about the scope of Cognitive Psychology as a branch of study?
2. What are the different aspects of Behaviourism ? Why has it been discarded by scholars of different branches of study?
3. What are the different approaches that have come as historical stages in the development of Cognitive Psychology?
4. What is Psycholinguistics and how does it help understand the relation between human mind and language?
5. What are the different approaches in Cognitive Linguistics? What are the basic tenets of Cognitive Linguistics despite different approaches?
6. Describe the contribution of Sapir and Whorf in understanding the relationship of language, thought and culture.
7. "B.F. Skinner's approach to language was not cognitive, but he cannot be ignored in any discussion on cognitive approach to language" - discuss on the basis of your study of this unit.
8. Discuss briefly how Chomsky established Generative Grammar to discard behaviourist assumptions.
9. How does Sydney Lamb understand the biological realities of language?
10. "George Lakoff is a versatile cognitive scientist" - discuss.
11. Write short notes on the following: Language of Thought Hypothesis, High and low level cognitive functions, Artificial Intelligence.

3.7. Books Recommended

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22. Whorf, B. 1956. *Language, Thought & Reality*. Cambridge, MA : MIT Press.

Unit 4 □ Recent Trends in Linguistics Theory

Structures

- 4.1 Objectives
 - 4.2 Introduction
 - 4.2.1. Language
 - 4.2.2. Linguistics
 - 4.2.3. Branches of Linguistics
 - 4.3 Linguistics in the 20th Century
 - 4.3.1. Chomsky and Transformational Generative Grammar
 - 4.3.1.1. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax
 - 4.3.1.2. Changes
 - 4.3.2. Halliday and Functional Linguistics
 - 4.4 Language, Mind and Society
 - 4.4.1. Psycholinguistics and the Acquisition of Language
 - 4.4.2. Sociolinguistics : the study of language and society
 - 4.4.3. Discourse Analysis
 - 4.5 Summing Up
 - 4.6 Comprehension Questions
 - 4.7 Glossary
 - 4.8 Books Recommended
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4.1. Objectives

This unit aims at introducing the student to the recent developments in the field of theoretical linguistics. The period covered by the discussion is roughly 1950 to 1990. At the end of the unit you will have known the following :

- a. the contribution of leading linguists such as Chomsky, Halliday and others who have left a substantial impact on language teaching.
 - b. some of the prevalent ideas, concepts, approaches and methods in Linguistics in the later phase of the 20th century,
 - c. the scope of two major grammatical traditions in the second half of the 20th century, namely, the Transformational Generative Grammar and the Systemic Functional Grammar,
 - d. social and psychological aspects of language and the scholars' attempts to theoretically understand them,
 - e. some of the major applications of linguistic theory to educational and language teaching fields in recent times.
-

4.2. Introduction

4.2.1. Language

Human beings, among all inhabitants of the planet Earth, enjoy supremacy over

the others due to their gift of language, a means to communicate to each other with the use of a creative mechanism. Nothing is more distinctly human than our ability to talk, to use language. Animals too have their own system of communication. But those systems are not as complex and as creative as the human tool for communication. The study of human language can provide us insights into the things that combine to make human interactions possible. Human beings have always been curious about language : about its structure, its diversity, its use, and its effects on others. Language is a product of what are usually known as "mind," "culture," and "society". It provides us with concrete data through which we can study those which are abstract in nature. This unit offers you an introduction to the approaches which linguists have developed recently in the course of describing and analysing human languages. In other units, you would look at the sounds of language, how they are produced, and how they are patterned into words, sentences and texts. You would also study the diverse ways in which English as an individual language involves the processes of word and sentence formation. There will also be discussions on the processes which are universal to all human languages.

4.2.2. Linguistics

Linguistics is the scientific study of language, its structures and functions. Knowledge of linguistics, however, is different from the knowledge of a language. Just as a person is able to drive a car without understanding the inner mechanism of its engine, a speaker can use a language without any conscious knowledge of its internal structure. On the other hand, a linguist can understand the internal structure of a language (with the help of adequate glossing) without actually being able to speak it. A linguist, then, is not an individual who speaks more than one language (more accurately called "polyglot" or "bilingual" or "multilingual"). A linguist is one who can study languages and their structures and functions in a scientific way. A linguist is concerned with language as a human phenomenon. Linguists study grammar, the social and psychological aspects of language use, and the relationships among languages, both historical and contemporary. The field of linguistics, like any complex field, includes several major divisions.

Although the formal study of language dates from at least the middle of the first millennium BC in India and ancient Greece, the era of scientific study of language is dated from the end of the 18th century. This study started when English was discovered to have the same ancestor as a number of European and Asian languages. The discovery initiated at least a Century of intense interest in Comparative Philology, which involved uncovering links between languages, writing comparative grammars of related languages, and reconstructing their common origins. Those activities stimulated a search for the mechanisms underlying language change. In the 20th century, a shift of emphasis occurred, largely through the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, sometimes regarded as 'the Father of Modern Linguistics'. He advocated separating historical (diachronic) from contemporary (synchronic) aspects of language study. He argued that language at any point in time is an interlocking structure, in which all items are interdependent. This insight is now taken for granted in Linguistics and forms the basis of a major intellectual movement of the 20th century Structuralism.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Descriptive Linguistics was developed largely in the US. Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield were regarded jointly as the key figures in American Linguistics. They sought to describe the fast-disappearing American-Indian Languages. In the mid 20th century, Noam Chomsky triggered another change of direction, when he initiated work in the discipline of Generative Linguistics, an exploration for the principles in the mind of speakers which could generate sentences, the basis of human language.

4.2.3. Branches of Linguistics

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with all aspects of studies in Linguistics. Linguistics, as you may be aware, is a relatively young branch of social science, in which there has recently been a massive expansion in almost all areas. It now comprises a large number of flourishing branches. Several of them work in combination with other disciplines. Although Phonetics, the scientific study of speech sounds, is usually regarded as an intrinsic part of linguistics, it is often regarded as a discipline in its own right, especially by phoneticians, who point to its 19th century origins. Linguistics and Phonetics together are therefore often referred to as the Linguistic Sciences. At its core, Linguistics can be said to have four classic subdivisions :

- Phonology, the study of sound patterns
- Morphology, the study of composition of words
- Syntax, the study of the organization of sentences
- Semantics, the study of meaning.

Some linguists consider that Morphology and Syntax can be subsumed under the traditional term Grammar; others argue that Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, and Semantics all constitute the grammar of a language. Each can be studied synchronically or diachronically (or both together) but the order in which they have been dealt with within a grammar has changed over the years. In the last quarter-century, some previously fringe areas have become increasingly important. They are the following :

- Sociolinguistics, the study of the relationship between language and society;
- Psycholinguistics, the study of language and the mind;
- Neurolinguistics, the study of language and the brain;
- Linguistic Typology, the analysis of languages into types;
- Computational Linguistics, the use of computers to simulate language processes;
- Stylistics, the linguistic analysis applied to literature and style;
- Pragmatics, the study of language usage in real situations, a topic which includes discourse analysis.

All these areas are related to another branch, Applied Linguistics, in relation to such practical activities as Language Teaching, Lexicography, and Speech Therapy. You will read more about Applied Linguistics in Paper II.

Review Questions :

1. What are the main subdivisions of Linguistics?
2. Name three areas of Linguistics which have become important in recent years.

4.3. Linguistics in the 20th Century

Linguistics in the 20th century started with a movement called Structuralism (mentioned earlier). It is an approach to linguistics which treats language as an interwoven structure, in which every item acquires identity and validity only in relation to the other items in the system. This approach stands in contrast to much work in the 19th century, when it was common to trace the history of individual words. Insight into the structural nature of language is due to Ferdinand de Saussure, who compared language to a game of chess, noting that a chess piece in isolation has no value and that a move by any one piece has implications for all the others. An item's role in a structure can be understood by examining those items which occur alongside it and those which can be substituted for it. The structural approach developed in a strong form in the US in the second quarter of the 20th century. Leonard Bloomfield was the pioneer among these Structuralists. He tried to lay down a rigorous methodology for the analysis of any language. Various Bloomfieldians continued to refine and experiment with this approach until the 1960s. But from the late 1950s onwards, structural linguistics has started losing its focus, because scholars of Generative Linguistics (initiated by Noam Chomsky) have regarded the work of the American structuralists as too narrow in conception. They have argued that it is necessary to go beyond a description of the location of items to produce a grammar which mirrors a native speaker's intuitive knowledge of language.

While studying the recent trends in linguistics, we shall see that in a global scenario, the investigations in linguistics are carried out in two major directions, culminating into two major schools of thought. We may note that the main objective of one school is to understand language as a psychological reality, a product of the human mind. The other school directs its investigations in studying language as a social phenomenon, a product of the interactions in human society.

You must have heard about Chomskyan Revolution in linguistic study which started with the publication of a book, *Syntactic Structures* by Noam Chomsky in 1957. This publication opened up a new territory of linguistic research — nature and scope of involvement of human mind in processing and producing linguistic data, primarily the syntax or the structure of sentences. Though Chomsky himself and his followers are engaged in developing theories of Universal Grammar (see glossary), their work has had a tremendous impact on other branches of study, especially Psychology. In fact the branch of study called Psycholinguistics has been enriched mostly by the followers of Chomsky who are popularly known as Transformational Generative Grammarians. We must keep in mind here that all Psycholinguists are not Generative Grammarians. We shall see the difference later.

The second school of thought focuses mainly on the social aspects of language. The leading figure in this school is M.A.K. Halliday. To a teacher of language Halliday's Functional Grammar has a lot of importance. Many scholars are examining the application of Halliday's theories to sub-fields of linguistics — that of child language acquisition and development of meaning, discourse analysis, conversational patterns

etc. Halliday's followers, known as Functional Grammarians, belong to the field of Sociolinguistics. Note that there are other sociolinguists who are not followers of Halliday. More details on Halliday will be given in the course of the discussion on studies in social aspects of language.

Review Question :

3. What are the major differences between the Chomskyan linguistics and Halliday's approach to linguistics?

4.3.1. Chomsky and Transformational Generative Grammar :

The major architect of Transformational Generative Grammar, as mentioned earlier, is American linguist and political writer Noam Chomsky. He was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and introduced to Philology by his father, a scholar of Hebrew. At the University of Pennsylvania he studied under the structural linguist Zellig Harris. After gaining his Ph.D. in 1955 (dissertation : '*Transformational Analysis*'), he taught modern languages and linguistics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he became full professor in 1961. He was appointed Ferrari P. Ward Professor of Foreign Languages and Linguistics in 1976. During this period, he became a leading figure in US linguistics, replacing a mechanistic and behaviouristic view of language (based on the work of Bloomfield) with a mentalistic and generative approach. His definition of grammar differs from both traditional and structuralist theories, in that he is concerned not only with a formal descriptive system but also with the linguistic structures and processes at work in the mind. To him, such structures are universal and arise from a genetic predisposition to language. Features drawn from mathematics include the notions of transformation and generation. As proposed in 1957, transformational rules were a means by which one kind of sentence could be derived from another kind. This point will be clear if you consider the following examples :

Active : Some students did the work.

Passive : The work was done by some students.

The transformational hypothesis is that the second sentence is derived from the first sentence. Any process governed by such rules was a transformation. In the above case it was the passivization transformation.

4.3.1.1. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax

According to Chomsky, previous grammars involved only phrase-structures rules. They specified how sentences are structured out of phrases and phrases out of words. But they had no way of relating sentences with different structures (such as active and passive). Such earlier grammars were also concerned only with actual attested sentences and not with all the potential sentences in a language. An adequate grammar, however, in Chomsky's view, should generate (that is, explicitly account for) the infinite set of acceptable sentences of a language, rather than the finite set to be found in a corpus of texts.

Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (1965) presented what is known as his 'Standard Theory', which added the concepts deep structure and surface structure : deep or underlying forms which by transformation become surface or observable sentences of a particular language. In this theory, a passive was no longer to be derived from an

active sentence, but both from a common 'deep structure' which was neither active nor passive. Comparably, sentences with similar surface structures were shown to have different deep structures. For example, consider the following pair of sentences :

John is easy to please.

John is eager to please.

These two sentences look the same regarding their organization in the surface structure. But they have different deep structures. The terms 'deep structure' and 'surface structure' are described later.

The standard theory distinguishes between a speaker's competence (knowledge of a language) and performance (actual use of a language). Generative Grammar is mainly concerned with competence, not performance.

In *Syntactic Structures* (1957) Chomsky argued that existing theories of language could not explain the ability of native speakers of a language to deal with its underlying structures. In the backdrop of Behaviouristic account of language, a totally different conception of language was needed. Since the 1960s that new approach to language – the Transformational-Generative approach – has been developed, expanded, modified, and reformulated.

As it has been mentioned earlier, the position of Chomsky and the Transformational Generative grammarians is a mentalistic one. They define linguistics as a subdivision of cognitive psychology. This psychological approach to grammatical structure of language naturally aroused the interests of psychologists, and their attempts to investigate language behaviour with the Transformational Generative (TG) paradigm. This can be considered as the beginning of modern Psycholinguistics.

4.3.1.2. Changes

In the field of theoretical linguistics, there have been many changes in the descriptive apparatus of TG since 1957. From the very early stage of its history, TG has posited two levels of syntactic structure : (a) a deep structure and (b) a surface structure. The deep structure is an abstract underlying structure that incorporates all the syntactic information required for the interrelation of a given sentence. Surface structure is the one that incorporates all the syntactic features of a sentence required to convert the sentence into a spoken or written version. Roughly speaking, what we say or write is in surface structure, but what we understand is in deep structure. In psycholinguistic models, the early distinction made was that between deep and surface structures. Basically, the surface structure of a sentence is close to what is spoken and heard; it is similar to the sentence as performed. Deep structure, however, represents the meaning elements and their relationships and is a level of the sentence that is postulated to account for a wide variety of language phenomena.

To understand the point, consider these two sentences :

The child hit the ball.

The ball was hit by the child.

Although on the surface they look quite different, the sentences mean essentially the same thing. The sentences differ in surface structure but not in deep structure; they differ in form rather than in meaning. Now consider another sentence :

They are painting clothes.

This sentence can have more than one meaning, depending on whether painting is taken as a verb or as an adjective. If painting is a verb, then the sentence means "these people are painting pictures of clothes" or "these people are putting paint on clothes"; but if painting is an adjective, then the sentence means "these clothes are used for painting" or "these are the clothes that painters use". This sentence has two possible deep structures each corresponding to one of the two possible meanings, but with only one surface structure.

Later models have challenged the original assumptions, and even Chomsky altered his views to some extent. The newer models theorize the following :

- surface and deep structures may be closer in meaning than previously thought;
- more levels of structure may be involved in language processing;
- the context in which a sentence is communicated may be more important to meaning than structures; and
- deep and surface structures may not have any basis in reality; they can simply be theoretical constructs.

The process of transformations links deep structure with surface structure. For example, take a typical transformation : the rule for forming questions. It requires the normal subject-verb order to be inverted. Look at the following sentences :

He can see you later.

Can he see you later?

The surface structure of Can he see you later? differs in order of sentential elements (words visibly) from that of He can see you later. The theory says that the two sentences have the same order in deep structure, but the question transformation changes the order to that in surface structure.

Sentences that are syntactically ambiguous have the same surface structures but different deep structures. Take for example the following sentence :

Visiting teachers can be boring.

The sentence is ambiguous in that the subject Visiting teacher may correspond to "To visit teachers" or to "Teachers who visit". The ambiguity is dissolved if the modal verb can is omitted, since the clausal subject requires a singular verb in the following sentence :

Visiting teachers is boring.

But in the other case, the phrasal subject requires the plural :

Visiting teachers are boring.

Subsequent work in Generative Grammar has concentrated less on rules that specify what can be generated and more on constraints that determine what cannot be generated. A statement of Chomsky's recent views is available in his *Lectures on Government and Binding*, in which the theory is called the GB theory. Government is an extension of the traditional term whereby a verb governs its object, but for Chomsky prepositions may govern and subjects may be governed. Binding is concerned with the type of anaphora found with pronouns and reflexives, but the notion is greatly extended. The traditional notion of case is similarly used, though modified in that it need not be

morphological. Such devices can be used to rule out ungrammatical sentences that might otherwise be generated. *Barriers* (1986) further extends GB theory.

Generative Linguistics maintains a distinction between a person's knowledge of language (competence) and the use of it (performance). Performance contains slips of the tongue and false starts, and represents only a small sample of possible utterances. I have too many proposals to consider is a good English sentence, but is unlikely to occur in any collected sample. The terms were proposed by Noam Chomsky in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, when he stressed the need for a generative grammar that mirrors a speaker's competence and captures the creative aspect of his linguistic ability. In *Knowledge of Language* (1986), Chomsky replaced the terms with I-language (Internalized language) and E-language (Externalized language). A similar dichotomy, *Langue* and *Parole*, was proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure (1915), who stressed the social aspects of *Langue*, regarding it as shared knowledge, whereas Chomsky stresses the individual nature of Competence.

Chomsky is widely considered to be the most influential figure in linguistics in the later 20th century and is probably the linguist best known outside the field of language studies. His views on language and grammar are controversial and responses to them have been multifarious. They ranged from extreme enthusiasm from his supporters to overall rejection by some traditionalist, structuralist, and other critics. But even though some scholars do not accept his hypotheses, no one can deny the merits of his work since it asks some basic questions about the relation between human mind and linguistic structures.

We will discuss other aspects of Generative Grammar in other units, as and where necessary.

Review Questions :

4. Mention two drawbacks of earlier grammars that Chomsky criticised.
5. How does Chomsky explain ambiguous sentences?
6. What is the distinction between competence and performance, according to Chomsky?
7. What is the main contribution of Chomsky?

4.3.2. Halliday and Functional Linguistics

Another linguistic school of thought that developed simultaneously with Generative Linguistics is Functional Linguistics. The chief exponent of this school is M.A.K. Halliday, English linguist and grammarian, born in Leeds, Yorkshire. He was born into an academic family. His father, Wilfred J. Halliday (1889-1975) played a major part in compiling material for the North of England in Harold Orton's Survey of English Dialects. M.A.K. Halliday worked under the influence of his teacher J. L. Firth, a famous British Linguist.

M.A.K. Halliday's contributions to the study of English have been many. For the past few decades he has set the agenda for applications of linguistics. His areas of interest include first and second-language acquisition, poetics, artificial intelligence, linguistic disorders, discourse analysis, text linguistics, semiotics, speech and English grammar. In the field of English grammar, his famous contributions are *Intonation*

and Grammar in British English (1967), *Cohesion in English* (1976, with Ruqaiya Hassan), and *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985). His theory is currently known as Systemic Grammar and Systemic Linguistics. It is motivated towards applications. According to him, the value of a theory lies in the 'use' that can be made of it. This approach emphasizes that the functions of language in use should be studied on the basis of the following :

- social setting,
- mode of expression,
- register.

It is important to see the kind of influence the above factors leave on the system of a language. According to this approach, meaning, the primary content of language, is a product of the relationship between the system and its environment.

Halliday's approach has one radical difference from that of the generative grammarians. To a generative grammarian, there are two components in a language : syntax and lexicon. But Halliday has proposed to unify the syntax and lexicon in a 'lexicogrammar'. He has minimized the usual distinction between grammar and dictionary. In his system, meanings are expressed through three interrelated functions :

- the ideational,
- the interpersonal, and
- the textual.

Messages combine an organization of content deployed according to the expressive and receptive needs of speaker/authors and listener/readers within conventions of discourse organization. Language users make a series of choices drawn from the meaning potential of their language as they express themselves. The linguist describes those choices as individual minds and social contexts shape them.

Systemic Functional Grammar is basically sociological in its orientation. It attempts to understand how the structure of a language is shaped by different ways in which it is used for different purposes and in different situations. The main aim of Systemic Functional Grammar is to understand linguistic meaning through appreciation of the function of items in a structure. The theory centres around the notion of language function. By 'function' we mean what language does and how it does that. Systemic Functional Grammar takes off from the 'social context' and observes two things : how this social context constrains language and how language acts upon the social context. According to this system, a language can be analysed in terms of four strata. Each stratum involve several items. Let us first see what the four strata are :

- Context
- Semantics
- Lexico-grammar
- Phonology-graphology.

Now read the following sub-sections (I-IV) carefully :

I. Context is related to the following :

a. Field : The field of discourse refers to what is going on. It reflects the nature of the

social action that is taking place. To be specific, it shows the action that the participants are involved in, in which the language is an essential component.

b. **Tenor** : The tenor of discourse refers to the social relationships between the participants and the roles played by them. In other words, it shows who is taking part in the speech action, what is the nature of the participants, what are their statuses and roles. It also considers what kinds of role relationships exist among the participants for example, whether there is a permanent or temporary relationship among the participants and whether they are formal or informal when they participate in the socially significant dialogue.

c. **Mode** : The mode of discourse refers to aspects of the communication channel involving issues such as whether it is a monologue or a dialogue; whether it is spoken or written or whether the participants have visual contact or not. It also includes the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text — is it persuasive, expository or didactic etc.

II. Semantics : Systemic Functional Grammar views language as a social semiotic system that can relate grammatical structures to three types of meaning : ideational, interpersonal and textual. Semantics or the study of meaning in this grammar is concerned with the variations of Context — Field, Tenor and Mode in the following way :

a. **Ideational Semantics** : It is a study of how Ideational meanings realize Field. It interprets the world experience of the speaker. For example, 'time' is an experience; its lexico-grammatical tool is tense or transitivity. Ideational semantics would see how clauses are put in a sequence to maintain a logical serial of time through the use of tenses.

b. **Interpersonal Semantics** : It studies how interpersonal meanings realise Tenor. It takes into account the speech function, exchange structure, expression of attitude etc. The lexico-grammatical tools here are the systems of Mood and Modality. The system of Mood establishes and maintains an ongoing exchange between participants in a speech action. It assigns a speech role to an exchange. The roles are such as giving or asking for information or giving or demanding a thing etc. Each role has a lexicogrammatical correlation. For example, the speech role of giving information is lexicogrammatically correlated to a 'statement' whereas that of asking for information is correlated to a 'question'. Modality shows the domain of negotiation between the participants in terms of probability, usuality, obligation or inclination.

c. **Textual Semantics** : It studies the structure of the message by looking at the theme, rhetoric, information etc. Textual meaning is created out of ongoing interface of interpersonal and ideational information as text in a given context.

III. Lexico-grammar : The Lexico-grammar takes care of how the words are syntactically arranged to form utterances. Then the functions of the utterances are analysed in terms of Actor, Agent/Medium, Theme etc.

IV. Phonology-grammar : Phonology includes phonemic and syllabic articulation, intonation and rhythm. It is a resource of realizing abstract wordings through them.

Graphology is an alternative level to the Phonology. Here, abstract wordings are realized through the writing systems and conventions of a language.

Functional Grammar is useful to a teacher of language since it provides a description of how the structure of a language relates to the situational variables (namely, Field, Tenor and Mode) of the social context in which the language is in operation. It is an effective educational resource for teaching how various grammatical forms of language are structured to achieve different communicative purposes in a wide range of social contexts.

Review Questions :

8. What is M.A.K. Halliday's main contribution to the study of English?
9. What does Halliday mean by the term 'function'?
10. According to Halliday, how can language be analysed?

4.4. Language, Mind and Society :

Language works internally as well as externally. Internally it depends on the mind and consciousness, physiologically on the nervous system. Externally it depends on the speaker's environment which he/she is in constant touch with. In an individual's stages of growth, language is programmed to emerge at appropriate stages as long as the nervous system and the environment are normal. Some language disorders in users are environmental; others may be inherited. Language ability is believed by generative linguists to be genetically in-built at least in its broad outlines. The nature and extent of the innate contribution however, is controversial. The mental aspects of language are the concern of psycholinguistics, which deals primarily with the acquisition, comprehension, and production of language. Some theoretical linguists also attempt to produce models of the human language faculty, though many of these are controversial. The link between language and thought is another contentious issue. Few linguists accept the claim that language determines thought, but many consider that language has some influence on the way a person thinks.

The social aspects of language are the concern primarily of Sociolinguistics and Anthropological Linguistics. There have been various attempts to define the socio-cultural notion of 'a language'. Political and geographical boundaries do not necessarily coincide with linguistic boundaries, nor do ethnic names : many Belgians, for example, speak French. Different varieties of the 'same' language may be mutually incomprehensible even within the same country. For example, in England, a Cockney accent may not be understood by someone with a Scottish accent. Linguists usually therefore regard a language as being defined by those who speak it. The many varieties of English used around the world are all defined as English because this is the language the speakers agree that they are speaking. Its speakers, however, may consider a variety, as a distinct language if there is a strong literary, religious, or other tradition, as in the case of Scots.

4.4.1. Psycholinguistics and the Acquisition of Language

Psycholinguistics is a composite discipline created out of the psychologist's interest in language and the linguist's interest in Psychology. The mutual relevance of Psychology

— the study of mental and behavioural processes — and of Linguistics — the study of language elements and structure — had long been recognized, but only recently it has achieved the level of an accepted discipline, with its own assumptions, theories, and research methodologies. The major concerns of psycholinguistics are the psychological processes involved in encoding or speaking, in decoding or comprehending, and in acquiring language. Some would claim that the ultimate aim of psycholinguistics is to describe the operation of the mind — or at least of a portion of the brain dealing with language.

Prior to the development of modern Psycholinguistics, child language learning was explained through a general process of imitation. The child imitated the speech of those around her or him and in this way somehow imbibed the rules of the language. But such an approach cannot explain the fact that though the child hears numerous ungrammatical sentences (s)he somehow induces the correct rules of grammar. It also fails to explain why, though the child never hears the so-called rules of language, (s)he learns these quite early and adequately. Further evidence that imitation is not a sufficient explanation of language learning comes from the fact that the child often will hear grammatical utterances, yet will induce rules that are incorrect but are nevertheless regular. For example, the child will hear the past tense of go as went, and the plural of mouse as mice, and yet will say, at least during some period of development, goed and mouses respectively.

According to Chomsky, the child is born with a language-acquisition device that enables him or her speech, analyse it, and derive the rules of the language. Researchers have proposed that the language-acquisition device involves some of the universals of human language such as subject-predicate relationships or basic principles of phrase structure. But it has not been agreed upon as to what exactly is contained in the device. Most psycholinguists today, however, seem convinced that some basic information for dealing with language is innate.

You will know more about Psycholinguistics in the unit on Cognitive Approach to Linguistics.

Review Questions :

11. Do you think Psycholinguistics is an independent discipline? Give reason to support your answer.
12. How was child language learning explained earlier? What phenomena of actual child-language use could it not explain?

4.4.2. Sociolinguistics: the study of language and society

The scientific study of the social aspects of language is called Sociolinguistics. The relationship between language and society is complex. Sociolinguistics reflects this complexity. It encompasses many different activities which are simultaneously social and linguistic to varying degrees: for example, the analysis of conversation focuses on language as used in social interaction. We will briefly mention here how norms of speech and people's attitudes are reflected in language.

Norms of Speech

Conversation analysis deal with norms for the practice of conversation, including turn-taking, interruption, and silence. They may also investigate relatively contentless but highly significant conversational markers such as well, by the way and anyway which help to indicate the structure of conversations. A related area, the Ethnography of Speaking, notes that norms for how language is used vary from one society to another, and that, for instance, while English conversations do not normally contain silences of more than a few seconds, other cultures may permit much longer silences. Work in the Ethnography of Speaking is important for cross-cultural communication, where different attitudes towards language use can lead to misunderstanding and hostile ethnic stereotyping. This may be true even where both parties are native speakers of the same language: for example, Greek Australians are less likely to react favourably to humorous irony that are used by Australians of Irish origin.

Attitudes

This area of Sociolinguistics investigates people's attitudes to different varieties (accents, dialects, and languages) and the way in which these attitudes influence perceptions of the characteristics and abilities of speakers. These attitudes are clearly social in origin: for example, speakers of the prestigious British English accent known as Received Pronunciation (RP) are often perceived to be more competent and intelligent than speakers with regional accents, this view arising simply from the high social status of RP. Similarly, some accents of English are regarded as being more or less aesthetically pleasing than others. This, too, can be shown to be the result of the social connotations that different accents have for listeners. Americans, for example, do not find the accent of the West Midlands of England ugly, as many British people do, which has much to do with the fact that they do not recognize these accents as being from the West Midlands.

Accent, dialect, region, and class

An issue of considerable sociolinguistic importance is what the relationship between accent and dialect, on the one hand, and social class background on the other is. For example, dialects and accents of British English vary both geographically and socially. The high status of RP (Received Pronunciation) is traditionally associated with the British upper class and the public schools and often associated with Southern England. But it shows no regional variation. The further one goes down the social scale, however, the more regional differences will be visible, with lower-class accents having many regional features. For understanding variations in a more concrete way, modern Sociolinguistics has been using the quantitative technique. The scholar who gave the lead in this technique was the American sociolinguist William Labov. It enables investigators to measure varieties exactly and have detailed insight into the nature of the relationship between language and social class.

Here is a brief report of a case study to clarify the matter. In a sociolinguistic study in Bradford, Yorkshire, Malcolm Petyt showed that the percentage of /h/ 'dropped' by speakers correlated closely with social class as measured by factors such as occupation and income. While lower working-class speakers on an average dropped 93% of all

lhl in words like house, upper working-class speakers dropped 67%, lower middle-class speakers 28%, and upper middle-class speakers only 12%. This study provides information about the source of some of the language attitudes mentioned above. H-dropping is widely regarded in Britain as 'wrong'. Teachers and parents have often tried to remove this feature from children's speech, sometimes claiming that since the lhl appears in the spelling it must be wrong to omit it in speech. This is obviously a rationalization: no one makes this claim about the h of hour, or the k of knee. The real reason for this condemnation of h-dropping is its correlation with social class and its low social status.

Such quantitative technique enable linguists to investigate some of the processes involved in language change. Large amounts of tape-recorded data (obtained in such a way as to ensure as far as possible that speakers are speaking naturally) can be used to plot the spread of changes through the community and through the language. For example, in the 1960s Labov was able to show that in New York City the consonant r was being reintroduced in the pronunciation of words like form and farm by comparing the number of |r|s used by older speakers to the number used by younger speakers. He was also able to show that speakers from the lower middle class were spearheading this change. This was so probably because saying 'form' rather than 'fawm' is considered prestigious (and therefore 'correct') in US society, and also because speakers from this class are more likely to be both socially ambitious and insecure about the worth of their dialects.

Sociolinguistics can observe the details of individual behaviour in face-to-face conversation. It can be involved in the large-scale investigation of linguistic behaviour in different communities. It can also be concerned with the relationship between language and society in even bigger units such as entire nations. Sociolinguists working in areas such as the Sociology of Language and Language Planning are concerned with issues like the treatment of language minorities, and the selection and codification of languages in countries which have hitherto had no standard language. In nations such as Britain, Ireland, the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, English is the major language. It exists in a relationship of dominance with numerically much smaller and officially much less well-supported languages, such as Gaelic and Welsh in Britain and Maori in New Zealand. Sociolinguists study such relationships and their implications for education. In the case of Britain, they also attempt to obtain information on more recently arrived languages such as Gujrati, Punjabi, Maltese, and Turkish. Elsewhere, they note that there are countries in which native speakers of English are in a minority, as in Nicaragua, Honduras, South Africa, and Zimbabwe.

In multilingual situations, some developments occur which are important for linguists. Those are situations for the growth of pidgin and creole languages. Sociolinguists study the behaviour of bilinguals, investigating the way in which they switch from one language to another depending on social context. Speakers in all human societies possess large verbal repertoires, which may include different (less or more formal) styles, different dialects and different languages. Varieties of language will be selected from this repertoire depending on features of the social context, such as the formality of the situation and the topic of conversation. Stylistic variation occurs in all English-speaking communities, for example, one might say somewhat foolish or rather

silly or a bit daft depending on several factors such as who one is talking to, what one is talking about, the situation one is in, and the impression one wants to create. Some English-speaking communities, such as many Scots and members of overseas Caribbean communities, are bidialectal, having access to more than one dialect as well as different styles.

Sociolinguistics of all types is concerned with language as a social phenomenon. Some aspects of this subject may be more sociological in emphasis, others may be more linguistic. It is characteristic of all work in Sociolinguistics, however, that it focuses on English and other languages as they are used by ordinary human beings to communicate with one another and to develop and maintain social relationships.

Review Questions :

13. What aspects of language does Sociolinguistics deal with?
14. Mention some of the practical applications of Sociolinguistics.

4.4.3. Discourse Analysis

Within language study, discourse means a stretch of language used in a particular context. Discourse analysis is a way of looking at the way language is actually used in real situations and social settings. Hence, a conversation between scientists, a chat between manager and worker, teacher and student, doctor and patient, husband and wife and so on all constitute different kinds of discourse that will have particular features worthy of study.

As language users, we all have the linguistic ability to create discourses. We do this by combining phonemes and morphemes into words, words into phrases, phrases into clauses, clauses into sentences, and sentences into a text or discourse. The ability to make such combinations of words comes from our ability to connect them by following the rules of syntax. We also use our knowledge of the conditions that apply to that particular discourse.

In Linguistics, Discourse Analysis refers to the analysis of connected speech and writing, and their relationship to the contexts in which they are used. Discourse analysts study written texts, conversation, institutionalized forms of talk, communicative events in general, and aspects of electronic text-processing. Early researchers included the structural linguist Zellig Harris in the US in the 1950s, at a time when linguistics was largely concerned with the analysis of single sentences. Harris was interested in the distribution of elements in extended texts and the relationship between a text and its social situation. In the 1960s, the American linguistic anthropologist Dell Hymes studied speech in its social setting (forms of address); he called it the Ethnography of Communication. The work of British linguistic philosophers such as J. L. Austin, J. R. Searle, and H. P. Grice was influential in the study of language as social action, through speech-act theory, conversational maxims, and pragmatics (the study of meaning in context) in general.

Discourse Analysis as a branch of study is concerned with the following :

- a. use of language beyond the boundaries of a sentence/utterance,
- b. the interrelationships between language and society and
- c. the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication.

Discourse Analysis refers mainly to the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected speech or written discourse. We may say that it refers to attempts to study the organisation of language above the sentence or above the clause. It therefore attempts to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts. Discourse analysis is also concerned with language use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers. Discourse Analysis involves the close study of the linguistic performance of a speaker or writer, in particular of his or her style within the discourse. It attempts to describe and explain how and why meaning is created within and across a text both at the surface (semantic) level as well as at the subtextual (pragmatic) level.

Discourse analysis pays close attention to all the important aspects of the creation and interpretation of a text, including close attention to the effects of genre and context. (Some of these will be dealt with in other units). Pragmatics is a major aspect of Discourse Analysis since language is used with specific reference to the context. The meanings of the language use often have to be pragmatically inferred from a knowledge of the words used in that particular context rather than from their basic semantic value. The pronouns 'you' or 'I' are some examples.

Discourse analysis does not presume a bias towards the study of either spoken or written language. In fact, the monolithic character of the categories of speech and writing is increasingly being challenged, especially as the analysts have to consider multi-media texts and practices on the Internet. Sometimes the focus in Discourse Analysis is on the social and interactive nature of language - even in the case of written communication. Coming from this end, the sentence/clause is no more a primary unit of analysis. Analysts are motivated to move beyond the sentence. In this case Discourse Analysis emphasizes language use as social action, language use as situated performance and language use as related to social relations and identities, power, inequality and social struggle, language use as essentially a matter of "practices" rather than just "structures". Clearly there is a point where Discourse Analysis becomes a tool for understanding the social phenomena. Then there emerges a theory which is completely detached from empirical analysis of language use. The empirical study is apparently innocent of sociopolitical issues, but a study of social phenomena through discourse must address socio-politically relevant questions.

M.A.K. Halliday's Systemic Linguistics emphasizes the social functions of language and the thematic and informational structure of speech and writing. Halliday relates grammar at the clause and sentence level to situational constraints, referred to as field (purpose of communication), tenor (relationships among participants), and mode (channels of communication). We have discussed this earlier. John Sinclair and Malcolm Coulthard were also influential in using discourse analysis for practical purposes. They devised a model for the description of spoken interaction in school classrooms, based on a rank-scale of units of discourse, from larger stretches of talk termed transactions to individual acts of speech. In the Sinclair-Coulthard model the central item is the exchange. It is regarded as the minimal unit of interaction. Other such work has dealt with interactions such as doctor-patient talk, service encounters, interviews, debate and business negotiations, and monologues. Other work has related intonation to the structuring of topic and information, and to interaction. Structural linguistics is followed

in such work in isolating units and in framing rules for defining well-formed sequences. It also depends on speech-act theory.

In the United States, research was conducted through the examination of forms of talk such as storytelling, greeting, and verbal duels in different cultural and social settings (for example, the work of John Gumperz and Dell Hymes). The field often referred to as Conversation Analysis is also included under the heading of Discourse Analysis. Here the emphasis is not on models of structure but on the behaviour of participants in talk and on patterns recurring over a wide range of natural data. Scholars such as E. Goffman, D. Sudnow, H. Sacks, and G. Jefferson have made important contributions in the study of conversational rules, turn-taking, and other features of spoken interaction. The description of turn-taking illustrates the approach. A set of rules or procedures is described for how participants manage their turns at speaking. It is observed that speakers know when they may, without being seen to interrupt, take a turn at talk. Interestingly, there exist mechanisms for selecting who speaks next.

To say in general terms, the basic unit of spoken discourse is the adjacency pair. It is a pair of utterances produced by different speakers, whose second member is constrained by the first, for example, in question-response and greeting-greeting. Adjacency pairs are an example of local management in talk. As well as strict adjacency, the description deals with embedding (insertion sequences) and with the larger-scale organization of openings and closings. Alongside the conversation analysts, in the sociolinguistic tradition, William Labov's studies of oral narrative have contributed to a more general knowledge of narrative structure. Such work has generated a variety of descriptions of discourse organization as well as studies of social constraints on politeness and face-preserving phenomena.

4.5. Summing up

In this unit, we have discussed how the study of language developed in the second half of the 20th century. Within the scope of one unit, we have seen that language as a human phenomenon has been approached from two major points of view. One concentrates on its psychological aspects and the other on its sociological aspects. Two schools of thought have devoted their academic energy in understanding language and its form and function. We have discussed the principal ideas in Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar and Halliday's Functional Systemic Grammar. Our discussion on Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis has hopefully given a perspective of language and language teaching and their relation to society in general. To conclude, we must keep in mind that a lot of research nowadays can no longer be situated neatly within the received academic disciplines such as Linguistics, Sociology, Psychology, Anthropology, etc. Investigations in the language studies in the second half of 20th century have always shown the tendency to cross boundaries of canonical disciplines in order to reach at more elemental form of truth - the interrelations between Mind, Matter and Man as connected by the uniquely human phenomenon - Language.

4. 6. Comprehension Questions

1. Write a note on the different subdivisions of Linguistics.
2. What do you understand by the term Structuralism?
3. How is Transformational Generative Grammar different from earlier grammar?
4. What is the relation between deep structure and surface structure?
5. As a teacher of language how do you assess the usefulness of Functional Grammar?
6. How can linguistics be useful in understanding stages of language acquisition?
7. "Sociolinguistics is concerned with language as a social phenomenon" - Expand this statement on the basis of your reading of the relevant section.
8. Do you think Discourse Analysis is useful for understanding some aspects of language teaching? Substantiate your answer.

4.7. Glossary

Adjacency pair : A pair of discourse moves that they often go together, e. g. question and answer.

Ambiguity : This means 'more than one possible meaning'. The rules of grammar exist to allow a structure of words to be created that has a single meaning, i.e. to be unambiguous. An example is 'I like watching cricket matches more than my wife'. It has two possible meanings: a. 'I like watching cricket matches more than I like my wife' and b. 'I like watching cricket matches more than my wife likes watching cricket matches'. A native speaker of a language can easily identify ambiguous sentences and can describe the ambiguity. A linguist can explain ambiguities with the help of grammatical structures.

Anaphor : A pronominal expression (e.g. himself, themselves etc.) whose reference is dependent on an antecedent, i.e. an expression with identical reference. In the sentence He did it himself, the word himself is an anaphor and the word he is its antecedent.

Case : A grammatical relation between a noun phrase and the other components of a sentence such as a verb or a preposition. A noun phrase can become a part of a sentence only when it has a case (e.g. nominative, accusative, dative etc.).

Dialect : A dialect is a particular variety of a language spoken by a group united by region, class etc. It is usually seen nowadays as a matter of different vocabulary or grammar rather than of accent.

Langue and Parole : Ferdinand de Saussure made a distinction between two components of a language - langue and parole. Langue refers to an abstract system of knowledge that is shared by the speakers of a language. Parole is the actual manifestation of that abstract system which is seen in writing or is heard in speech.

Morphemes : A morpheme is the smallest unit (with a meaning) in the grammar that is either a word in its own right (free morpheme look) or part of a word (bound morpheme -s in looks). A morpheme is the smallest part of a word that can create or change the word's meaning or function (e.g. un-, happy, -ness). Prefixes and suffixes (i.e. affixes such as, e.g. un-; -tion) are called bound morphemes because they cannot exist without being bound to a base or root word; base words (e.g. important, stone) are called free morphemes because they can exist as independent words. Grammatical morphemes that form part of the grammar, such as the plural -s in books are one type; they are called inflections. Morphemes that change one word to another, for example -er in cooker, -ery in cooking etc. constitute another class called derivations.

I-language and E-language : Chomsky 1986 distinguished between Internalized language (I-language) and Externalized language (E-language). E-language is a collection of sentences which can be understood independently of the properties of the mind. I-language, on the other hand, is a system represented in the mind/brain of an individual. This distinction can be reflected on the difference of approaches in language studies. The linguistics of I-language is concerned with the speaker's knowledge of language and its source. It treats languages as an internal property of the human mind. In contrast, the linguistics of E-language emphasizes the physical properties of language and treats language as a social phenomenon.

Register : The origin of this term is in the French word registre which has come from Medieval Latin and which means a list or catalogue. In Sociolinguistics, it means a variety of language defined according to social use, such as scientific, formal, religious, colloquial and journalistic. The term was first given broad currency by the British linguist Michael Halliday, who made a distinction between varieties of language defined according to the characteristics of the user (dialects) and those defined according to the characteristics of the situation (registers).

Pidgin and creole : A pidgin is a miniature language which emerges when two languages come in close contact for restricted purposes of business or administration involving two linguistic communities. It contains elements from both the languages and the elements are drastically simplified in structure and vocabulary. When a pidgin, after sustained use over a period of time, starts getting native speakers to speak it, it becomes a creole.

Semantics : A branch of linguistics that studies different aspects of meaning.

Universal Grammar : It is a key concept in Generative Grammar. It is based on the argument that any human being has an innate ability to learn any natural language that he/she is exposed to. Though the data available through exposure is random and unsystematic, the child can access the abstract linguistic structures effortlessly and with that he/she can give correct judgements on grammaticality. This becomes possible because the child is born with a device which works universally. Universal Grammar or UG is a theoretical construct to signify this device.

4.8. Books Recommended

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PG : ELT - 1
MODULE - 2

PC : EIT : 1
MODULE - 2

Unit 1 □ Introduction to Literary Theory

Structures

1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Classical Genre Theory (Greek & Roman) : Plato, Aristotle, Horace

1.2.1 Plato

1.2.2 Aristotle

1.2.3 Horace

1.3 Let's Sum up

1.3.1 Glossary

1.4 Questions

1.5 Suggested Readings

1.0 Objectives

- To develop insights into theoretical considerations underlying various literary forms.
 - To raise awareness of different literary forms.
 - Specifically to raise awareness of the Classical Genre Theory.
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1.1 Introduction

Introductory to Genre Theory

In discussing Literary Theory, attention is focused on Literature as a form of art and the basic principles of artistic beauty. One popular theory in the study of Literature is the Genre Theory. We, however, will take up two broad theoretical fields, namely, the Classical and the Modern. As stated in the objectives, theories are the underlying currents which give shape to different literary forms e.g. Poetry, Novel, Tragedy, Comedy and so on.

1.2 Classical Genre Theory (Greek & Roman) : Plato, Aristotle, Horace

1.2.1 Plato (427-387 B.C)

Plato's Republic BK X gives us a vivid picture of his views on Literature,

particularly his views on imitation. According to the critic Atkins, "in his works, appears for the first time the conception of mimesis or imitation as the essential characteristic of all art."

The beginning of literary criticism in ancient Greece is shrouded in darkness. But it appears that in the ancient world criticism began almost simultaneously with creation. There are countless critical references in different books, poems, dramas, dialogues etc. However, it was only with Plato that criticism became a vital force in the ancient world. Plato was the first conscious literary critic who has expressed his ideas in a systematic way in his *Dialogues*.

Poetic Inspiration

As regards his views on poetic inspiration, they have been expressed most poetically and at great length in the following passage in his *Ion* : "*For the poet it is a light and winged and holy thing and there is no invention in him until he has been inspired, and is out of his senses, and the mind is no longer in him : when he has not attained to this state, he is powerless and is unable to utter his oracles. Many are noble words in which poets speak concerning the actions of men; but they do not speak of them by any rules of art : not by art does the poet sing, but by power divine.*"

This is the most elaborate presentation in the ancient world of the notion of poetry as pure inspiration, a notion which even survives to-day with modifications.

Imitation

Plato was an idealist. He believed that ideas alone are true and real earthly things - beauty, goodness, justice - are mere types or copies of the ideal beauty, goodness etc. which exist in heaven. He regards imitation as mere mimesis or representation of these Ideal Forms and not expression, which is creative. *Republic Book X* gives us a reasonable and elaborate statement of his views on imitation. Briefly, if true reality consists of the *ideas* of things, of which individual objects are but reflections or imitations, then anyone who imitates those individual objects is imitating an imitation, and so producing something which is still further removed from ultimate reality. "It is significant," says David Daiches, "that Plato develops this argument first with reference to the painter, and that he takes a simple, representational view of painting - representational painting is an imitation of a specific object, or groups of objects, and if it is nothing but that, if reality lies not in individual objects but in general ideas or forms, then from the point of view of the philosopher, whose main interest is in apprehending reality, the painter is not doing anything particularly valuable - though on the other hand, what he is doing is not necessarily vicious. Just as the painter, furthermore, only imitates what he sees and does not know how to make or to use what he sees, so the poet imitates reality without necessarily understanding it. Not only, therefore, are the arts

imitations of imitations and are thus not once or twice but thrice removed from truth : they are also the product of a futile ignorance. The man, who imitates or describes, or represents without really knowing what he is imitating, is demonstrating both his lack of useful purpose and his lack of knowledge. Such is Plato's theory of imitation.

Plato's View of Poetry : Utilitarian

Plato's literary criticism, especially his views on poetry, marks the culmination of a critical phase in the history of criticism in antiquity; he also inaugurates a new phase in critical development. He was a teacher, he had his own *Academy* to which pupils came from distant parts of the country, and his ideal was to turn out young men of well-formed personalities, fit to be leaders and rulers of an ideal state. In order to assess correctly Plato's theory of poetry and his attack on it, we must remember that the aim of his literary criticism is frankly utilitarian, that of educating the youth and forming them into good citizens of his ideal state.

Contemporary Society :

In order to understand Plato's views on poetry, it is essential to keep in mind the contemporary state of affairs in Athens : i) It was a time of political decline and dissolution, Education was in a sorry state. The epics of Homer formed an essential part of the school curriculum. They were venerated by the Greeks almost like *The Bible*. But in Homer there are many stories which represent the gods in an unfavourable light. So they were the common objects of hostile criticism on the part of philosophers and educationists. Allegorical interpretations of these stories were considered unconvincing and difficult to understand. ii) Courage, heroism, magnificence, skill in the use of arms, were the virtues prized highly by the Greeks. *Their conception of virtue was different from the later Christian conception.* iii) The wonderful flowering time of Greek art and literature was over, and the creative impulse had actually died away. Literature was immoral, corrupt and degenerate. Poetry was decadent, and so was the object of much hostile criticism. iv) This degeneration had resulted in much heart-searching and reflection. As a result, philosophers and orators were regarded as leading spirits. They were regarded as superior to poets and artists; and so some were inclined to assign to them a higher status. Confusion prevailed in all spheres of life, intellectual, moral, political and educational. There was a constant debate between the philosophers and poets regarding their respective significance.

Plato's Contribution

"In his works, appears for the first time the concept of mimesis or imitation as the essential characteristic of all art" - Atkins.

Though in general, Plato regards imitation as a mere copy of surface or superficial appearances, yet at places he advances a little further. "Alive as he was to an unseen reality existing behind the objects of sense, he conceived of an imitation of the ideal

forms of that unseen world" - (Atkins). Such imitation he associated with poetry of the highest kind; a process which represented things as they ought to be, and not in their actuality.

Similarly, he makes significant advance in his views on "inspiration" when he regards it as an ecstatic power, a form of spiritual exaltation which sends the soul in search of ideal beauty. It liberates the soul from the bondage of custom and convention, and brings man nearer to truth. Poetry is inspiration, but is also an art, and he breaks new grounds in laying some basic principles for its practice. (a) The artist must take thought i.e. must select and organise his material, (b) He must have knowledge of the rules and techniques of his art. He must follow the law of order and restraint and (c) Study, exercise and learning are essential.

He is the first to emphasize the doctrine of artistic unity. In his classification of poetry into dithyrambic (lyric), epic and dramatic, on the basis of methods of communication followed by them, originated the classification of poetry in forms or styles. He accepts the traditional 'pity' and 'fear' as the emotions proper to tragedy. Though he has not much to say about 'Catharsis' — he does not apply the term to tragedy at all — yet he hints at the process when he speaks of external agitation subduing the agitation within as when a crying child is rocked by the nurse to be comforted.

"With his remarks on Comedy may be said to begin the theory of the ludicrous in antiquity" — (Atkins). When he says that the ludicrous is the outcome, to some extent, of defect in friends i.e. those with whom we are in sympathy, he hints at the profound truth, for true laughter can result only when we like the person exposed to ridicule. However, Plato is against excessive laughter because it leads to equally violent reactions.

As regards the function of poetry, he is definitely of the view that it is not merely the giving of pleasure, but the moulding of human character, the bringing out of the best that is latent in the human soul.

His ideals of poetic art are high. Poetry must be characterized by austerity, order and restraint. "He is thus the first to enunciate the classical ideals of artistic beauty" — (Atkins).

He is also the first to emphasize the value of decorum in art. He condemns incongruities of style, melody and rhythm, and also the ridiculous mixture of tragic and comic effects that were a feature of contemporary drama.

Plato is a pioneer in literary theory and "with him begins the larger and more philosophical criticism which aimed at viewing literature in relation to life, and at arriving, if possible, at the innermost laws of its being" — (Atkins). His greatest achievement lies in the fact that he grasped the first principles, the fundamentals with unerring certainty. He was fully alive to the need of a logic of art, the organic

unity of art and laid great stress on clear thinking as necessary for artistic creation. He was the first to recognize the mysterious power of poetry, its vitality, and its power or communicating truth.

"Plato is far removed from the later moralistic theorists, as he is from those who advocated, 'Art for Art's sake'—(Atkins). "With his literary theory, he set men thinking, he gave inspiration and direction to critical effort, and at the same time he supplies ideas for generations to come. It was in this way that he made later criticism possible."

1.2.2 Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) - Defence of Poetry

Aristotle was the great disciple of Plato, and it was he who took up the challenge of Plato at the end of *Republic X* to show that poetry was, 'not only pleasant but also useful,' for man and society. Though Aristotle never directly refers to Plato, much of the *Poetics* is a covert reply to his great master. Aristotle takes up Plato's challenge and demonstrates the value and significance of poetry in moulding the character of the individual.

Aristotle takes up hints and suggestions from his great teacher, re-interprets them, and imparts new meaning and significance to Plato's concepts.

Abercrombie summarizes the different points of view of the two as follows : The difference between the two may, very roughly, be indicated by referring to the studies in which they were specially interested. Aristotle's philosophy was coloured by his interest in biology, Plato's by his interest in mathematics. This means that Aristotle's mind liked to proceed from things to ideas, Plato's from ideas to things.

'The Poetics'

Aristotle is the first systematic critic and his literary criticism is largely embodied in the *Poetics*, which must have been written by him after he settled as teacher and investigator in Athens.

The Poetics is divisible into the following six parts i) Chapters I-IV contain introductory remarks on poetry, and classification into different kinds, including tragedy and comedy. Imitation is said to be the basic principle common to all the arts. ii) The next fourteen chapters VI-XIX are devoted to Tragedy, a definition is given and its formative elements are discussed. iii) The next three chapters XX-XXII are devoted to a discussion on poetic diction, style, vocabulary, etc. iv) Chapter XXIII deals with Narrative Poetry and Tragedy. v) The epic is treated in brief and compared with tragedy in chapters XXIV and XXVI. vi) Chapter XXV examines the objections of critics against poetry.

Commenting on the scheme and plan of the *Poetics*, Abercrombie writes, that the subject matter of the *Poetics* is not merely restricted to Greek Literature but also to certain kinds of Greek Literature. These are four in number, and Aristotle

groups them in pairs according to their historical and aesthetic connections. He supposes poetry to begin with two kinds, either as heroic or satiric poetry; but out of the satiric comes comedy and out of the heroic or epic comes tragedy. Since the nature of poetry thus disposes itself in two pairs or kinds, the principles valid for epic will, with proper modifications, be valid, also for tragedy, those applicable to satire will be similarly applicable to comedy.

Universal Significance

The Poetics is an epoch-making work, a work which is a storehouse of literary theories, one of the great "world books", a book whose influence has been continuous and universal. It is the most significant thing for the study of literature that has come down to us from Greek civilization. First of all, it represents the final judgement of the Greeks themselves upon two, and perhaps the leading two, Hellenic inventions: Epic Poetry and Tragic Drama. Aristotle has systematized and completed the work of his predecessors with great independence of judgement. The brief treatise is also important because, directly or indirectly, it has commanded more attention than any other book of literary criticism.

Further, the work has a permanent value, quite apart from historical considerations. Aristotle's fundamental assumptions, and the generalizations, upon which he mainly insists, are as true of any modern literature as they are of his own. That a work of art, for instance, — a drama, or the like — may be compared to a living organism, every part of whose structure is essential for the function of the whole, is a conception having validity for all ages. The same may also be said of his contention that poetry has its own standard of correctness or fitness and is to be judged primarily by its own laws.

The Poetics is further valuable for its method and perspective. Simply and directly it lays emphasis upon what is of first importance: the vital structure of the poem rather than the metre; upon the end and aim of tragedy in its effect upon the emotions rather than on the history of the Chorus. Profound thoughts are expressed in language suited to a scientific inquiry. Starting with the Platonic assumption that a literary form, an oration, for example, or a tragedy, has the nature of a living organism, Aristotle advances to the position that each distinct kind of literature must have a definite and characteristic function or activity. Then further, beginning again with the general literary estimates that had become more or less crystallized during the interval between the age of Attic Drama and his own time, he selects, out of a large corpus of literature, a small number of tragedies which must necessarily conform more nearly than the rest to the ideal type. By a penetrating scrutiny of these "critical instances" in tragedy, he defines the proper effect of this kind of literature upon the ideal spectator, namely, the effect which he terms *catharsis* or pity and fear, the purgation of the two disturbing emotions. From function back to

form, and from form again to function, he tests each select tragedy, and every part of it, by the way in which the part and the whole conduced to emotional relief. In this manner, he arrives at the conception of an ideal structure of tragedy.

The discussion on tragedy forms the most 'important portion of *The Poetics*. Aristotle defines tragedy as "an imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude, in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in several parts of the play, in the form of action, not of narrative, through pity and fear effecting its catharsis of such emotions."

Aristotle lays his greatest stress, first, on the need for Unity in a work of art, the need that each part should subserve the whole, while irrelevancies, however brilliant in themselves, should be cast away; and next, on the demand that great art must have for its subject the great way of living.

In short, *The Poetics* is not only the first thoroughly philosophical discussion of literature; but the foundation of all subsequent discussions.

In the *Rhetoric*. Aristotle concerns himself first with oratory and then works his way to the style of poetry, which surpasses oratory because it is 'an inspired thing'. Both poetry and oratory are forms of speech that men use when they are 'deeply stirred'. Compound words and epithets best suit emotional speech. Aristotle however does not trace the working of inspiration in language but confines himself to the pedestrian task of examining use of nouns, verbs, connecting words, compound words etc. It is only in his comments on metaphor that he leaves an analysis of diction to examine how poetical effects are achieved by figurative speech; he delves deep in showing how metaphor becomes 'the omnipotent principle' of poetical language. In selecting metaphors, poets should use 'expressions that represent things in a state of activity'. It is this power of metaphor that enables poets to present lifeless things as living. Aristotle thus anticipates much of what modern critics like I.A. Richards and others have to say about the pervasive presence of metaphor in language, especially the language of poetry.

Comparison with Plato's views

Aristotle by his theory of imitation answers the charge of Plato that poetry is an imitation of *shadow of shadows*, thrice removed from truth, and that the poet beguiles us with lies. Plato condemned poetry on the ground that in the very nature of things poets can have no idea of truth. The phenomenal world is not the reality, but a copy of the reality in the mind of the Supreme. The poet imitates this copy, the objects and phenomena of the world, which are shadowy and unreal. Hence Plato concluded that poetry is thrice removed from reality, it being a mere *shadow of shadows*. The poets have no knowledge of truth; they are liars, and deceive us with the lies they tell us in their poetry. Poetry is therefore a *mother of lies*.

Aristotle, on the contrary, tells us that art imitates not the mere shadows of things

but the 'ideal reality', embodied in every object of the world. The process of nature is a 'creative process'; everywhere in 'nature there is a ceaseless and upward progress everything in nature is constantly growing and moving up, and the poet imitates this upward movement of nature. Art reproduces the original not as it is, but as it appears to the senses i.e. it is reproduced imaginatively. Art moves in a world of images, and reproduces the external, according to the idea or image in the artist's mind. Thus the poet does not copy the external world, but creates according to his 'idea' of it. Thus even an ugly object well imitated becomes a source of pleasure. We are told in *The Poetics* "objects which in themselves we view with pain, we delight to contemplate when reproduced with minute fidelity; such as the forms of the most ignominious animals and dead bodies." This is so because of the imaginative colouring of reality in the process of poetic imitation.

Poetry is thus a creative process, giving us the poet's conception of truth, telling us what according to him, "men ought to be according to the law of probability and necessity." The real and the ideal from Aristotle's point of view are not opposites, the ideal is real — a purified form of the reality. And it is this higher 'reality', which is the object of poetic imitation. Idealization, and universality, is achieved by divesting the real of all that is accidental, transient and particular. Poetry thus imitates the ideal and the universal, it is an "idealized representation of character, emotion and action — under forms manifest in sense." Poetic truth, therefore, is higher than historical truth. Poetry is more philosophical, more conducive to understanding than Philosophy itself.

Aristotle's influence

The Poetics is not only the first thoroughly philosophical discussion of literature but the foundation of all subsequent discussions. It is an exposition of the principles of literary criticism, as valid for Shakespeare and Milton, as it was for Homer and Sophocles. It is one of those "word-books", which enjoy a world-wide popularity because :

- It is a comprehensive treatment of poetry, its nature and art purely on aesthetic grounds.
- It reveals many of the first principles of poetry and drama.
- It is a valuable study of critical methods - practical criticism - and not mere generalized statements.
- It is a mine of suggestive ideas. It is thought - provoking in the extreme.
- It is one of the few pieces of systematic criticism that have come down to us from the ancients.
- It is a great contribution to literary theory, to the examination of the nature and function of poetry.
- It is the first book to expound historical and psychological methods of criticism.

Ever since the Renaissance, literary criticism in Europe has centred round *The Poetics*. Its influence has provoked thought and discussion and thus has directed literary criticism and helped to clarify literary concepts. It has suggested possible ways of study and enquiry.

1.2.3 Horace (65 B.C-8 B.C)

With Horace, a fresh beginning in literary criticism was made. He began a new tradition. According to Atkins, "what Cicero had done in the sphere of rhetoric was now carried over by him (Horace) into the realms of poetry. He recalled to men's minds the standards of classical art, while directing their steps back to the poetry of antiquity; and he undoubtedly stands out as the most influential of Roman critics, one who achieved results of a lasting kind, and was to rank in stature with Aristotle at the Renaissance."

Ars Poetica

Apparently, *Ars Poetica* seems formless and unsystematic, but a closer examination reveals a definite and well-marked scheme of divisions. First, there is *Poesis*, or the discussion of the subject matter of poetry. Secondly there is *Poema* or form. It is the most thoroughly handled of the three divisions, and drama as a form of poetry is treated at length to the exclusion of the lyric and the epic. The third part is *Poeta* or the poet, and in this part he gives advice to the poet regarding his art and also examines the functions of poetry. According to J.W.H. Atkins "Horace opens his first section (*poesis*) with some significant introductory remarks on the need for observing organic unity and propriety; after which he touches briefly on the choice of subject matter. Then begins the second and more extensive section (*poema*). In this section "form" in the abstract and "form" in the concrete are the main topics. After a brief note on the arrangement of material, he proceeds to deal at length with poetic style or expression, commenting in detail on poetic diction, on the "composition" or arrangement of words specially in metrical form, and finally on the styles and "tones" appropriate to the different dramatic genres and characters." He next enters on a treatment of the drama to deal with "form" in a more concrete fashion. He illustrates from the epic the proper choice of dramatic material and the artistic handling of the plot, adding some instruction on dramatic characterization. This is followed by a series of miscellaneous precepts bearing on the dramatic art in general. Then comes the third and concluding section of the work (*poeta*) with "the poet" as its subject. First, he pronounces on the duty of the poet in preparing himself for his task, and then on his aim or function. A lengthy discourse on "the perfect poet" follows in the course of which practical hints both of a positive and negative kind are given; and the work is brought to a close by a satirical portrait of a demented poet, thus emphasizing the doctrine of "propriety" with which the work opened.

Ars Poetica is a body of rules and principles which poets will find useful. The treatise opens with Horace's stress on the need of observing organic unity and propriety. He says, "If a painter should try to unite a horse's neck to a human head, and to add various features to limbs collected from every kind of animal, so that a woman's fair from above should end in a foul and ugly fish beneath, tell me, my friend, could you control your laughter, if admitted to a private view?" In other words, poetry is not mere imitation. It is creative. Poets are free to indulge their fancy, to use their imagination, but they must remain true to life. Imagination must not be overdone; freedom must not degenerate into licence, otherwise the result would be sheer absurdity. Poets must seek their models in nature, life and manners, and must remain true to nature even when they indulge their fancy, and write stories and fiction.

As regards the *choice of subjects*, he says, "Choose a theme suited to your powers and ponder long what weights your shoulders refuse to bear, and what they can support. He who chooses his subject wisely, will find that neither words nor lucid arrangement will fail him" whatever may be their subject, only they should "let it be simple and consistent." The choice of a sound subject-matter is essential for, "the 'source and fountain-head of good writing is right thinking."

Regarding the question of "diction" and poetic style, he thus calls attention to the proper choice of words and their arrangement. He says, "Let the author of the proposed poem show taste and care and linking up his words; let him embrace one word and reject another. Your diction will be excellent if a clever combination renders a familiar word, original. If by chance there is need to expound hidden mysteries by new terms, you will be allowed to coin words and the licence will be granted, if used modestly; and words new and lately coined will win credit, if they descend from a Greek source, slightly modified. The licence has been granted and will always be granted, to coin a new word stamped with the current die. He adds, "As the woods change their leaves at the year's decline, and the first leaves fall first, so words perish with old age, and others newly born, thrive and flourish like youths. Many words that have become disused shall revive, and those now high esteemed shall fail, if custom so wills it—custom, the ruler and standard of speech."

Thus according to his views, the language of poetry should be different from the language of common man, because the essence of art lies in the creation of beauty. So the poet should give something finer and higher than the common life and should also use a finer, more polished language. But Horace never advocates a stereotyped language and phraseology. Let the poet embrace one word and reject another. Horace recognized that language is a constant process of change. A poet's diction will be excellent, if a clever combination renders a familiar word original and charming. If there is need to expound mysteries by new terms, i.e. to increase the expressive power of language, the poet is allowed to coin new words. But new and lately coined

words will win credit, if they descend from the Greek source, slightly modified. The licence has been granted to poets, and will always be granted to coin a new word according to need, but this freedom should be used with moderation.

Dramatic Style, Decorum

As regards dramatic style, Horace points out that the style and meter should be appropriate to tragedy and comedy. Even when the same meter is used, there are certain differences in tone, which should characterize and distinguish tragedy and comedy. Similarly, the style should vary according to character and circumstance. Distinctions of age, sex, and social standing must be reflected in the language which the characters use. This is the law of literary propriety or *decorum*, and it runs like an undertone through the *Ars Poetica*.

Function of Poetry

As regards the function of poetry, Horace follows the general, classical view that poetry should both teach and delight, with greater stress on teaching than delight. The function of the poet is to teach or delight or to combine both: "Poets desire either to improve or to please or to unite the agreeable and the profitable. Any moral maxim must be brief so that the mind may readily perceive and faithfully retain a pithy sentence; redundant words overflow from a sated mind. Fiction composed to please should be very near the truth, so that the play may not demand unlimited belief. You will win every vote, if you blend what is improving with what pleases, and at once delight and instruct the reader."

1.3 Let us sum up

Abercrombie writes in this connection, "On the whole, if we judge by effect, the most important name in the history of criticism next to Aristotle is Horace. Criticism which can give a rational account to itself was first made possible by Aristotle's philosophy; but it was the *Ars Poetica* which broadcast the seed of the Poetics over every literature in Europe. In *The Poetics*, the efficacy of Aristotle's doctrine depends on his reader's ability to follow philosophical reasoning; in the *Ars Poetica*, the magic of poetry has released it from this severe condition; henceforth the doctrine, or the essential spirit of it, is something which can be enjoyed. And the whole world has enjoyed it. What the history of criticism owes to Horace is quite inestimable."

1.3.1 Glossary

- Beguile : fascinate
Catharsis : the release of pent-up emotions, the word is of Greek origin
Classical : relating to ancient Greek or Latin Literature, Art or Culture (1750-1830)
Covert : concealed

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|---------------|---|
| Culmination : | conclusion |
| Decorum : | restraint |
| Degenerate : | deteriorate |
| Ecstatic : | overjoyed |
| Fidelity : | conformity |
| Genre : | a style or category of Art or Literature |
| Idealist : | one who believes in the unrealistic and this unrealism of things as perfect or better than in reality |
| Incongruity : | inappropriateness |
| Ludicrous : | ridiculous |
| Purgation : | purification |
| Utilitarian : | useful or practical rather than attractive; the belief that the greatest happiness of the greatest number should be the guiding principle of right behaviour. |

1.4 Questions

A. Answer in two/three sentences :

1. Why is Plato considered to be the first conscious literary critic?
2. What is meant by *mimesis*?
3. (a) For which work is Aristotle remembered in the history of literary criticism?
(b) Why is this work considered to be universal?
4. What according to Horace is the function of poetry?

B. Answer in 150/200 words :

1. (a) Explain briefly what according to Plato is Poetic Inspiration?
(b) How does he explain the term imitation and why has he sometimes been referred to as an idealist?
2. Summarize Plato's contribution to literary theory.
3. How does Horace add a new dimension to literary criticism?
4. Write short notes on :
- *The Poetics*
- *Ars Poetica*

1.5 Suggested Readings

| | | |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Abercrombie | : | Principles of Literary Criticism |
| Allan H. Gilbert, ed | : | Literary Criticism : Plato to Dryden |
| Austen Warren | : | Theory of Literature |

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|--------------------------------|---|--|
| B. Worsford | : | Principles of Criticism |
| Charles S. Baldwin | : | Ancient Rhetoric and Poetics |
| David Daiches | : | Critical Approaches to Literature |
| Francis Fergusson | : | Aristotle's Poetics |
| George Saintsbury | : | A History of English Criticism |
| Humphry House | : | Aristotle's Poetics |
| LA. Richards | : | Principles of Literary Criticism |
| Ingram Bywater | : | Aristotle on the Art of Poetry |
| J.W.H. Atkins | : | Literary Criticism in Antiquity in two volumes (Vol. I - Greek; and Vol. 2 - Graeco Roman) |
| Jowett | : | The Poetics |
| R.A. Scott-James | : | The Making of Literature |
| R.C. Crane | : | Critics and Criticism : Ancient and Modern |
| Rene Wellek & S.H. Butcher | : | Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art |
| James H. Smith & W. Parks, ed. | : | The Great Critics, An Anthology of Literary Criticism |
| W.O. Ross | : | Aristotle |
| Walter J. Bare | : | From Classic to Romantic, Premises Taste in Eighteenth Century England |
| Wimsatt and Books | : | Literary Criticism : A Short History |
| Yvor Winters | : | The Function of Criticism |

Unit 2 □ Modern Genre Theory

Structures

- 2.0 Objectives**
- 2.1 Introduction**
- 2.2 Russian Formalism**
- 2.3 Roman Jakobson**
- 2.4 Northrop Frye**
- 2.5 Rhythm and Pattern**
- 2.6 Narrative and Meaning**
- 2.7 Rhythm and Ritual**
- 2.8 Imagery**
- 2.9 Myth**
- 2.10 The Quest Motif**
- 2.11 Let us Sum up**
- 2.12 Glossary**
- 2.13 Questions**
- 2.14 Bibliography**

1.0 Objectives

- To develop insights into theoretical considerations underlying various literary forms
- To raise awareness of different literary forms
- Specifically to raise awareness of the Modern Genre Theory

2.1 Introduction

Before twentieth-century developments in literary theory the great majority of readers chose to relate literary texts to their historical context and to the intentions of their authors, and this approach still commands great support. But many twentieth century readers, in contrast, have chosen to pay little or no attention to historical context or authorial intention and allow modern modes of thought, such as psycho-analytic or feminist theory, to govern how they read literary texts. Such readers

would argue that the most important consideration in literary study is the text's relation to the concerns of a modern audience. There is also no limit to the number of interests that readers can choose to bring to bear on their reading of literary texts, the most common being aesthetic, historical, linguistic, sociological, biographical, philosophical, psychological, political or combinations of these.

2.2 Russian Formalism

This unit directs attention to the importance of the scientific study of language in literature and its relevance to modern general theory. The origins of Russian Formalism date before the Russian Revolution to the activities of the Moscow Linguistic Circle and the St. Petersburg-based group, Opojaz, both of which concerned themselves with the study of poetic language. The Major figures were Victor Shklovsky, Roman Jakobson, Boris Eikhenbaum, Osip Brik and Yuri Tynyanov. The Russian Formalists rejected the unsystematic and eclectic critical approaches which had previously dominated literary study and endeavoured to create a 'literary science'. As Jakobson put it : 'The subject of literary science is not literature, but literariness, i.e. that which makes a given work a literary work'. The Formalists were uninterested, therefore, in the representational or expressive aspects of literary texts : they focused on those elements of texts which they considered to be uniquely literary in character. Initially however they emphasized the differences between literary language and non-literary or practical language.

In later Formalism the emphasis shifted from the relation between literary and non-literary language to the linguistic and formal aspects of literary texts themselves. Jakobson and Tynyanov argued that literary devices themselves also became familiar. They shifted the focus to the means by which certain devices become dominant in literary texts and take on a defamiliarizing role in relation to other devices. or aspects of the text which are perceived in familiar or automatic terms. Jakobson's essay 'The Dominant' represents this aspect of Formalism.

One of the principal aims of Formalism is the scientific study of literature. This, in fact, is based on the belief that such a study is after all possible and appropriate. Even if this belief was not further discussed, it served as one of the premises of Formalism. But whenever the Formalists questioned the scientific examination of literature, they believed that their studies would enhance the reader's capability to read literary texts in an appropriate way, i.e. with an eye for those properties of the text that were considered "literary" or "artistic". Perception through the artistic form, they reasoned, restores our awareness of the world and brings things to life. Indirectly, the premises of Formalism seem to have a Psychological foundation since immediate experience is one of its principal ideals. Only at a later stage, however,

was the social function of the immediate experience of art forms emphasized (Jakobson, 1934).

2.3 Roman Jakobson

Roman Jakobson, a central figure in both Russian Formalism and Prague Structuralism, in his later career developed a theory of literature that had its basis in linguistics. He believed that the difference between the poetic and the non-poetic is fundamentally a linguistic question and can therefore be described in linguistic terms. Poetry does not have unique linguistic attributes but is distinguished from non-poetry by the fact that the dominant focus is on the message for its own sake and not on such factors as what the message refers to or its effect on the person to whom it is addressed. Jakobson's poetics is founded on the Saussurian linguistic principle that language as a system is governed by two relationships: the syntagmatic — the relations between linguistic elements in sequence and combination, and the paradigmatic — the vertical plane of language which creates the differential relations between words of the same type, so that 'cat' in any sentence differs from 'dog' or 'fish' or any word that could be substituted for it. Jakobson's famous but compressed definition of the poetic function is based on this distinction between syntagmatic and paradigmatic: 'The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination'. In poetry, unlike other forms of language use, syntagmatic relations are interpreted as if they are paradigmatic. That is, the horizontal relations of language have to be considered as if they are vertical. One therefore considers the relationships between the words of a poem in a non-linear, differential way, as if they existed together in the one temporal plane.

Poetics deals primarily with the question, what makes a verbal message a work of art? Because the main subject of poetics is the *differentia specifica* of verbal art in relation to other arts and in relation to other kinds of verbal behaviour, poetics is entitled to the leading place in literary studies.

Poetics deals with problems of verbal structure, just as the analysis of painting is concerned with pictorial structure. Since linguistics is the global science of verbal structure, poetics may be regarded as an integral part of linguistics.

The analysis of verse is entirely within the competence of poetics, and the latter may be defined as that part of linguistics which treats the poetic function in its relationship to the other functions of language. Poetics in the wider sense of the word deals with the poetic function not only in poetry, where this function is superimposed upon the other functions of language, but also outside of poetry, when some other function is superimposed upon the poetic function.

2.4 Northrop Frye

Northrop Frye believed that the unity of a work of art, the basis of structural analysis, has not been produced solely by the unconditioned will of the artist, for the artist is only its efficient cause: it has form, and consequently a formal cause. The fact that revision is possible, that the poet makes changes not because he likes them better but because they are better, means that poems, like poets, are born and not made. The poet's task is to deliver the poem in as uninjured a state as possible, and if the poem is alive, it is equally anxious to be rid of him, and screams to be cut loose from his private memories and associations, his desire for self-expression and all the other navel-strings and feeding tubes of his ego. The critic takes over where the poet leaves off, and criticism can hardly do without a kind of literary psychology connecting the poet with the poem. Part of this may be a psychological study of the poet, though this is useful chiefly in analysing the failures of his expression, the things in him which are still attached to his work. More important is the fact that every poet has his private mythology, his own spectroscopic band or peculiar formation of symbols, of much of which he is quite unconscious. In works with characters of their own, such as dramas and novels, the same psychological analysis may be extended to the interplay of characters, though of course literary psychology would analyse the behaviour of such characters only in relation to literary convention.

2.5 Rhythm and Pattern

Some arts move in time, like music : others are presented in space, like painting. In both cases the organizing principle is recurrence, which is called rhythm when it is temporal and pattern when it is spatial. Thus we speak of the rhythm of music and the pattern of painting; but later, to show off our sophistication, we may begin to speak of the rhythm of painting and the pattern of music. In other words, all arts may be conceived both temporally and spatially. The score of a musical composition may be studied all at once; a picture may be seen as an intricate dance of the eye. Literature seems to be intermediate between music and painting : its words form rhythms which approach a musical sequence of sounds at one of its boundaries, and form patterns which approach the hieroglyphic or pictorial image at the other. The attempts to get as near to these boundaries as possible form the main body of what is called experimental writing. We may call the rhythm of literature the narrative, and the pattern, the simultaneous mental grasp of the verbal structure, the meaning or significance. We hear or listen to a narrative, but when we grasp a writer's total pattern we 'see' what he means.

2.6 Narrative and Meaning

The criticism of literature is much more hampered by the representational fallacy than even the criticism of painting. That is why we are apt to think of narrative as a sequential representation of events in an outside 'life', and of meaning as a reflection of some external 'idea'. Properly used as critical terms, an author's narrative is his linear movement; his meaning is the integrity of his completed form. Similarly an image is not merely a verbal replica of an external object, but any unit of a verbal structure seen as part of a total pattern or rhythm. Even the letters an author spells his words with form part of his imagery, though only in special cases (such as alliteration) would they call for critical notice. Narrative and meaning thus become respectively, to borrow musical terms, the melodic and harmonic contexts of the imagery.

2.7 Rhythm and Ritual

Rhythm, or recurrent movement, is deeply founded on the natural cycle and everything in nature that we think of as having some analogy with works of art, like the flower or the bird's song, grows out of a profound synchronization between an organism and the rhythms of its environment, especially that of the solar year. With animals some expressions of synchronization, like the mating dances of birds, could almost be called rituals. But in human life a ritual seems to be something of a voluntary effort (hence the magical element in it) to recapture a lost rapport with the natural cycle. A farmer must harvest his crop at a certain time of year, but because this is involuntary, harvesting itself is not precisely a ritual. It is the deliberate expression of a will to synchronize human and natural energies at that time which produces the harvest songs, harvest sacrifices and harvest folk customs that we call rituals. In ritual, then, we may find the origin of narrative, a ritual being a temporal sequence of acts in which the conscious meaning or significance is latent: it can be seen by an observer, but is largely concealed from the participators themselves. The pull of ritual is towards pure narrative, which, if there could be such a thing, would be automatic and unconscious repetition. We should notice too the regular tendency of ritual to become encyclopaedic. All the important recurrences in nature, the day, the phases of the moon, the seasons and solstices of the year, the crises of existence from birth to death, get rituals attached to them, and most of the higher religions are equipped with a definitive total body of rituals suggestive, if we may put it so, of the entire range of potentially significant actions in human life.

2.8 Imagery

Patterns of imagery, on the other hand, or fragments of significance, are oracular in origin, and derive from the epiphanic moment, the flash of instantaneous comprehension with no direct reference to time, the importance of which is indicated by Cassirer in *Myth and Language*. By the time we get them, in the form of proverbs, riddles, commandments and etiological folk tales, there is already a considerable element of narrative in them. They too are encyclopedic in tendency, building up a total structure of significance, or doctrine, from random and empiric fragments. And just as pure narrative would be unconscious art, so pure significance would be an incommunicable state of consciousness, for communication begins by constructing narrative.

2.9 Myth

The myth is the central informing power that gives archetypal significance to the ritual and archetypal narrative to the oracle. Hence the myth is the archetype, though it might be convenient to say myth only when referring to narrative, and archetype when speaking of significance. In the solar cycle of the day, the seasonal cycle of the year, and the organic cycle of human life, there is a single pattern of significance out of which myth constructs a central narrative around a figure who is partly the sun, partly vegetative fertility and partly a god or archetypal human being.

The human cycle of waking and dreaming corresponds closely to the natural cycle of light and darkness, and it is perhaps in this correspondence that all imaginative life begins. The correspondence is largely an antithesis : it is in daylight that man is really in the power of darkness, a prey to frustration and weakness; it is in the darkness of nature that the 'libido' or conquering heroic self awakes. Hence art, which Plato called a dream for awakened minds, seems to have as its final cause the resolution of the antithesis, the mingling of the sun and the hero, the realizing of a world in which the inner desire and the outward circumstance coincide. This is the same goal, of course, that the attempt to combine human and natural power in ritual has. The social function of the arts, therefore, seems to be closely connected with visualizing the goal of work in human life. So in terms of significance, the central myth of art must be the vision of the end of social effort, the innocent world of fulfilled desires, the free human society. Once this is understood, the integral place of criticism among the other social sciences, in interpreting and systematizing the vision of the artist, will be easier to see. It is at this point that we can see how religious conceptions of the final cause of human effort are as relevant as any others to criticism.

2.10 The Quest motif

The importance of the god or hero in the myth lies in the fact that such characters who are conceived in human likeness and yet have more power over nature, gradually build up the vision of an omnipotent personal community beyond an indifferent nature. It is this community which the hero regularly enters in his apotheosis. The world of this apotheosis thus begins to pull away from the rotary cycle of the quest in which all triumph is temporary. We look at the quest-myth as a pattern of images; we see the hero's quest first of all in terms of its fulfilment. This gives us our central pattern of archetypal images, the vision of innocence which sees the world in terms of total human intelligibility. It corresponds to, and is usually found in the form of, the vision of the unfallen world or heaven in religion. We may call it the comic vision of life, in contrast to the tragic vision which sees the quest only in the form of an ordained cycle.

2.11 Let us sum up

Thus we find that the Modern Genre Theory in literature has moved a long way from Classical Genre Theory in giving more importance to the literary text and literariness, i.e. the emphasis is given more to the discourse elements than to the concept of mimesis and its allied areas of study. To cite an example, according to these theorists, literature is fiction not because it refuses to acknowledge reality but because it is not a priori certain that language functions according to principles which are those, or which are like those of the phenomenal world. With the progress of time however, we discover that theoretical conceptions are becoming more realistic and practical in outlook and proving to be more applicable in the study of literature as a subject in the curriculum, not merely remaining a discipline to be appreciated in a vacuum.

2.12 Glossary

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|----------------|---|
| Apotheosis | : Making or becoming a god as a saint of a man |
| Eclectic | : Diverse |
| Epiphany | : An appearance or manifestation esp. of a divine being |
| Etiology | : A branch of knowledge dealing with causes |
| Ordained | : Intended / Predestined |
| Paradigmatic | : A pattern showing the forms which a word can have in a Grammatical System |
| Psychoanalytic | : Investigation of the conscious and unconscious elements of the mind. |

- Saussurian : Principles of Linguistic Study as laid down by the linguist Ferdinand De Saussure — emphasizing mainly on the form and structure of language.
- Syntagmatic : A structurally significant combination of two or more units in a language.
-

2.13 Questions

Group A

Write in not more than three sentences :

1. What is the main focus of the 20th century theorists to literature?
2. What does Jakobson mean by *literary science*?
3. What is the main message of Jakobson's *The Dominant*?
4. What does Northrop Frye believe by *unity of a work of art*?
5. Comment on the concept of *Rhythm* as projected by Northrop Frye.

Group B

Answer in 250/300 words :

1. Trace the development of the scientific study of literature of the Formalist school of studies.
 2. *Jakobson's theory of Literature has its basis in Linguistics — Explain.*
 3. Write short notes on :
 - The relationship between the poet and the critic according to Northrop Frye.
 - The major shift from Classical Genre to Modern Genre Theory.
 - Frye's concept of the *Myth*.
-

2.14 Bibliography

1. Consult **Suggested Reading** of the previous unit.
2. B. Malinowski, *The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages*, in C.K. Ogden & I.A. Richards's, *The Meaning of Meaning*, New York 1953, pp.296-336.
3. Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* trans. Roy Harris, London 1983.
4. Rene Welek, *The Literary Theory & Aesthetics of the Prague School*, in *Discriminations : Further Concepts of Criticism*, New Haven, conn. 1970.
5. Roger Fowler, *Linguistic Criticism*, Oxford 1986.
6. Roman Jakobson & Morris Halle, *Fundamentals of Language*, The Hague 1956.

Unit 3 □ Introduction to Literary Theory Literary forms—Prose

Structures

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introducing English Essays

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3.0 Objectives

This unit deals with English literary prose which again broadly includes the following literary forms viz. essays, novels, biographies and criticisms. By reading this unit you will be able to know

- (a) the origin and development of essays in different periods of history;
- (b) the origin and development of English novels in different periods;
- (c) the development of biography in different periods;
- (d) the development of criticism in different periods.

3.1 Introducing English Essays

Dr. Johnson defines essays as 'a loose sally of the mind, an irregular, undigested piece, not a regular and orderly performance'. An essay contains the sallies of the author's mind about something. It does not contain any general thought but the thought of a particular writer on a particular topic he is treating at the time. Again, the range of man's thought is unlimited and regarding the nature of essays it can be said that an essay need not be exhaustive and all-pervasive but it should not be incomplete or unsystematic. It is complete so far as the author's impression of a particular subject is concerned. According to the O.U.P it is "a composition of moderate length on any particular subject, or branch of a subject originally implying want of finish, but now said of a composition more or less elaborate in style, though limited in range." Saintsbury loosely defines it as "the after-dinner monologue of an interesting and well-informed man."

But there are some essays where none of these descriptions apply. Such essays are a philosophical treatise as Locke's essay concerning human understanding or Pope's 'Essay on Criticism' and 'Essays on Man'. It is really difficult to find a definition which will suit all kinds of essays.

An essay is essentially personal. It belongs to the literature of self-expression and that is why it is the manner rather than the matter which is important here.

3.1.1. Origin of the essay

Montaigne, a Frenchman is the father of modern essay which is personal. Charles Lamb is a follower of Montaigne and most of his essays are personal. He mingled reflection with personal elements, sometimes whimsically, sometimes to point a moral. If Lamb loves to speak of himself, it is because he loves to speak of all men; his love of self is a counterpart of his love of humanity.

3.1.2 Bacon and the Aphoristic essay

The place of Bacon in the history of English essays is very important. His place

can be compared only with that of Euclid in the domain of geometry or Homer in the history of European epic. In the history of English essays Bacon — came after Montaigne and he was different from Montaigne because he did not bother to be personal. His essays were less personal than those of Montaigne but they carried the mark of his individuality and his likes and dislikes, his opinions and views. His topics were varied and he wrote on every topic like parents, children, marriage, single-life, travel, studies, gardens etc. Elizabethan England was full of crooked politics and Bacon wrote essays on political themes like corruption, dishonesty and intrigue.

Bacon, Ben Jonson and Selden are known for their aphorisms and their essays may be grouped under Aphoristic essays. After Bacon the writer who used the form of the essay was Abraham Cowley. His collected works published in 1668 contained 12 essays on a variety of topics like 'of gardens', 'of liberty', 'of solitude' etc. His style was easy and familiar.

3.1.3 The critical essay

Dryden in the Restoration period introduced a new type of essay called the critical essay. The theme was literary criticism. Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* is a good example and the essays are written in dialogue form.

3.1.4 The Periodical and the social essay

In the 18th century essays developed in the periodicals taking matter from the manners of the time. Richardson, Steele and Joseph Addison were the pioneers in the field and the periodicals 'The Tatler' and 'The Spectator' contained their essays. They used these essays for the entertainment as well as the rectification of morals of the people of contemporary society. Daniel Defoe in 1704 published another periodical called 'Review' which is actually the father of English Newspapers.

3.1.5 The Nineteenth Century Essay

The spread of education in the nineteenth century gave an impetus to essay writing. Essay as a form of literary composition became very popular and periodicals like Blackwood's Magazines, the Edinburgh Review and the Quarterly Review came into being in quick succession. People came forward with their writings. The contributors were handsomely paid. Some famous essayists of this century like Robert Southey, Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt etc. were regular contributors and they depended on their essays for their livelihood. Charles Lamb followed Montaigne, the father of the personal essay. He wrote the essays of Elia in two parts. The personal tone, the freshness and exuberance of his essays make him unparalleled in the field of essay writing. 'Dream Children', 'The Superannuated Man' or 'The School Master — old and new' show his sense of humour blended with pathos. The charm of his essays lies in the charm of personality. Hazlitt's essays are graceful and

vigorous and some of his essays have their own attraction. Thomas De Quiney, the author of 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater' was the master of impassioned prose. Macaulay, another prose writer of the period, raised reviewing to the level of a fine art.

3.1.6 The Victorian Age

The Victorian Age produced socially conscious essayists like Ruskin and Carlyle. Other important essayists and literary critics of the period are Walter Pater, Matthew Arnold and Sir Walter Raleigh.

3.1.7 The Present Age

Coming to the present age we could say that the modern age is the age of interrogation. Everything is open to questions and the present-day essayists are primarily concerned with life and its problems. But E.V. Lucas, G.K. Chesterton and Robert Lynd continued the vogue of the personal essay.

3.2 Novel

3.2.1 Background

We now come to another prose form, the novel. "The novel may be defined as the form of written prose narrative of considerable length involving the reader in an imagined real world which is new because it has been created by the author" (W.R. Goodman—Quintessence of literary Essays—Doaba House—Nai Sarak-Delhi—1997 P 494).

3.2.2 Plot and character in a Novel

In mainstream novels, plot and character form two principal requisities. The plot, a vital framework, is the author's design for a novel, in which the story plays a part and provides enjoyable suspense, excitement and surprise. The plot is important to a novel as much as the skeleton is important to a human body, it gives the organism its structure and holds it together. It contains motives, consequences and relationships of characters.

3.2.3 Categories

The categorizing of fiction into novels of incidents, the novels of characters and dramatic novels is artificial and arbitrary. It is nonetheless useful because it indicates differences of emphasis and suggests the relative value of incidents and characters in fiction. A certain amount of opposition always exists between the claims of plot and those of characters. Where attention is paid primarily to plot, the characters have often to be forced into its service, even at the cost of some sacrifice to their consistency; where attention is primarily paid to character, the development of plot

suffers. It can however, be safely asserted that novels which lay the principal stress on character rank higher as a class than those which mainly depend on incidents. The interest aroused by a story merely as a story may be very keen at the time of reading; but it is in itself of comparatively childish and transitory interest while that aroused by characterization is deep and lasting. This explains why the sensational novelists like Wilkie Collins and Charles Reade who were immensely popular in the 19th century have suffered an eclipse with the passage of time while novelists like George Eliot and Meredith have survived. The greatest novelists have habitually shown a disregard for mere plot—a fact which explains the generalization that a great novel is likely to approximate rather to the loose than to the organic type of plot-structure. The development of the novel has shown a shift from stress on incident to stress on character. Plot and character are equally important in the making of a novel. One or them cannot go without the other. The novelist's creative imagination, no doubt, builds up a great plot, but his sense of life peoples this plot with men and women, truly fascinating, yet real, to complete his art.

Aristotle (in connection with tragedy) has advocated the dominance of plot over character. Plot, according to him, is the soul and character is nothing but a secondary element. In earlier romances like Sidney's *Arcadia* and Lyly's *Euphues* and in the adventurous tale of *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe the plot occupies the central position. The dominance of plot is also noted in the first true English novels like Richardson's *Pamela* and Fielding's *Tom Jones*.

In the novels of the nineteenth century, including the works of Hardy, the plot receives predominance, although the importance of characters is recognized. Dickens's stories are no doubt exciting and entertaining but his characters dominate the narrative.

3.2.4 Psychological Novel

Emphasis shifted in modern psychological novel from the outward actions of human life to mental processes—conscious and unconscious. In the works of Aldous Huxley, Virginia Woolf, James Joyce and D.H. Lawrence, plot-construction is secondary to the rendering of the flow of consciousness. In every novel, plot and characters vitally interact in the movement of the story. Simple or complex, the plot evolves as a natural consequence of the fact that a number of given people of certain motives and passions are brought together in circumstances which give rise to an interplay of influence or clash of interests among them.

Incident is thus rooted in character and is to be explained in terms of it. In a good novel, characters grow out of incidents and incidents issue out of characters.

As a matter of fact, there is no line of demarcation between the function of the plot and that of the character. The story element of the novel is no doubt an essential feature, and on it hinges much of the popularity of prose fiction. Yet, it is the

magnificence of characterization that differentiates the novel from every other form of its genre.

In conclusion, the coordination between plot and character in the novel must be carefully noted. No plot, whether loose or organic, can grow without the participation of men and women in it. Similarly, however psychologically impressive a character may be, he needs a good plot to assign him a place and to reveal his inner world.

3.2.5 Narrative Technique /Point of View in the novel

The point of view is exclusive to a novel. It is the perspective from which a novel is narrated. The action and events of the novel are presented by a narrator who has to stand somewhere, either on the scene or outside it. In fact, the point of view focusses on the position of the narrator in a story; the angle of vision a narrator takes in fiction. He may change his point of view but at any particular moment he must have one.

Percy Lubbock in his *Craft of Fiction* emphasizes the importance of narrative method in fiction. "The whole intricate question of method in the craft of fiction I take to be governed by the question of the point of view—the question of the relation in which the narrator stands to the story." Thus the narrative technique in the novel is related to the point of view adopted by the writer in the story.

There are as many views as there are novels, but the novelist has the three basic methods for taking up a position together with a rare fourth method. He can tell the story essentially from the point of view of one person, either by impersonating that person and writing as 'I' or by following the person through his adventures and writing of 'He'. He can tell the story from multiple points of view, either by impersonating a number of people in succession or by following several of them in succession. Rarely he may pretend not to be there at all, presenting the reader with what purports to be objective evidence, such as a file or document, without comment.

All methods may be combined in one novel, indeed, some variation of viewpoint is not only usual, but in a mainstream novel, almost inevitable.

Therefore, generally there are three methods of story-telling—the direct or epic, the narrative technique is that of the third person, the autobiographical, the narrative technique is that of the first person and the epistolary method.

3.2.6 Third Person Narrative Technique

One of the most obviously artificial devices of the story teller is the trick of going beneath the surface of the action to obtain a reliable view of a character's mind and heart. It is an age-old form of story-telling. The narrator stands outside the action. Such a narrator (commonly called 'omniscient') may comment freely on what he reports, offering evaluations of the characters and events or he may describe the action without comment (the objective narrator). He, endowed with a God-like vision, analyses everything from a vantage point.

Fielding in *Joseph Andrews* does not impersonate, but as an omniscient narrator tells the story of Joseph. He adopts much the same method in *Tom Jones* following Tom, Sophia and sometimes other persons. These novels do not have a single point of view, but in both the greater part of the attention is given to the hero.

In *Hard Times* Dickens is throughout an omniscient narrator, watching his characters from a distance, focussing now on one, now on another, but never really looking through the eyes of one. Reading *Hard Times* rather resembles seeing a film. The nearest he comes to following someone is during Mrs Sparsit's 'pursuit of Louisa but he identifies with neither. This standing back from the subject led to some comic exaggeration and some commentary. George Eliot in *Silas Marner* also writes as an omniscient narrator, but tends to come closer to her characters than Dickens.

The *Secret Agent* is very much a novel of the omniscient narrator and openly expresses Conrad's loathing of fatuous and callous terrorism. The tone is one of angry irony combined with compassion for the victims; the effects are gained rather by what may be described as a very fine imitation of objectivity, than by following individuals.

3.2.7 Dear-reader technique

A variation of this method of narration is called the 'dear-reader technique' where the author-narrator makes his own presence felt interrupting the course of action and addressing the reader 'as dear reader' (used mostly by Scott and Thackeray).

3.2.8 First Person Narrative Technique

The first person point of view is a popular form of narration. This is also called 'I' narration since the 'I' narrator is supposed to give an eye-witness account of the situations and events. In this form of narration the author-narrator tells the story from his point of view as in the case of *Robinson Crusoe* or *David Copperfield*. He gives the details of the events, situations and characters inclusive of himself as they are reflected in his view point. In *David Copperfield*, David gives the whole story of himself beginning from his childhood. We take the story as a true account as Dickens himself had intended it to be in the sub-title.

The main advantage of this type of narration is a semblance of reality which draws the readers' interest to the narration. Sometimes, the narrator is chosen by the author as a person sharing his own experience or social status (e.g. Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*) and the narration in such cases is likely to become an eye-witness account.

3.2.9 Epistolary form of Narration/Multiple points of view

Telling a story from several points of view has obvious possibilities for representing characters in depth or the ambiguities of life; it can thus add verisimilitude, contribute

large-scale ironies and perhaps give the relief of variety. All dialogue involves tiny multiple impersonations, but multiple impersonations on a big scale are rarer. An example in John Wain's **Strik the Father Dear**, in which the story is taken up by three people in turn.

The epistolary form employed by Richardson is essentially that of the composite narrative. Letter-writing being the most familiar practice, a novel which adopts this method has an air of disarming ingenuousness. Letters involve inevitably many repetitions if an effect of naturalness is to be achieved. Richardson's novels, though full of delicate and fine effects, are almost intolerably long. And the novelist is denied all comments upon his story and its characters. This limitation Richardson tried to overcome by explanatory footnotes. These are out of harmony with the method and the discordant note which they strike weakens the illusion of the story.

3.3 The Historical Novel

This kind of novel is set against the background of history. It is not entirely history but is mainly a work of art. In fact characters, incidents, situations—everything is set against the background of history. In certain respects the novel may be truer than history as it recreates the spirit of the time not objectively but subjectively. Hence all the critics agree that the historical novel is an imaginative reconstruction of the past. It is realistic and romantic. Characters, incidents and dates are historical but romantic elements are invented to suit the purpose of fiction. Thus out of history fiction is created with the creative imagination of the artist. Scott's **Waverly** is a historical novel where Scott is both romantic and historical. Tolstoy's **War and Peace** is another historical novel where Tolstoy is more creative than historical. It presents the history of Napoleon's invasion of Russia. By his imagination he creates something more real than history. Thackeray's **Henry Esmond** and **Virginians** are two other important historical novels.

Historical novels date only from the beginning of the 19th Century. This is so because history and fiction were not demarcated before that. It was only in the 18th century that great historians like Gibbon, Hume came into existence. Again in the 18th century only the novel established itself as a separate branch of literature. The almost simultaneous arrival of the historians and the novelists paved the way for the historical novel.

The historical novel proper may be divided into four types. The first type of novel is picturesque and contains a number of adventures such as **'The cloister and the Hearth'**. The second type contains imaginative character connected with some historic characters. **'Tippo Sultan'** by Taylor and **'A Noble Queen'** fall under this division. The next type or the third type contains fictitious characters playing their part against a historical background. These novels are historical because distant rumblings

of historical movements are heard in the story. Dickens' 'A Tale of Two Cities' Taylor's Tara. Ralph Darnel and Seeta are examples of this type. The fourth type may be called 'the national prose epic'. It gives an idea of the life of a nation. Hugo's trilogy, 'Notre Dame', *Les Miserables* and 'Toilers of the Sea' are examples of this type.

3.3.1 The Experimental Novel

Criticism as a branch of literary study has its long history. Aristotle and Plato are universally recognized as the master literary critics. Wordsworth's Prefaces to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, Shelley's *Defence of Poetry*, Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* and Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*—these are some of the important works in the history of literary criticism.

The Modern Age criticism has changed its line of approach. It is no longer a book on books. It is a scientific study of evaluation.

3.3.2 Biography

Biography as a literary form is rather late in appearance in literature. When the notion of hero-worship grew the idea of biography came into existence. It reflects the working of the inner soul. It presents a mind-story while telling a life-story. Boswell's life of Johnson, Carlyle's 'Frederick the great', Lytton Strachey's 'Eminent Victorians' and 'Queen Victoria' are prominent examples of biography as a literary art.

3.3.3 Criticism as a Literary Type

Criticism is seldom regarded as a form of literary expression, nor as creative literature. It is a critical study or the art of judging and evaluating a literary work properly. Hence the essential function of criticism is evaluation.

We cannot ignore the function of literary criticism as it is an intellectual appreciation and an aesthetic grasp of a text.

There is no uniform method of judging the method of a critic. Each critic has his own method. Even Plato and Aristotle have their own divergent views. Whatever may be the cause of different views, criticism is at bottom a creative art and that is why Plato, Aristotle, Coleridge, Charles Lamb, Hazlitt—all are remembered by the people.

Criticism of a literary work has its own importance. Any kind of superficial literary work may be applauded by the people without judging its proper merit. Literary criticism can judge its real value whether it is superficial or sound. Hence in the understanding of literary works the importance of literary criticism is of immense value. "Criticism indeed, is the science of cultivating literary tastes, understanding and creativity". [K. Dutta. Some aspects of the study of literature. P-18]

3.4 Questions

- (1) Trace the evolution of the different forms of the English novel.
 - (2) Write a note on the relative position of plot and character in the novel. What is the exact relation between them?
 - (3) What are the characteristics of a historical novel?
 - (4) Write a short note on :-
The art of criticism.
-

3.5 Bibliography

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Unit 4 □ Poetry and Drama

Structures

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4.0 Introduction

Poetry is the expression of man's creative faculty. His emotional and aesthetic sensibilities are manifested through it. In other words, poetry is that aesthetic art

which deals with emotions in an unobstructive way. Human beings feel absolutely enraptured and transplanted to an entirely different world. In this emotional state, their faculties of perception and imagination are deepened and intensified. But this habit and this quality of imaginative experience and of poetry is inherent in men. It is a spontaneous activity that 'selects and arranges the symbols of thought in such a manner as to excite the imagination' full to the brim. Even the most illiterate and backward people, the rustics, enjoy the sheer joy of poetry as it flourishes among them like a phenomenon devoid of external ornamentation.

4.1 Forms of Poetry

Poems are often classified in categories which refer partly to the nature of the intellectual content, partly to the techniques used to convey it. A list of recognized traditional categories of poetry is furnished here. But there are numerous possibilities of subdivisions, overlaps, exceptions, hybrid and intermediate types—and poems that cannot satisfactorily be assigned to the textbook categories.

4.1.1 Epic

An epic is a narrative poem of great length; it tells a story of heroic action, in dignified language. The style is usually rather ornate and formal, with elaborate figures of speech, such as long similes; the actual verse form is rather relatively simple. Early epics retell national legends; an epic is often thought of as one of a nation's great cultural possessions.

Examples : Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; Virgil's *Aeneid*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Mock-Epic : Mock-epic is a long narrative poem which treats of un-heroic matter, in comic imitation of some of the practices of serious epic.

Examples : Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*, Byron's *Don Juan* etc.

4.1.2 Ballad

Ballad is a simple, fairly short narrative poem; its style may not necessarily be naive or primitive, but it does not have the elaborate figures of speech. Originally designed to be sung, ballads often begin abruptly, imply the previous action, utilize simple language, tell the story tersely through dialogue and described action, and make use of refrains.

There are scores of old folk ballads anonymous in origin, probably composed long before they were written down, and at their best unforgettably impressive in their very simplicity. However, the folk ballad reached its acme in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are also numerous more consciously literary ballads by known authors :

Wordsworth's *The Last of the Flock*, *The Thorn*, *The Idiot Boy*, Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, all found in the volume actually called *Lyric Ballads*; Oscar Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol*; Keats's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* etc.

4.1.3 Didactic Poetry

Didactic poetry or 'teaching poetry' has the obvious purpose of putting some moral, political, religious or other point of view, or giving some information.

Examples : George Herbert's *The Church-Porch*; Alexander Pope's *Essay on Criticism* etc.

4.1.4 Satire

Satire is always in some sense didactic; it is distinguished by the method of attacking vices, follies or opposing points of view by ridicule and wit.

Examples: Pope's *The Dunciad*; Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* etc.

Epistle : Epistle is a letter in verse to some friend or famous person,

Examples : Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*; Auden's *Epistle to a Godson* etc.

4.1.5 Ode

An Ode is a fairly long poem, dignified in style, addressed to some person, thing or personified quality, or commemorating some solemn public occasion.

Examples : Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind*, Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale*

4.1.6 Sonnet

Sonnet is a poem consisting of fourteen iambic pentameters rhyming in one of several ways. The two main forms are the Petrarchan, as used mainly after the Elizabethan age by Milton, Wordsworth, Keats and others; and the Shakespearean. The latter consists of three quatrains (Four-line verses) followed by a rhymed couplet. The Petrarchan form consists of an octave, followed by a sestet. The rhyme scheme also differs.

4.1.7 Lyric

This is one of the least sharply defined of all poetic categories. Originally it was a song-like poem, often of a musical character, usually in verse or stanzas, expressing the thoughts or feelings of a single speaker. It should be noted, however, that the lyric is not a clearly definable poetic form, like the sonnet; sonnets themselves may very often be classed as lyrics.

4.1.8 Occasional verse

It is a verse written to commemorate a particular event. Two special categories

of occasional verse are often set apart, and include, probably because they react to two of the most profound human concerns, love and death : the epithalamium and the elegy.

The **Epithalamium** is a poem commemorating a wedding; Spenser's **Epithalamion** was written to celebrate his own marriage, his **Prothalamion**, in accordance with more usual practice, to celebrate that of two pairs of friends.

The **Elegy** is a poem mourning the death of an individual, or occasionally a group of people, or all mankind.

Examples : Gray's **Elegy written in a Country Churchyard**; Milton's **Lycidas**, Shelley's **Adonais**, Tennyson's **In Memoriam**.

4.1.9 Pastoral

Primarily, it is a category of verse. There is a strange pastoral tradition in English poetry. Strictly, pastoral literature presents a setting of country life, with shepherds and shepherdesses singing, courting or mourning; often real persons or situations were disguised by ruse rural conventions. Nowadays, the term is applied more generally to literary exploitation of lifestyles that are simpler than our modern urban life.

Examples: Spenser's **The Shepherd's Calendar**, William Drummond's **A Pastoral Elegy** etc.

4.1.10 Dramatic Monologue

It is a kind of tiny play with an implied listener using a single voice. Browning has so far been the supreme master of this kind of poem. The poet impersonates someone else and gives an imaginative presentation of the other's point of view.

Examples : Browning's **My Last Duchess**, **Mr Sludge**, **Caliban Upon Setebos**; Yeats's **A Last Confession** etc.

4.2 Tradition, Experiment and Development of Poetry

4.3 Anglo-Saxon or Old English Poetry

During the period, old English poetry undergoes a noticeable development. But it is almost impossible to divide the types of verse into definite water-tight compartments.

- The heroic poetry, apparently, persists throughout the period. In this context, **Beowulf**, **Waldere** and **The Fight at Finnsburh** deserve mention. Similar qualities are found in a poem as late as **The Battle of Maldon**.
- The epic exists in one of its forms in **Beowulf**, which lacks the 'finer' qualities of the classical epic : the strict unity, the high dignity, the broad motive etc.

Nevertheless it possesses a vigour and a majesty which have obvious appeal. The so-called Christian epics have little claim to the title.

- c) The lyric has no real example in Old English, though there are certain poems which have some of the expressive melancholy and personal emotions associated with the lyric, e.g. *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*.

4.3.1 Poetry In The Age of Chaucer

The Chaucerian age has seen a great and significant advance in poetical form of literature. Chaucer himself is the greatest literary maestro of this age. The tradition he developed and the experimentation he initiated gave a new life to English poetry. He introduced the heroic couplet into English verse, and he handled the decasyllabic line with superb mastery. The seven-line stanza a b a b b c c has become known as the Chaucerian or 'rime royale'. In fact, Chaucer is a rude metrist. Moreover, he introduces a suppleness and smoothness to the language.

However, in the age we can observe the various forms of poetry straightening out into form and coherence.

4.3.2 Lyric, Ballad, Allegory

- a) **The Lyric** : Chiefly the religious and love lyric by written and developed Chaucer himself contributes very little towards it, but a number of anonymous bards add to the common stock. We can mention, in this context, an exquisite piece, *The Nut-Brown Maid*, which is a curious hybrid between the lyric and the ballad.
- b) **The Ballad** : By the late 14th Century, the traditional ballad, of the type of *Chevy Chase*, *Sir Patrick Spens* and the *Robin Hood poems*, had become an important source of popular entertainment. Mainly about love, local legends, the feats of local heroes, supernatural happenings or religious stories, the ballad deals with man's elemental passions in frank and uninhibited terms.
- c) **The Rise of the Allegory** : It affects all branches of poetry in the age of Chaucer. It is a concrete literary device for expounding moral and religious lessons. We have a flood of poems dealing with Courts of Love, Houses of Fame, Dances of the seven deadly sins, and other symbolical subjects. Even Chaucer himself, in his early career, did not escape the prevailing habit. However, the craze for the allegory was to increase during the next century and later, till it reached its climax in *The Faerie Queene*.

4.3.3 Descriptive and Narrative Poems

In this form of poetry *The Canterbury Tales* is the outstanding example, but in many passages of Langland and Gower we have specimens of the same class. In the best examples, such as those of Chaucer, there is a powerful grip upon the central interest, a shrewd observation and humour and quite often a brilliant rapidity of narration.

4.4 Elizabethan Poetry

- a) **Dramatic Poetry** : The exuberant, adventurous spirit of the Elizabethan Age is manifested in the dramatic poetry. Though the heroic couplet is used, as by Shakespeare in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the ascendancy of blank-verse is also firmly established.
- b) **Lyrical Poetry** : The temper of the age was also suited to the lyrical mood. It begins with the first efforts of Wyatt and Surrey; it continues through the plays. Then the lyrical impulse is carried on without a break into the melodies of Campion and the darker moods of Donne.

An interesting sub-species of the lyric is the sonnet. We have two forms of sonnet: the Italian or Petrarchan form and the English or Shakespearean type. During this period both kinds flourish, the English kind to a greater degree. Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, Spenser's *Amoretti* are instances of sonnet sequences.

4.5 Metaphysical Poetry

As we emerge from the golden age of Elizabethan poetry, we can distinguish two main streams. On the one hand, there is the Spenserian tradition and on the other hand, there is a new tradition of 'fantastic' verse, based on far-fetched images or 'conceits', as they were called and innovations in form and rhythm.

The works of this group of poets have several features in common : (i) the poetry is to a great extent lyrical; (ii) in subject it is chiefly religious or amatory, (iii) there is much metrical felicity, even in complex lyrical stanzas, (iv) the poetic style is sometimes almost startling in its sudden beauty of phrase and melody of diction, but there are unexpected turns of language and figures of speech.

John Donne is the most independent of the metaphysical poets. The group comprises some six other poets : George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, Andrew Marvell, Richard Crashaw, Thomas Carew and Abraham Cowley.

4.6 Eighteenth Century Poetry

Found expression in Satirical, Mock heroic and Argumentative forms.

4.7 Romantic Poetry

The Romantics revive the Elizabethian tradition of poetry. The glory of the age resides in the poetry of Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Moore and Southey.

The cardinal features of poetry set by the Romantic Movement are (i) Imagination and emotion—romantic poetry has a predominantly emotional appeal while the neo-classical poetry appeals chiefly to reason. Such purely imaginative poems as Keats' **La-Belle Dame Sans Merci** and Coleridge's **Kubla Khan** would not have been possible in the eighteenth century: (ii) Return to Nature—the romantics had a deep and sincere love for Nature. Wordsworth is the greatest Nature-poet in English Literature. (iii) The essential humanism—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley had a superabundant enthusiasm for humanity and for the individual. (iv) The style—The Romantics were great metrists. They used a variety of metres and stanza forms with remarkable success. Their poems, especially of Coleridge and Shelley, are marked by delightful melody and cadence. **The Ancient Mariner** and **Ode to the West Wind** are surpassingly musical.

4.8 Victorian Poetry

The Victorian poets make various experiments in the poetic patterns. The lyrical output is very large and varied in their age. In form there is little of fresh interest. Tennyson was content to follow the methods of Keats, though Browning's complicated forms and Swinburne's long musical lines are more freely used by them. The Pre-Raphaelite school also united several features which had not been seen earlier. There was a fondness for medieval themes treated in an unconventional manner, a richly coloured pictorial effect and a studied and melodious simplicity. The works of Rossetti, Morris and Swinburne provide many examples of this development of poetry.

There are many attempts at purely narrative poetry. Browning's **Ring and the Book** is curious, for it can be called a psychological epic—a narrative in which emotion removes action from the chief slot. In this class of poetry **The Earthly Paradise** of William Morris is a return to the old romantic tale as we find it in the works of Chaucer.

4.9 War Poetry and Poetry in the Post-War World

The period of twenty-five years (1914-1939) between the outbreak of the First World War and the beginning of the second World War offers the sharpest possible contrast to the official serenity and complacency of the Victorian Era.

The First World War brought to public notice many poets worth mentioning. Rupert Brooke, Siegfried Sassoon, Edmund Blunden, Wilfred Owen produce war-poetry fraught with grim reality. But unfortunately the influence of war-poetry is limited upon the development of the poetic tradition. The hopes for a brave new world, so quickly dissipated in 1918, gave way to the disillusionment and despair which found

their supreme expression in T.S. Eliot's **The Waste Land** and **The Hollow Men**. This marked the onset of modernism.

The picture of the inter-war years is one of continued uncertainty and experiment in an age well described in the title of Auden's collection, **The Age of Anxiety** which was not, however, published until 1948.

Poetic Technique in the poetry of this age : The modern tension and the sense of decay, dearth and death tend to demand a new poetic technique. According to Robert Bridges, the old poetic forms are outworn, and partly influenced by Whitman the new poets turn to free verse. The development of the new medium also owes much to the poetry of Hopkins, with its sprung rhythms, complex verbal patterns, and disregard for normal syntax.

Unit 5 □ Drama

Structures

- 5.1 Introduction**
- 5.2 Categorization**
 - 5.2.1 Tragedy and Melodrama**
 - 5.2.2 Problem Play in the Twentieth Century**
- 5.3 Comedy**
 - 5.3.1 Comedy of Errors**
 - 5.3.2 Comedy of Manners**
 - 5.3.3 Comedy of Humours**
 - 5.3.4 Sentimental Comedy**
 - 5.3.5 Farce**
- 5.4 Some other Categories**
 - 5.4.1 Chronicle Play**
 - 5.4.2 Tragi-Comedy**
 - 5.4.3 Symbolic Drama**
- 5.5 Development of Native English Drama**
 - 5.5.1 Miracles and Moralities**
 - 5.5.2 Elizabethan Drama**
 - 5.5.3 Restoration Drama**
 - 5.5.4 Romantic Drama**
 - 5.5.5 Victorian Drama**
 - 5.5.6 Beginning of Poetic Drama**
- 5.6 Questions**
- 5.7 Bibliography**

5.1 Introduction

Drama is a form of literary genre originally developed in Greece from primitive rituals. Therefore it has something to do with social norms. Actually, it was a form of literature which flourished in an age when society was outgrowing its older

associations. Thus, drama, holds up the mirror of the state or society whether resisting the emergence of the new order, or trying to initiate it.

A drama, as a means of communication of imaginative experience, is clearly the controlled product of an author—the control being exerted in the finalized organization of words as any other literary form. But in it, when the actual and specific means of communication are considered, what is essentially a singular literary statement becomes, in performance, apparently plural. However, there is an enormous difference between a drama and any other literary form. A drama is not only a piece of literature for reading—it is three dimensional; it is literature that walks and talks before our eyes. It is not intended that the eye shall perceive marks on paper and the imagination turn them into sights, sounds and actions. The text of the drama is meant to be translated into sights, sounds and actions which occur literally and physically on a stage.

5.2 Categorization

The main types of drama are listed below but with the warning that in all classes there are exceptions, overlaps and anomalies.

5.2.1 Tragedy (and its subdivisions)

A play with a sorrowful ending, usually at least one death: the action and thoughts are treated seriously and with a respect for human personality. The central character, according to Aristotle, and this still often holds—is a person of admirable dignity and important position who is ruined by some flaw of character such as the impetuosity of Oedipus, the ambition of Macbeth or the credulity of Othello. An important feature of true tragedy is that at the end we are left with a sense of the greatness of man as well as of the suffering involved in human life; these small but passionately individual creatures who struggle with their destiny are curiously important. In tragedy, after one of the crises, the human dilemma becomes insoluble; there is no going back and no easy answer or happy ending; the emotional conflicts are deep and almost unbearable but the creatures suffering these agonies are worth our concern. Greek tragedy, Senecan tragedy and Elizabethan tragedy have distinguishing features.

Melodrama :

This is the poor relation of tragedy. It may have a sad or happy ending—a pile of corpses or a screaming lunatic—is perhaps more completely melodramatic. It is distinguished from tragedy by a portrayal of characters who are also more violently and improbably good or evil than is realistic; by a lack of real psychological insight; by a more far-fetched plot whose horrors and sensations may easily tumble over into the ludicrous; and by a continual pandering to the public desire for strong sensations and great excitement. Melodrama may also fall, into sentimentality when an attempt

is made to portray a tender or lofty emotion. Shakespeare's **Titus Andronicus** and **The Jew of Malta** of Marlowe are two early melodramas in English literature.

The Heroic Tragedy

This was a type of exaggerated tragedy in vogue in Britain at the time of Dryden. It deals with themes of love and valour and the style is so high-flown as nowadays to seem almost absurd. There may be a surprising vulgar and often incongruous subplot. The endeavour was presumably to produce something greater than traditional tragedy, and the craving for very strong sensations may have been part of the reaction against Puritanism; however, the form is now dead. Examples are Congreve's **The Mourning Bride**, Dryden's **Don Sebastian** and **The Conquest of Granada** etc.

5.2.2 Problem Play in the Twentieth Century

This is a useful term to apply to the kind of play which treats of a particular social or moral problem so as to make people think intelligently about it. It is usually somewhat tragic in tone in the sense that it naturally deals with painful human dilemmas; it is a kind of play that, by implication, asks a definite question and either supplies an answer or leaves it to us to find one. It, however, is a popular mode of drama of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

Most of the plays of Ibsen and Shaw are problem plays. Clemence Dane's **A Bill of Divorcement** is a modern example that deals with problems of divorce and heredity and incidentally shows very cleverly how the most tragic human problems may further be complicated by other people's lack of comprehension. Somerset Maugham's **The Sacred Flame** is another example in which a mother kills her son for reasons which many people might call adequate; E. M. Williams's **The Corn is Green** is on education and the difficulties in its way; Terence Rattigan's **The Winslow Boy** is on the question of the relative importance of the State and the individual.

The problem play is very popular today and is likely to be popular in any period when ideas are changing and society is developing rapidly. It is a type of play that appeals to vigorous, thoughtful minds and can thus make a small contribution to human progress; but it is apt to over-simplify problems for the sake of dramatic effect and it may be over-melodramatic.

5.3 Comedy (and its subdivisions)

A play with a happy ending is usually called a comedy. In other words, it is a literary work less exalted and less serious than a tragedy. The essential function of comedy is to amuse. The amusement may range from a quiet smile to a guffaw. Comedy can be very sophisticated or very simple; it can also be warm-hearted and human, like Philpott's **Yellow Sands** and **The Farmer's Wife** or brilliant but

heartless, like *The Provok'd Wife* or *The Way of the World*. Comedy may usefully be subdivided into the types that follow.

5.3.1 Comedy of Errors

There is a type of comedy in which the plot consists of a series of mistakes of identity or fact, or misinterpretations of action or character. It is almost one of the recognized conventions of drama that such mistakes shall be made more easily in drama than in real life, so that husbands and wives, parents and children, pairs of friends fail to recognize each other because of some disguise. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* is an obvious example of this type; his *Twelfth Night* is probably the best of the kind ever written: and Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* is another masterpiece in the genre.

5.3.2 Comedy of Manners

This is comedy in which amusement arises mostly from the portrayal of current foibles or minor social abuses, or recognized social 'types'. The characterization may be more or less rich, the plot more or less interesting; but the chief pleasure is in the language and habits portrayed.

Examples : Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*, Etherege's *The Man of Mode*, Congreve's *The Old Bachelor* etc.

5.3.3 Comedy of Humours

Here the chief comic interest is in the characters themselves. Ben Jonson initiated and specialized in the comedy of humours, which is a kind of simplified comedy of character. Whereas in tragedy we find people suffering because of their characters, in comedy of this category we see them make fools of themselves because of pronounced traits of character or predominant humour.

Examples: Jonson's *The Silent Woman*, Christopher Fry's *Venus Observed*, Noel Coward's *The Young Idea*. etc.

5.3.4 Sentimental Comedy

As its name implies, this is comedy which seeks to play to some extent upon our sympathies as well as making us laugh; it may even draw easy tears. It was, historically, a reaction against the coarseness and heartlessness of the brilliant but usually scandalous Restoration Comedy; but the genre is certainly far from extinct. Steele furnishes some of the best examples; other examples are Hugh Kelly's *A Word to the Wise*, Isaac Bickerstaffs *The Maid of the Mill* etc.

5.3.5 Farce

Farce is to comedy roughly what melodrama is to tragedy. It aims at producing laughter by various exaggerated physical effects and is without psychological depth. Characterization and wit are less important than a rapid succession of amusing

situations. The form is on a relatively low artistic level and the comic situations are generally rather crude. Farce often has been called the 'custard-pie' comedy because at times it may deal with purely material absurdities.

Examples : Gammer Gurton's **Needle and Thersites**, Terence Rattigan's **French Without Tears**, etc.

5.4 Some Other Categories

5.4.1 Chronicle Play

A dramatization of material taken from the chronicle histories. A theme from history may be chosen for the light it seems to throw on some topical problem. Conversely, a historical theme may be chosen removed from the topical to give opportunities for heightened emotion, universality, poetic language or pageantry. Shakespeare's **Henry IV**, Marlowe's **Edward II** exemplify the type. Such plays aim at presenting representative cross-sections of life in a period.

5.4.2 Tragi-Comedy

In this type there is a mixture of the tragic and the comic elements, aimed at giving a representation of life as it is. Several themes may be interwoven. But the mixture of tragic and comic can be very infelicitous as in Thomas Otway's **Venice Preserved**. At the same time it has every possibility to be successful because life is more often a tragi-comedy, for most people. Modern drama, indeed, with its stress on realism, makes much use of the mixed type. Beckett's **Waiting for Godot** is a glorious example of this kind of drama.

5.4.3 Symbolic Drama—Expressionism

There is a form of drama, which can be more truly dramatic than it sounds, in which the characters are not human beings in the ordinary sense, but personifications of single concepts or human characteristics. Expressionism seeks to represent the inner life of human beings by various symbols and special conventions. The mode is however, violently experimental and draws upon the idea of the subconscious and uses associative rather than communicative language. There are Expressionist elements in the work of Capek and all the poetic plays of W.B. Yeats are more or less symbolical.

5.5 Development of Native English Drama

Roman drama—an offshoot of Greek drama fell into a corrupt state and was condemned by the new Religion of Christianity—a severe blow to dramatic activity.

But religious instructions to the illiterate masses were necessary. Hence the presentation of gospel stories in dumb shows was prevalent. The introduction of

acting and speaking in the shows marks the beginning of the drama.

Various types of entertainment in the Middle Ages were utilized for the development of the drama. Traces of these entertainments are to be found in the plays—jesting, wrestling, magic, shows etc.

There were also pageants anticipating historical plays; many games giving the foretaste of masque and pastoral play; churling and clowning, heralding farce and comedy.

Popular mumming at great festivals, a crude survival of ancient pagan ritual, developed into more elaborate amusements, with morris dancing and simple dramatizations of feats of such heroes as Robin Hood and St. George. In fact, drama gradually became less religious and more secular.

The growth of English drama out of native elements and foreign influences is a fascinating study. "The cradle of the English drama rested on the altar". In early times the stories from the Bible were illustrated by a series of living pictures. At the next stage several plays were written by priests and these plays were known as Mysteries and Miracles. The term Mysteries was applied to the stories taken from the Bible. There were four great cycles—more of Chester, Coventry, York and Wakefield. However, in these plays there was no artistic or aesthetic taste.

5.5.1 Miracles and Moralities

The name Miracles was given to plays dealing with incidents in the lives of saints and martyrs. There was the presentation of easy and convenient mixture of various elements—apt such as appearance of the angel and devils on the stage; supernaturalism; dramatic irregularity and improbability; combination of humour and pathos.

The next stage in the evolution of the drama was the Morality play that flourished in the 15th Century. Moralities may be called "dramatized allegories", they replaced the Biblical personages of the Miracle plays by personified abstractions as Justice, Mercy, Gluttony etc. An important feature of this kind of play is the development of characterization. Though crude, it is often strangely marked by broad farcical elements. **Everyman** (about 1490) is perhaps the best of morality plays that is extant.

The predecessor of the drama proper was the **Interlude**. It flourished about the middle of the 16th Century. It had several distinguishing points: it was a short play that introduced real characters, usually of humble rank, such as citizens and friars; there was much broad farcical humour, often coarse; and there were set scenes, a new feature in the English drama. John Heywood was the most gifted writer of the Interlude. **The Four P's** is one of his best creations.

5.5.2 Drama In the Elizabethan Period

The opening of the Elizabethan period saw the drama struggling into maturity. The early type was scholarly in tone and aristocratic in authorship. Next came the

work of the University Wits, Peele, Greene, Lodge, Kyd and greatest of all, Marlowe. In their hands drama first began to realize its latent potentialities and the exuberance and vitality which typify Elizabethan drama first made themselves felt.

To this stage succeeded that of Shakespeare, which covered approximately the years 1595 to 1615. This is the crown and flower of the Elizabethan dramatic achievement.

Undoubtedly, Shakespeare is the greatest icon of Elizabethan drama. His tragedies—*Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *King Lear* mark the climax of his art.

However, the decline of the Elizabethan Drama begins with Jonson and continues with Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford, Webster and other dramatists.

5.5.3 Drama In the restoration Period

In this period drama is represented by the "heroic tragedy" and "comedy of manners" that have already been mentioned in the Categorization.

5.5.4 Drama in the Romantic Period

As a form of literary exercise drama continues to be written in this age. Tragedy is almost monopolized in the activities of the major poets. Of all the tragedies, Shelley's *The Cenci* comes first in power and simplicity. Wordsworth's *The Borderers* and Coleridge's *Remorse* add little to the fame of their authors.

5.5.5 Drama In The Victorian Period

Major poets attempt tragedies but hardly on the lines of the accepted models. Of them all, Swinburne's tragedies, especially those concerned with Mary Queen of Scots, possess the greatest warmth. Browning's earlier plays also have sincerity and the same time real dramatic power.

5.5.6 The Beginning of the Poetic Drama

From the dramatic point of view the first half of the nineteenth century was almost barren. Despite the efforts of the major Victorian poets, there was no tradition of poetic drama at the beginning of the 19th century. By 1920 there were signs of a rebirth, but the atmosphere in which realistic, naturalistic drama thrived was uncongenial to poetic drama. At the Abbey Theatre—Yeats attempted to revive poetry on the stage, but he lacked the essential qualities of the dramatist. Stephen Phillips wrote a number of blank-verse plays but he had little popular appeal. Masfield, too, experimented in poetic drama. But Gordon Bottomley wrote a number of quite powerful poetical dramas and showed some hope for this form in the amateur theatre. John Drinkwater, too, began his career with poetic dramas. But, the true poetic drama was that of Synge which, though not in verse, had all the qualities which these lesser dramatists in varying degrees lacked. T. S. Eliot also experimented with poetic drama.

5.6 Questions

Poetry :

- 1) What is an epic poetry? Give examples of epic poetry. What is the most important epic poem in English literature?
- 2) What do you know of poetry in the age of Chaucer? Write a short note on 'rime royale'.
- 3) Write a note on Elizabethan poetry.
- 4) What are the important features of Romantic poetry? Illustrate with examples.
- 5) Name at least 2/3 war poets.
- 6) What is modern poetry?

Drama

- 1) What is a melodrama?
- 2) Distinguish between a melodrama and a tragedy.
- 3) What is a problem play? Give some examples of a problem play.
- 4) What is a farce? Give some examples of a farce.

5.7 Bibliography

Poetry

- 1) An Anatomy of poetry—Marjori Boulton—Kalyani Publisher. 2005.
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Drama

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- 3) Quintessence of Literary Essays—W.R. Goodman—Doaba House—Delhi. 1980.

2.6 Questions

Poetry

- 1) What is the purpose of poetry? Give examples of the purpose. What is the most important one? (Write a short note on this.)
- 2) What is the purpose of poetry in the age of Chaucer? Write a short note on this.
- 3) Write a note on Elizabethan poetry.
- 4) What are the important features of Romantic poetry? Illustrate with examples.
- 5) Write a note on 19th century poetry.
- 6) What is modern poetry?

Drama

- 1) What is a drama?
- 2) Difference between a play and a drama.
- 3) Write a note on the history of drama.
- 4) What is a play? Give some examples of a play.

2.7 Bibliography

Poetry

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MODULE - 3

Unit 1 □ Principles of Language Teaching-1

Structures

1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Brief history of Language Teaching

1.3 The Grammar Translation Method

1.4 The Direct Method

1.5 The Oral Approach and Situational Language Teaching

1.6 The Audio Lingual Method

1.7 Let us Sum up

1.8 Glossary

1.9 Comprehension Exercises

1.10 Bibliography

1.0 Objectives

This unit introduces you to the various approaches and methods in language teaching. In this unit we will examine the principles and techniques of four methods and approaches and in the next unit you will examine a few others. In this unit you will look at :

- The Grammar – Translation Method.
- The Direct Method.
- The Oral Approach and Situational Language Teaching.
- The Audio Lingual Method.

1.1 Introduction

The proliferation of approaches and methods is a prominent characteristic of contemporary second and foreign language teaching. The classroom teacher and the programme co-ordinator have a wider variety of methodological options to choose

from than even before. They can choose methods and materials according to the needs of learners, the preferences of teachers and the constraints of the school or educational setting. Invention of new classroom practices and approaches to designing language programmes and materials reflects a commitment to finding more efficient and more effective ways of teaching languages. This unit is designed to provide a detailed account of major twentieth-century trends in language teaching. To highlight the similarities and differences between approaches and methods, the same descriptive framework is used throughout. This unit presents and discusses four well-known language teaching methods. Some of these methods have been around for a very long time. By reading this book you will gain an understanding of the principles on which these methods are based and of the techniques associated with each method. Don't equate the inclusion of a method to the endorsement of that method. We would like you to be informed about the existing choices and investigate each method in the light of your own beliefs, and experiences. We do not expect that you will abandon the way you teach now or plan to teach in future in order to adopt one of these methods. We do think, however that there will be some new techniques worthy of your attention. As you read this book try to imagine how you can adapt these techniques creatively to your own situation. You are limited only by your imagination.

1.2 A Brief History of Language Teaching

It has been estimated that some sixty percent of today's world population is multilingual. Both from a contemporary and historical perspective bilingualism or multilingualism is a norm rather than an exception. Thus, throughout history, foreign language learning has always been an important practical concern. Today, English is the world's most widely studied foreign language but 500 years ago it was Latin for it was the dominant language of education, commerce, religion and government in the Western world. In the 16th century, however, French, Italian and English gained in importance as a result of political changes in Europe. Latin gradually was displaced as a language of spoken and written communication. As the status of Latin diminished from that of a dominant language to that of an "occasional" subject in the school curriculum, the study of Latin took on a different function. The study of classical Latin and analysis of its grammar and rhetoric became the model for foreign language study from the 17th to the 19th centuries. Children entering "grammar school" in 16th, 17th and 18th centuries in England were initially given a rigorous introduction to Latin grammar which was taught mainly through rote learning of grammar rules and translation. There were occasional attempts to promote alternative approaches to education. Roger Ascham and Montaigne in the 16th century and Comenius and John Locke in the 17th century, for example, had made specific

proposals for curriculum reform and for changes in the way Latin was taught but since Latin had for so long been regarded as the classical and therefore most ideal form of language, the curriculum of language study was very much inspired by Latin. Thus other languages like French and English which began to enter the curriculum of European schools in the 18th century, were taught using the same basic procedures that were used for teaching Latin. Text books consisted of statement of abstract grammar rules, lists of vocabulary and sentences for translation. Speaking the foreign language was not the goal, and oral practice was limited to students reading aloud the sentences they translated. This approach to foreign language teaching came to be known as the Grammar-Translation Method.

1.3 The Grammar-Translation Method

The Grammar-Translation method was the offspring of German scholarship as the names of some of its leading exponents like Johann Seidensticker, Karl Plotz, H. S. Ollendrof and Johann Meidinger suggest. Grammar Translation was first known in the United States as the Prussian Method.

Objectives :

- The goal of this method was to help the students read and appreciate foreign language literature.
- It was thought that students would benefit from the mental discipline and intellectual development that result from foreign-language study.
- Development of reading and writing skills should be the major focus.
- The sentence is to be taken as the basic unit of teaching and language practice. Much of the lesson is devoted to translating sentences in and out of the target language.
- Grammar should be taught deductively that is grammar should be at first presented and studied and then practised through translation exercises.
- Vocabulary selection is based solely on the reading texts used and words taught through bilingual word lists, dictionary study and memorization.
- There should be much emphasis on accuracy. Students are expected to attain high standards in translation.
- The students' native language is the medium of instruction. It is used to explain new items and to enable comprehension.

Some characteristics of the teaching/learning process :

- Students are taught to translate from one language to another. Often what they translate are materials in the target language about some aspect of the culture of the foreign language community.
- Students study grammar deductively that is they are given the grammar rules and examples, are told to memorize them and then asked to apply the rules to other examples.
- Students also learn grammatical paradigms like verb conjugations.
- They memorize native language equivalents for words from the target language.

The area(s) language and language skills which are emphasized :

There is much emphasis on vocabulary and grammar. Reading and writing are given primary importance. Speaking and listening receives much less attention. Pronunciation receives little, if any, attention.

Nature of student-teacher and student-student interaction :

The lessons are mostly teacher-directed. Most of the initiation of interaction is from teacher to students. There is little student initiation and little student-student interaction.

Teacher's response to student errors :

Accuracy in grammar and translation is considered to be very important. If the students make errors or don't know an answer, the teacher supplies them with the correct answer.

Nature of evaluation :

Written tests in which students are asked to translate from their native language to the target language or vice versa are often used to evaluate students. Questions about the foreign culture or questions that ask students to apply grammar rules are also common.

Role of instructional materials :

The instructional materials mainly consist of the text books containing passages for reading and translation and those containing grammar rules with exercises.

Role of the students' native language :

The native language is the medium of instruction in the classroom. The meaning of the target language is made clear by translating it into the students' native language.

The Grammar-Translation Method dominated European and foreign teaching from

the 1840s to the 1940s and continued to be used in modified form from some parts of the world. In the mid and late 19th century opposition to the Grammar-Translation method gradually developed in several European countries. The Reform Movement laid foundations for the development of new ways of teaching languages. You had an opportunity to examine the principles of the Grammar-Translation Method.

We may now consider the following questions :-

- Do you believe that the fundamental reason for learning a foreign language is to be able to read the literature written in the target language?
- Is translation a valuable exercise?
- Should grammar be presented deductively?
- Can any of the technique(s) of Grammar Translation method be useful to you in your own teaching? Which ones?

1.4 The Direct Method

Since the Grammar-Translation method was not very effective in preparing students to use the target language communicatively the Direct Method became popular. Reformers, toward the end of the nineteenth century turned their attention to naturalistic principles of language learning which provided the foundation for what came to be known as the Direct Method which refers to the most widely known natural method.

The Direct Method has one very basic rule : no translation is allowed. In fact, the Direct Method receives its name from the fact that meaning is to be connected directly with the target language without going through the process of translating into the students' native language.

Objectives :

- Classroom instruction should be conducted exclusively in the target language.
- The method aims at intense oral interaction in the classroom, so as to develop oral communication skills of the students.
- Only everyday vocabulary and sentences should be taught.
- New teaching points must be introduced orally.
- There must be emphasis on correct pronunciation and grammar.
- Grammar must be taught inductively.

Some characteristics of teaching / learning process :

- The Direct Method believes that students need to associate meaning and the target language directly. Thus when the teacher introduces a new word or phrase

from the target language, he/she demonstrates its meaning through the use of realia, pictures or pantomime instead of translating it into the students' native language.

- Students speak in the target language a great deal.
- The syllabus used in the Direct Method is based upon situations (for example situation in a shop, in the post office). 'Students communicate with each other as if they were in real situations.
- Grammar is taught inductively that is, the students are presented with examples and they figure out the rule or generalization from the examples. An explicit Grammar rule may never be given.
- Students practise vocabulary by using words in complete sentences.

The areas of language and the language skills which are emphasized :

The method aims at development of all four skills but oral communication is given primary importance. Reading and writing exercises are based upon what the students practise orally at first. Vocabulary is emphasized over grammar. Pronunciation also receives attention right from the beginning.

Nature of student-teacher and student-student interaction :

Lessons are often teacher-directed but unlike the Grammar-Translation method the role of the students is less passive. The initiation of interaction may go from teacher to students as well as from student to teacher. Students also converse with one another.

Teacher's response to student errors :

There is emphasis on accurate pronunciation and grammar. The teacher tries to get students to self-correct whenever possible.

Nature of evaluation :

In the Direct Method students are asked to use the language, not to demonstrate their knowledge about the language. They are asked to do so using both oral and written skills. For example the students might be interviewed orally by the teacher or might be asked to write a paragraph about something they have studied.

Role of instructional materials :

Objects (e.g. maps or pictures) present in the immediate classroom environment are used to help the students understand the meaning.

Role of the students' native language :

The native language of the students should not be used in the classroom. The target language is the language of the classroom.

Although the Direct Method enjoyed popularity in Europe and was successful in private language schools, such as those of the Berlitz Chain, its use had declined. The British applied linguist Henry Sweet had recognized its limitations. It was perceived to have several drawbacks. They are :-

- It offered innovations at the level of teaching procedure but lacked a thorough methodological basis.
- It required teachers who were fluent in the target language. It was largely dependent on the teacher's skill rather than on a text book but all the teachers were not proficient enough to adhere to the principles of the method.
- Strict adherence to the Direct Method principles were often counterproductive since teachers were required to go to great lengths to avoid using the native tongue when some times a brief explanation in the students' native tongue would have been a more efficient route to comprehension.

Sweet and other applied linguists argued for the development of sound methodological principles that could serve as the basis for teaching techniques. Subsequent developments led to Audio lingualism in the United States and Oral Approach or Situational Language Teaching in Britain.

Let us now consider the following questions :

- Do you think that students' native language should never be used in the classroom?
- Should grammar be presented inductively?
- Are there any principle(s) of the Direct Method which you believe in? Which one(s)?

1.5 The Oral Approach and Situational Language Teaching

The Oral Approach and Situational Language teaching refers to an approach to language teaching developed by British applied linguists from the 1930s to the 1960s. Harold Palmer and A. S. Hornby, two of the most prominent figures in British 20th century language teaching attempted to develop a more scientific foundation for an oral approach to teaching English that was found in the Direct Method. The result was a systematic study of the principles and procedures that could be applied to the selection and organization of the content of a language course.

Objectives :

- The method aims at the development of four basic skills of language. The skills are approached through practice of language structures. .
- The method aims at the automatic control of basic structures and sentence patterns which is fundamental to reading and writing skills through speech work. Material is taught orally before it aims at the development of reading and writing skills.
- Accuracy in both pronunciation and grammar is regarded as crucial and errors are to be avoided at all costs.

Some characteristics of teaching / learning process

The main characteristics of the approach are as follows :-

- The target language is the language of the classroom.
- New language points or structures are taught orally before they are presented in written form.
- New language points are introduced and practised situationally.
- Vocabulary selection procedures are followed to ensure that an essential general service vocabulary is covered.
- Items of grammar are graded following the principle that simple form should be taught before complex ones.
- Reading and writing are introduced once a sufficient lexical and grammatical basis is established.

Situational language teaching uses a situational approach to presenting new sentence patterns and a drill-based manner of practising them. Situation means the use of concrete objects, pictures which together with actions and gestures can be used to demonstrate the meanings of new language items. The practice techniques generally consist of guided repetition and substitution activities, including chorus repetition, dictation, drills and controlled oral-based reading and writing tasks. Other oral-practice techniques are sometimes used including pair practice and group work. Pittman illustrates oral drilling on a pattern, using a box full of objects to create the situation. The pattern being practised is "There's is NOUN + of (noun) in the box". The teacher takes objects out of the box and the class repeats :

There's a bottle of ink in the box.

There's a packet of pins in the box.

There's a jar of rice in the box.

There's reel of cotton in the box.

Pittman says that a typical lesson plan would consist of the following parts :-

1. Pronunciation
2. revision (to prepare for new work if necessary)
3. presentation of new structure of vocabulary
4. oral practice (drilling)
5. reading of material on the new structure or written exercises.

The major areas of language and language skills :

Speech is regarded as the basis of language and structure is viewed as being at the heart of speaking ability. Vocabulary is regarded as one of the most important aspects of foreign language teaching. Michael West's 'A General Service List of English Words' published in 1953 became a standard reference in developing teaching materials. Major grammatical structures are classified into sentence patterns (later called substitution tables) to help internalize the rules of English sentence structure. The method attempts to make the students gain a practical command of the four basic skills of language but speech work precedes reading and writing.

Nature of student-teacher interaction and student-student interaction :

Lessons are teacher directed. The teacher at first serves as model setting up situations in which the need for the target structure is created and then more like the skillful conductor of an orchestra the teacher uses questions, comments and other cues to elicit correct sentences from the learners. In the initial stages of learning, the learner is simply required to listen and repeat what the teacher says and respond to questions and commands. Later more active participation is encouraged which may include initiating responses and asking each other questions.

Teacher's response to student errors :

Errors are to be avoided as accuracy is considered to be absolutely necessary. The teacher is ever on the lookout for grammatical and structural errors that can form the basis of subsequent lessons.

Nature of evaluation :

Evaluation may take place informally during question-answer sessions and other activities. The teacher may also take a formal test.

Role of instructional materials :

Situational language teaching is dependent upon a text book and visual aids. The text book contains lessons tightly planned around different grammatical structures. Visual aids may consist of charts, flashcards, stick figures and so on. The text book should however be used as a guide to the learning process. The teacher is expected to be the master of his/her text book.

Role of the students' native language :

The target language is the language of the classroom as the habits of the students' native language are thought to interfere with the students' attempts to master the target language.

Now may we consider the following questions?

- Is learning of structures adequate to learn a language?
- Can the students taught by this method communicate in real situations?
- Should teaching dominate over learning?
- Would you like to adopt any of the techniques of this method for teaching/learning in your classroom? If so which of the techniques will you use?

1.6 The Audio-lingual Method

The Audio-lingual method was developed in the United States during World War II when there was a need for people to learn foreign languages rapidly for military purposes. The main objective of the army programs was to make the students attain conversational proficiency in a variety of foreign languages. At that time there were exciting new ideas about language and learning emanating from the disciplines of descriptive linguistics and behavioral psychology. These ideas led to the development of the Audio-Lingual Method. Audio-lingualism (the term was coined by professor Nelson Brooks in 1964) claimed that it would enable learners to achieve mastery of a foreign language effectively. The method was widely adopted for teaching foreign languages in North American colleges and universities.

Let us now consider the Audio-lingual method under the following heads :-

Objectives :

Brooks distinguishes between short-range and long-range objectives in the audio lingual program. Short-range objectives include :-

- Oral proficiency which is equated with
 - ★ accurate pronunciation & grammar.
 - ★ the ability to respond quickly & accurately in speech situations.
- Training in listening comprehension.
- Development of reading and writing dependent upon prior oral skills.

Some characteristics of teaching / learning process :

The theory of language underlying Audio-lingualism was derived from a view proposed by American linguists in the 1950s – a view that came to be known as structural linguistics. Some important tenets of structural linguistics are :

- Language is primarily what is spoken and only secondarily what is written.
- A language is a set of habits.

Thus in a typical audio-lingual classroom you may note the following :

- New vocabulary and structures are presented through dialogues.
- The dialogues are learned through imitation and repetition. Drills are conducted based upon the patterns present in the dialogue.
- Students' reading and written work is based upon the oral work they did earlier.
- Grammar is presented through examples. Explicit grammar rules are not provided.
- The method believes that language cannot be separated from culture. Culture is not only literature and the arts but also the everyday behaviour of the people who use the target language.

Cultural information is contextualized in the dialogues presented by the teacher.

Long-term objectives are :

- the ability to use the language as the native speaker uses it.

The areas of language and the language skills which are emphasized :

The syllabus is typically a structural one. The structures of the language are emphasized over all the other areas. The structures for any particular unit are included in the new dialogue. Vocabulary is also contextualized within the dialogue.

The oral/aural skills receive most of the attention. Pronunciation is taught from the beginning.

Nature of student-teacher interaction and student-student interaction :

Most of the interaction is between teacher and students and is initiated by the teacher. There is student-student interaction in chain drills or when students take different roles in dialogues but this interaction is teacher directed.

Teacher's response to student errors :

Student errors are to be avoided through the teacher's awareness of where the students will have difficulty and restriction of what they are taught to say.

Nature of evaluation :

Each question in the test would focus on only one point of the language at a time. Students might be asked to distinguish between words in minimal pairs or to supply an appropriate verb form in a sentence.

The Role of instructional materials :

Instructional materials are primarily teacher oriented. A textbook is often not

used in the elementary phases of a course because it distracts attention from the aural input. When text books and printed materials are introduced to the student they provide the texts of dialogues and cues needed for drills and exercises. Tape recorders and audio visual equipment often have central roles in an audio-lingual course. If the teacher is not a native speaker of the target language, the tape recorder provides accurate models for dialogues and drills. A taped lesson may first present a dialogue for listening practice, allow the students to repeat the sentences in the dialogue line by line and provide follow-up fluency drills on grammar & pronunciation.

Role of students' native language :

The habits of the students' native language are thought to interfere with the students' attempts to master the target language. Therefore the target language is used in the classroom, not students' native language.

Audio-lingualism reached its peak in the 1960s and was applied to the teaching of foreign languages and English as second or foreign language. However the theoretical foundations of audio-lingualism were regarded to be unsound both in terms of language theory and learning theory.

On the other hand practitioners found that the practical results fell short of expectations. Students were often found to be unable to transfer skills acquired through audio-lingualism to real communication outside the classroom and many found the experience of studying through audio-lingual procedures to be boring and unsatisfying. The MIT Linguist Noam Chomsky rejected the structuralist approach to language description as well as the behaviourist theory of language learning. According to Chomsky sentences are not learned by imitation and repetition but generated from the learner's underlying competence. Suddenly the whole audio-lingual paradigm was called into question. It was realized that practice activities should involve meaningful learning and language use. This led to a period of adaptation, innovation, experimentation which resulted in the emergence of new methods like Total Physical Response, Silent Way and approaches like The Natural Approach, Communicative Language Teaching. These developments will be considered in the succeeding unit.

We have looked at the principles of the Audio-Lingual method. Lets now consider the following questions :-

- Should the major focus of teaching and learning be on the structural patterns of the target language?
- Is dialogue a useful way to introduce new material?
- Should dialogues be memorized through mimicry of the teacher's model?
- Can you adapt the audio-lingual method or some of its techniques to your own teaching approach situation?

1.7 Let us sum up

In this unit you have looked at the following methods and approaches :

The Grammar-Translation method :

- The method believes that the fundamental purpose of learning a foreign language is to be able to read literature written in the target language.
- Students are taught to translate from one language to another.
- Students study grammar deductively.
- Most of the interaction in the classroom is from the teacher to students.
- Reading and writing are the primary skills that the students work on.
- There is much less attention given to speaking and listening.
- The language that is used in class is mostly the students' native language.

The Direct Method

- The students learn how to communicate in the target language. The target language is the language of the classroom.
- The method believes that language is primarily spoken not written. There is much emphasis on development of oral communication. The reading and written exercises are based upon what the students practise orally first. Pronunciation receives attention right from the beginning of a course.
- Grammar is taught inductively.
- Vocabulary is emphasized over grammar.
- Students often initiate an interaction. They interact with one another as well.
- The native language of the students is not used in the classroom.

The Oral Approach and Situational Language Teaching

- Speech is regarded as the basis of language.
- New language points or structures are introduced and practised situationally.
- Language structures are taught orally before they are presented in written form.
- Vocabulary is given much importance.
- The lessons are teacher directed specially in the initial stages. Later more active participation of the students is encouraged.
- The target language is the language of the classroom.

The Audio-Lingual Method

- The method follows a structural syllabus. New vocabulary and structures are presented through dialogues.

- The method believes that language learning is a process of habit formation. Students over-learn the target language to form new habits in the target language overcoming the old habits of their native language.
- Everyday speech is emphasized.
- Grammar is mainly presented through examples. Explicit grammar rules are not provided.
- Students are acquainted with the culture which consists not only of arts and literature but the everyday behaviour and lifestyle of the target language speakers.
- Most of the lessons are teacher directed. The teacher is like an orchestra leader, directing and controlling the language behaviour of the students. He/She is also responsible for providing the students with a good model for imitation.
- The target language is the language of the classroom.

1.8 Glossary

proliferation :- A rapid growth or increase in numbers.

bilingualism :- having or using two languages.

multilingualism : using many languages.

rhetoric :- the art of using language in an impressive way.

rote :- the process of learning something by repeated study rather than by understanding the meaning.

curriculum :- The subject included in a course of study or taught at a particular school, college etc.

native language :- usually the language which a person acquires in early childhood, because it is spoken in the family and/or it is the language of the country where he/she is living. The native language is often the first language a child acquires and so this term is sometimes used synonymously with first language.

target language :- the language which a person is learning. Sometimes this term is synonymously used with second language or L_2 .

deductive learning :- This is an approach to language teaching in which learners are taught rules and given specific information about a language which they then apply when they use the language.

inductive learning :- In contrast to deductive learning, in inductive learning, learners are not taught grammatical or other types of rules directly but are left to discover or induce rules from their experience of using the language.

paradigm :- (grammar) a set of all the different forms of a word. For example: verb paradigms.

evaluation :- assessment or formation of an idea of the value of something.

realia :- (in language teaching) actual objects and items which are brought to be talked or written about and used in teaching.

pantomime :- the use of movement and expression of the face and body to indicate meaning or tell a story.

lexical :- of the words of a language.

cues :- something (eg. a few words or an action) that gives the signal to say or do something.

behavioral psychology :- a theory of psychology which states that human and animal behaviour can and should be studied in terms of physical processes only. It led to theories of learning which explained how an external event (a stimulus) caused a change in the behaviour of an individual (a response) without using concepts like "mind" or "ideas" or any kind of mental behaviour.

structural linguistics :- an approach to linguistics which stress the importance of language as a system and which investigates the place that linguistic units such as sounds, words, sentences have within this system.

1.9 Comprehension Exercises

Questions

1. Why do you think the Grammar-Translation Method is one that has been derived from the teaching of the classical languages, Latin and Greek?
2. What, do you think are the limitations of the Grammar Translation Method?
3. What are some of the characteristics of the Direct Method that make it so distinctive from the Grammar-Translation Method?
4. In the Grammar-Translation Method, grammar is treated deductively and in the Direct Method, grammar is treated inductively. Can you explain the difference between deductive and inductive treatments of Grammar?
5. Discuss the characteristics of teaching/learning process in the Oral Approach and Situational language teaching.
6. What is the role of the teacher in Audio-lingual method?
7. What areas of language are emphasized in the Audio-lingual Method?

Activities

1. Choose a reading passage from a literary work or a textbook or write on yourself. Plan vocabulary exercises you would use to help your students associate the new words with their native language equivalents.
2. Choose a particular situation (such as at the bank, at the railroad station or at the doctor's office) and write a short passage or a dialogue on the theme you have chosen. Now think about how you will convey its meaning to a class.
3. Select a grammar point from the passage. Plan how you will make your student practise the grammar point. What examples can you provide them so that they can induce the rules themselves?
4. Read the following dialogue. What structure is it trying to teach?
Ria : My sister is going to go to college next month.
Tina : What is she going to study?
Ria : She is going to study sociology.
Tina : Where is she going to study?
Ria : She is going to study at Presidency College.
5. Prepare your own dialogue to introduce your students to some structure in the target language you teach.

1.10 Bibliography

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Unit 2 □ Principles of Language Teaching-2

Structures

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Communicative Language Teaching
- 2.2 Total Physical Response Method
- 2.3 The Silent Way
- 2.4 Community Language Learning
- 2.5 The Natural Approach
- 2.6 Suggestopedia
- 2.7 Let us Sum up
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2.0 Objectives

In the previous unit you have looked at four methods and approaches to language teaching. This unit introduces you to some more. In this unit you will look at :

- Communicative Language Teaching
- Total Physical Response Method
- The Silent Way
- Community Language Learning
- The Natural Approach
- Suggestopedia

2.1 Communicative Language Teaching

The Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) originated from the changes in the British language teaching tradition that took place from the late 1960's. By the end of the sixties it was clear that the situational approach which taught the language

by the practice of basic structures in meaningful situation-based activities, had run its course. It was realized that it is insufficient for students to simply have knowledge of target language forms, meanings and functions. Students must be able to apply this knowledge to negotiation of meaning. The British applied linguists saw the need to focus in language teaching on communicative proficiency rather than on mere mastery of structures. This led to the development of Communicative Language Teaching.

Objectives :

- Communicative competence (that is, the ability to use the linguistic system effectively and appropriately) should be the goal of language teaching.
- There should be a development of four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing)
- The target language should be a vehicle for classroom communication, not just the object of study.
- Attempts to communicate in the target language may be encouraged from the very beginning so that the target linguistic system will be learnt best through the process of struggling to communicate.
- Fluency and acceptable language is the primary goal. Accuracy is judged not in the abstract but in the context.
- Teachers should help learners in any way that motivates them to work with the language.
- One of the teacher's major responsibilities is to establish situations likely to promote communication. Whenever possible "authentic language" that is language as it is used in a real context should be introduced.
- Students are expected to interact with other people through pair and group work.

Some characteristics of the teaching/learning process :

The most obvious characteristic of this approach is that almost everything is done with the aim to communicate. Students use the language a great deal through communicative activities such as games, role-plays and problem-solving tasks. Activities that are truly communicative, according to Morrow have three features: Information gap, Choice and Feedback. The range of exercise types and activities is unlimited, provided that such exercises require the use of such communicative process as information sharing, negotiation of meaning and interaction.

Authentic materials are used as much as possible. Students should get an opportunity to develop strategies for understanding language as it is actually used.

by native speakers. Activities in the Communicative Approach are often carried out by students in, small groups. Small groups of students interacting are favoured in order to maximize the time allotted to each student for learning to negotiate meaning.

The area(s) of language and language skills which are emphasized :

Language functions are emphasized over forms. A variety of forms are introduced for each function. Only the simpler forms would be presented at first but as students get more proficient in the target language, more complex forms are learnt.

Students work on all the four' skills from the beginning. They learn about cohesion and coherence.

Nature of student-teacher and student-student interaction :

The emphasis in Communicative Language Teaching on the processes of communication rather than mastery of language forms leads to different roles for learners. The teacher is the initiator of the activities. The teacher's primary role is to facilitate communication among all the participants in the classroom and between these participants and the various activities and texts. Sometimes the teacher is a co-communicator but more often the teacher establishes situations that prompt communication among the students. Students interact a great deal with one another. They may interact in pairs, triads, small groups and even as a whole group.

The CLT teacher assumes a responsibility for determining and responding to learner language needs. On the basis of such needs assessments, teachers are expected to plan and group individual instruction that responds to the learner's needs. Another role assumed by CLT teachers is that of a counselor. CLT procedures often require teachers to acquire less teacher-centred classroom management skills. It is the teacher's responsibility to organize the classroom as setting for communicative activities.

Teacher's response to student errors :

Errors of form are tolerated and seen as a natural outcome of the development of communication skills. Students can have limited linguistic knowledge and still be successful communicators.

Nature of evaluation :

A teacher must find out whether a student can communicate in the target language in a given situation. During evaluation, fluency is given more attention than accuracy. The student who has the most control over the structures and vocabulary is not always the best communicator.

A teacher can informally evaluate his/her students' performance in his/her role as an advisor or co-communicator. For more formal evaluation, a teacher may use a communicative test.

Role of instructional materials :

Instructional materials have the primary role of promoting communicative language use. There are numerous textbooks designed to direct and support Communicative Language Teaching. A variety of games, role plays, simulations and task-based communication activities are used in CLT classes. Cue cards, activity cards and exercise handbooks are often used. Realia around which communicative activities can be built like advertisements, newspapers, maps, pictures, charts are often used.

Role of the students' language :

The students should realize that the target language is a vehicle for communication, not just an object to be studied. However, native language may be used to make meanings clear specially in the initial stages of language learning.

You have just gone through the principles of CLT. Let us now consider the following questions :

- Would you consider communicative competence a goal of language teaching?
- Should authentic language be used in class rooms?
- Would you ever use language games, problem-solving tasks or role-plays?
- Are there any other techniques or materials of the Communicative Approach that you would find useful?

2.2 Total Physical Response Method

Total Physical Response is a language teaching method which attempts to teach language through physical (motor) activity. It was developed by James Asher, a professor of psychology at San Jose State University, California. Asher claims that speech directed to young children consists primarily of commands which children respond to physically before they begin to produce verbal responses. Asher also emphasizes on developing comprehension before the learner is taught to speak. The emphasis on comprehension and the use of physical actions to teach a foreign language at an introductory level has a long tradition in language teaching. In the 19th century Gouin advocated a situationally based teaching strategy in which a chain of action verbs served as the basis for introducing and practising new language items. Palmer experimented with an action-based teaching strategy which claimed that "no method of teaching foreign speech is likely to be economical or successful

which does not include in the first period a very considerable proportion of that type of class room work which consists of the carrying out by the pupil of orders issued by the teacher."

Objectives :

- The target language should be presented in chunks, not just word by word.
- The students' understanding of the target language should be developed before speaking.
- The teacher should aim to direct student behaviour through the use of imperatives.
- Students can learn through observing actions as well as by performing the actions themselves.
- Spoken language should be emphasized over written language.
- Learning should take place in a stress-free environment.
- Students are expected to make errors when they first begin speaking but teachers should be tolerant of them. Work on the finer details of the language should be postponed until students have become somewhat proficient.

Some characteristics of teaching/learning process :

- The main characteristics of the approach are as follows :-
- The students first learn to respond to some oral commands. The teacher issues commands to a few students, then performs the actions with them.
- After responding to the oral commands the students demonstrate that they can understand the commands by performing them alone. The observers also have an opportunity to demonstrate their understanding.
- Then the students learn to read and write the commands.

Finnochiaro and Brumfit (1983) illustrate through the following stages how the procedural phases of instruction are handled in what they call a notional-functional approach.

1. Presentation of a brief dialogue or several mini-dialogues.
2. Oral practice of each utterance in the dialogue.
3. Questions and answers (based on the topic and situation in the dialogue.)
4. Questions and answers related to the student's personal experience but centered on the theme of the dialogue.
5. Study of the basic communicative expressions used in the dialogue or one of the structures that exemplify the function.
6. Learner discovery of generalizations or rules underlying the functional expression of structure.

7. Oral recognition, interpretative procedures.
8. Oral production activities, proceeding from guided to freer communication.

The areas of language and language skills which are emphasized :

Grammatical structures and vocabulary are emphasized over other language areas. These grammatical structures and vocabulary are presented through the imperatives. The imperatives are used because of their frequency of occurrence in the speech directed at young children learning their mother tongue. The spoken language is emphasized over written language. Understanding the spoken word should precede its production.

Nature of student-teacher and student-student interaction :

The teacher plays an active and direct role in this method. Asher says, "The instructor is the director of a stage play in which the students are the actors." The teacher decides which models to teach, and presents the new materials and selects supporting materials for classroom use. The teacher is encouraged to be well prepared and well organized so that the lesson flows smoothly and predictably. The teacher's role, however is not so much to teach as to provide opportunities for learning. The teacher has the responsibility of providing the best kind of exposure to language so that the learners can internalize the basic rules of the target language. Initially the interaction is characterized by the teacher speaking and the students responding non-verbally. Later on, the students become more verbal and the teacher responds non-verbally. Students perform the actions together. They can learn by watching each other. As the students begin to speak, they issue commands to one another as well as to the teacher.

Teacher's response to student errors :

It is expected that the students will make errors when they first begin speaking. Teachers should refrain from too much correction in the early stages and should not interrupt to correct errors since this will inhibit learners. As time goes on, however, more teacher intervention is expected. As the students get more advanced, teachers can "finetune", that is correct more minor errors.

Nature of evaluation :

The teacher will know immediately whether the students understand or not by observing student's actions. Formal evaluation can be conducted simply by commanding individual students to perform a series of actions. As students become more advanced, their performance in skits they have created can become the basis for evaluation.

Now that you have examined the principles and techniques of Total Physical Response method, you should consider the following :-

- Do you believe it is possible to teach all grammatical features through the imperative?
- Do you believe that students should not be encouraged to speak until they are ready to do so?
- Should a teacher overlook certain student errors in the beginning?
- Which, if any, of the other principles do you agree with?

Role of instructional materials :

There is generally no basic text in a Total Physical Response course. Initially the teacher's voice, actions and gestures may be a sufficient basis for classroom activities. Later the teacher may use common classroom objects such as books, pen, furniture to support teaching points. Realia plays an increasing role in later learning stages.

Role of the student's native language :

The method is usually introduced in the students' native language. After the introduction, rarely would the mother *tongue* be used. Meaning is made clear through body movements.

2.3 The Silent Way

The Silent Way is a method of language teaching devised by Caleb Gattegno. The method is based on the premise that the teacher should be silent as much as possible in the classroom and the learner should be encouraged to produce as much language as possible. Gattegno is well known for his revival of interest in the use of coloured wooden sticks called, cuisenaire rods and for his series Words in Colour, an approach to the teaching of initial reading in which sounds are coded by specific colours.

Broadly put, the learning hypothesis underlying Gattegno's work could be stated as follows :

1. Learning is facilitated if the learner discovers or creates rather than remembers and repeats what is to be learned.
2. Learning is facilitated by accompanying physical objects.
3. Learning is facilitated by problem solving involving the material to be learned.

Let us now consider the Silent Way under the following heads :-

Objectives :

- aural/oral proficiency in basic elements of the target language.

- near-native fluency in the target language, correct pronunciation and mastery of the prosodic elements of the target language.

Some characteristics of teaching / learning process :

Students begin their study of a language through its basic building blocks, sounds. These are introduced through a language specific sound-color chart. Relying on what sounds students already know from their knowledge of their native language, the teachers lead the students to associate the sounds of the target language with particular colours. Colours help the students to learn the spellings as well as to read and pronounce words properly. The following is an excerpt from instructions based on the Silent Way intended to teach American Peace Corps volunteers being trained to teach in Thailand. A word that is italicized can be substituted for by another word having the same function.

| <u>Lesson</u> | <u>Vocabulary</u> |
|---|---|
| 1. Wood colour 'red' | wood, red, green, yellow, brown, pink, white, orange, black, colour |
| 2. Using the numbers 1-10 | one ... ten |
| 3. Wood Colour 'red' 'long' Wood Colour 'green' 'longer' Wood Colour 'orange' 'longest' | adjectives of comparison |
| 4. Review. Students use structures taught in new situations, such as comparing the heights of students in the class | |

(John Wiskin, personal communication)

The students receive a great deal of practice with a given target language structure. They gain autonomy in the language by exploring it and making choices. The teacher asks the students to describe their reactions to the lesson or what they have learned. This provides valuable information for the teacher and encourages students to take responsibility for their own learning.

Areas of language and language skills which are emphasized :

There is a focus on the structures of the language. There is however no fixed linear, structural syllabus. The teacher starts with what the students know and builds from one structure to the next. The syllabus develops according to learners' needs. Explicit grammar rules may never be supplied. Vocabulary is somewhat restricted at first. Pronunciation is worked on from the beginning. All four skills are worked on from the beginning of the course. However students learn to read and write what they have already produced orally.

Nature of student-teacher interaction and student-student interaction :

Most of the time, the teacher is silent. Teacher silence is a unique and perhaps the most demanding aspect of the Silent Way. Gattegno talks of subordinating teaching to learning." However the teacher is very active - setting up situations to raise awareness, listening attentively to students' speech, observing them constantly and silently working with them on their production. When the teacher does speak, it is to give clues, not to model the language.

Verbal interaction among students is desirable (students can learn from one another) and is therefore encouraged. Students have an opportunity to express how they feel during the feedback sessions.

Teachers response to student errors :

Student errors are seen as a natural and indispensable part of the learning process. The teacher uses student errors as a basis for deciding where further work is necessary. Self-correction and peer-correction is encouraged.

Nature of evaluation :

Although the teacher may never give a formal test, he assesses student learning all the time. The teacher does not praise or criticize student behaviour since this would interfere with students' developing their own inner criteria. He expects students to learn at different rates. The teacher looks for steady progress, not perfection.

Role of instructional materials :

The materials mainly consist of a set of coloured rods used to directly link words and structures with their meanings in the target language thereby avoiding translation into the native language. Colour-coded pronunciation charts called 'Fidels', vocabulary wall charts, a pointer and reading/writing exercises are used to illustrate the relationship between sound and meaning in the target language. The materials are to be used by the students as well as by the teacher independently and cooperatively in promoting language learning by direct association.

Role of the students' native language :

Meaning is made clear by focusing on the students' perceptions, not by translation. However the students' native language may be used when necessary to give instructions during the feedback sessions. The students' existing knowledge of the native language may even be used to introduce new sounds in the target language.

Now may be its time to consider the following questions :

- Do you believe teaching should be subordinated to learning ?
- Should a teacher remain silent as much as possible?

- Would you like to use the Silent Way materials in your classroom?
- Which technique(s) would you like to adapt to your own approach to language teaching?

2.4 Community Language Learning

Community Language Learning (CLL) is the name of a method developed by Charles A. Curran and his associates. Community Language Learning represents the use of Counseling-Learning theory to teach languages. Curran realized that adults often feel threatened by a new learning situation. Curran believed that a way to deal with the fears of students is for teachers to become "language counselors". By understanding the students' fears and being sensitive to them, a teacher can help students overcome their negative feelings and turn them into positive energy to further their learning.

Objectives :

- A set of foreign language teaching practices sometimes described as humanistic techniques should be used for teaching and learning. Humanistic techniques are those that help students to be themselves, to accept themselves and be proud of themselves. These techniques help to foster a climate of caring and sharing in the foreign language class.

Students should work together in groups and this will give them a sense of community. In this way they can learn from each other as well as the teacher. Cooperation not competition is encouraged.

- In the initial stages, the "syllabus" is to be designed primarily by the students. Students are more willing to learn when they have created the material themselves.
- Teachers should work in a non-threatening way with what the learner has produced.
- Students should be able to take more responsibility for their own learning.
- Students should be allowed to reflect on what they have learnt. In addition to reflecting on the language students should reflect on what they have experienced.

Some characteristics of teaching / learning process :

According to Curran, there are six elements necessary for non-defensive learning. The first of these is security. Next is aggression which means that the students should be given an opportunity to assert themselves and be actively involved in the learning experience. The students may be asked to conduct their own conversation.

The third element is attention. At the initial stages, students must directly focus on or attend to one task at a time. The fourth element is reflection. Students may be asked to reflect on what they have experienced during the course of the lesson. Retention is the fifth element involving the integration of the new material that takes place within the student. The last element is discrimination which involves sorting out differences in target language forms by the student.

CLL includes the following learning tasks :

1. **Translation** : Learners form a small circle. A learner whispers a message or meaning he/she wants to express, the teacher translates it into (and may interpret it in) the target language and the learner repeats the teacher's translation.
2. **Group Work** : Learners may engage in various group tasks such as small group discussion of a topic, preparing a conversation, preparing a summary of a topic for presentation to another group, preparing a story that will be presented to the teacher and the rest of the class.
3. **Recording** : Students record conversations in the target language.
4. **Transcription** : Students transcribe utterances they have recorded for practice and analysis of linguistic forms.
5. **Analysis** : Students analyse and study transcriptions of target language sentences in order to focus on particular lexical usage or on the application of particular grammar rules.
6. **Reflection and observation** : Learners reflect and report on their experience of the class as a class or in groups.
7. **Listening** : Students listen to a monologue by the teacher involving elements they might have elicited or overheard during class interactions.
8. **Free conversation** : Students engage in free conversation with the teacher or other learners. They might include discussion of what they learnt as well as feelings they had about how they learnt.

The areas of language and the language skills which are emphasized :

Particular grammar points, pronunciation patterns and vocabulary are worked with. The most important skills are understanding and speaking the language. Reading and writing are also worked on, however, based upon what the students have already understood.

Nature of student-teacher interaction and student-student interaction :

As Rardin has observed, CLL is neither student-centred nor teacher-centred but rather teacher-student centred, with both being decision makers in the class. In Community Language Learning one continuing role of the teacher is to provide a safe environment for learning. Building a relationship with and among the students

is very important. In a secure atmosphere students can learn from their interaction with each other as well as their interaction with the teacher. The teacher's initial role is that of a counselor. Initially the learner is very dependent upon the teacher. It is recognized, however as the learner continues to study, he becomes increasingly independent.

CLL methodologists have identified five stages in the gradual progress of the learner from dependency to independency. At the advanced stages the student functions independently. The student may become counsellors to less advanced students while profiting from contact with their original knower.

Teacher's response to student errors :

Teacher should work with what the learner has produced in a non-threatening way. One way of doing this is for the teacher to repeat correctly what the student may have said incorrectly allowing the student to match their pronunciation with that of the teacher and self-correct. The teacher may act as the Human Computer during pronunciation practice. A student may choose some part of a transcript to practise pronunciation. S/he is "in control" of the teacher. When the student tries to say the word or phrase, the teacher following the student's lead, repeats the word or phrase as often as the student wants to practise it.

The teacher does not correct the student's mispronunciation in any way. It is through the teacher's consistent manner of repeating the word or phrase clearly that the student self-corrects as s/he tries to initiate the teacher's model.

Nature of evaluation :

Evaluation is conducted in keeping with the principles of the method. No particular mode of evaluation is prescribed in this method. If a test is required to be taken at the end of the course, then the teacher would see to it that the students are adequately prepared for taking it. A teacher-made classroom test would likely be more of an integrative test than a discrete-point one. Students may be asked to write a paragraph, rather than being asked to answer a question which deals with only one point of the language at a time. Teachers would encourage their students to self-evaluate to look at their own learning and to become aware of their own progress.

Role of students' native language :

Initially, the security of the learners is enhanced by using their native language. Native language equivalents of target language are given to make the meaning clear. Directions are also given in the native language. In later stages more and more of the target language can be used. Conversations in the target language can, for example, replace native language conversations.

Let us now consider the following questions :-

- Do you believe that a teacher should adopt the role of a counselor?
- Should the development of a community be encouraged?
- Do you think that the students should be given responsibility for creating the syllabus?
- Should you give your students an opportunity to reflect on their experience?
- Which of these techniques is compatible with your personal approach to teaching?

2.5 The Natural Approach

The Natural Approach was developed by Tracy Terrell, a teacher of Spanish in California in 1977. This was an attempt to develop a language teaching proposal that conforms to the naturalistic principles found in successful second language acquisition. The Natural Approach grew out of Terrell's experiences of teaching Spanish classes. Terrell had collaborated with Krashen, an applied linguist at the University of Southern California to publish their book, 'The Natural Approach' in 1983. The Natural Approach has many things in common with the Direct Method. Unlike the Direct Method, however, it places less emphasis on teacher monologues and answers and less focus on accurate production of target language sentences.

Objectives :

- The Natural Approach focuses on teaching communicative abilities. Language is viewed as a vehicle for communicating meanings and messages. Krashen and Terrell state that "acquisition can take place only when people understand messages in the target language." They also state that the Natural Approach is primarily "designed to develop communication skills — both oral and written"
- Krashen and Terrell observe that communication goals "may be expressed in terms of situations, functions and topics" which are likely to be most useful to the students. The functions are not specified or suggested but are felt to derive naturally from the topics and situations.
- There should be a wide exposure to vocabulary that may be useful to basic personal communication.
- There should not be any focus on grammatical structures since the necessary grammatical structures are automatically provided in the input.
- There should be an emphasis on exposure or input rather than practice. There should be a prolonged period of attention to what the language learners hear before they try to produce language. The emphasis on the central role of comprehension in the Natural Approach links it to other comprehension-based approaches in language teaching.
- A friendly, relaxed atmosphere should be provided for learning.

Some Characteristics of teaching / learning process

In a class taught according to the Natural Approach, the emphasis is on presenting comprehensible unit in the target language. Teacher talk focuses on objects in the classroom and on content of pictures, as with the Direct Method. The teacher talks slowly and distinctly. To minimize stress, learners are not required to say anything until they feel ready. Students are not expected to use a word actively until they have heard it many times. There is a gradual progression from Yes/No questions through either-or questions to questions that students can answer using words they have heard used by the teacher. Charts, pictures, advertisements and other realistic serves as the focal point for questions and the talk may even move to class members

Pair or group work may be employed followed by whole-class discussion led by the teacher.

Natural approach adopts techniques and activities freely from other methods. These include command-based activities from Total Physical Response, Direct Method activities like mime, gestures used to elicit questions and answers and even situation based practice of structures and patterns. Group-work activities are often identical to those used in Communicative Language Teaching. What characterizes the Natural Approach is the use of familiar techniques within a method that focuses on providing comprehensible input and and a classroom environment that minimizes learner anxiety and maximizes learner self-confidence.

The areas of language and language skills which are emphasized :

The Natural Approach is primarily designed to develop basic communication skills both oral and written. Importance is given to providing a wide exposure to vocabulary through a wide variety of topics.

Nature of student-teacher interaction and student-student interaction :

The Natural Approach teacher has three central roles.

1. The teacher is the primary source of comprehensible input in the target language
2. The teacher should create an interesting and friendly atmosphere for the learners.
3. The teacher must organize a rich mix of classroom activities, involving a variety of groups sizes, content and contexts.

Learners' roles are seen to change according to their stage of linguistic development. In the pre-production stage students participate in the language activity without having to respond in the target language. For example, they can act out physical commands, point to pictures and so forth.

In the early-production stage, students respond to either-or questions, use fixed conversational patterns (e.g. How are You? What's your name?).

In the speech-emergent phase, students involve themselves in role play and games, give opinions and participate in group problem solving.

Learners participate in communication activities with the teacher and other learners.

Teacher's response to student errors :

The teacher does not demand speech from the students before they are ready for it. The teacher tolerates student errors.

Nature of evaluation :

A teacher may informally evaluate a student's performance during the course of the lessons or the teacher may take a formal test.

The role of instructional materials :

The primary aim of materials in the Natural Approach is to promote comprehension and communication. Materials include pictures, maps, brochures, advertisements and other realia. Games are seen as useful classroom activity.

The role of the students' native language :

The basic aim of this approach is to make the students communicate in the target language. The learners may use speech only when they are ready. However the use of the native language is not encouraged.

Now its time for you to consider the following questions :

1. Will you allow your students to speak only when they feel they are ready to do so?
2. Do you want to use any of these techniques in your class?
3. Which technique do you want to use & why?

2.6 Suggestopedia

Suggestopedia is a method developed by the Bulgarian psychiatrist-educator Georgi Lozanov. Lozanov believes that language learning can occur at a much faster rate than what ordinarily occurs. According to Lozanov the reason for our inefficiency is that we often set up psychological barriers to learning. We often do not use the full mental powers that we have. In order to make better use of our mental reserves the limitations we think have need to be "desuggested". Suggestopedia, the application of the study of suggestions to pedagogy has been developed to help students eliminate the feeling that they cannot be successful and help overcome the barriers to learning.

Objectives :

- Suggestopedia aims to deliver advanced conversational proficiency quickly.

- It is necessary for the students to set goals for themselves. According to Lozanov "The main aim of teaching is not memorization, but the understanding and creative solution of problems."
- High value is placed on vocabulary recall. Memorization of vocabulary is an important goal of the suggestopedic method.
- Learning should take place in a relaxed, comfortable environment in which the psychological barriers to learning are "desuggested."
- The emphasis should not be on linguistic forms but on using the language.

Characteristics of teaching / learning process :

A suggestopedic course is conducted in a classroom in which the students are as comfortable as possible. There are listening activities which concern the text vocabulary of each unit. These activities are typically part of the "pre-session phase" which takes place on the first day of a new unit. The students first look at and discuss a new text with the teacher. In the second reading, students relax comfortably in reclining chairs and listen to the teacher read the text in a certain way. The material may be presented with varying intonations co-ordinated with sound or illustration. During the third reading the material is acted out by the instructor in a dramatic manner over a background of special music. During this phase students lean back in their chairs and breathe deeply and regularly as instructed by the teacher. This is the point at which Lozanov believes unconscious learning system takes over. The students may engage in various other activities like games, song, role play and questions-and-answer exercises.

The areas of language and language skills which are emphasized :

Much emphasis is given on vocabulary. Claims about the success of the method often focus on the large number of words that can be acquired. Grammar is dealt with but the focus is not on language forms but on using the language.

Learners should be able to speak for communication. Students should read the target language (for example, dialogues) and write (for example, imaginative compositions).

Nature of student-teacher interaction and student-student interaction :

The primary role of the teacher is to create situations and present linguistic material in a way most likely to encourage positive reception and retention by the learner. A teacher should show absolute confidence in the method and maintain a modest enthusiasm towards the session. A teacher is also expected to be skilled in acting, singing and psycho-therapeutic techniques.

The mental state of the learners is critical to success and so the learners must try to keep away from distractions and immerse themselves in the procedures of the

method. Students should accept their own "infantilization." they should accept the absolute authority of the teacher and give themselves over to activities and techniques like games, songs, role-playing designed to help them regain the self-confidence, spontaneity and receptivity of the child. To assist them in role plays and to help them detach themselves from their past learning experiences, students are given a new name and personal history within the target culture.

The teacher initiates interactions. Initially, the students can only respond non-verbally or with a few target language words they have practised. Later when the students have more control of the target language, they can respond more appropriately and even initiate interaction among themselves. Students interact with each other in various activities directed by the teacher.

Teacher's response to student errors :

In the initial stages of learning errors are not corrected immediately since the emphasis is on students communicating their intended meaning. When errors of form do occur, the teacher uses the form correctly later on in the class.

Nature of evaluation :

Evaluation is usually conducted on a student's performance during the lessons. Formal tests are believed to threaten the relaxed atmosphere considered essential for learning.

Role of instructional materials :

Instructional materials consist of text, classroom fixtures like posters, soft lighting and music. The text book should have emotional force, literary quality and interesting characters. The learning environment plays a central role in Suggestopedia. The classroom should be bright and cheery and have reclining chairs arranged in a circle for the learners to sit on.

Role of the Students' native language :

The dialogue in the target language presented in the class is often translated in the native language to make the meaning clear. The teacher uses mother tongue in class whenever necessary. However, as the course proceeds, the teacher uses the native language less and less.

Now it's time for you to consider the following questions :-

- Do you think that learning will be facilitated when you students are relaxed and comfortable?
- Should learning be made as enjoyable as possible?
- Would you present new material in your classroom with a musical accompaniment?

2.7 Let us sum up

Communicative Language Teaching

- The main aim of this approach is the development of communicative competence among students.
- The target language is the language of the classroom.
- The method aims at the development of all the four skills - listening, speaking, reading and writing.
- Language functions are emphasized over form.
- Fluency is emphasized over accuracy.
- The classroom is less teacher-centred. The students take an active role in the learning process. They interact a great deal with one another as well as with the teacher.

Total Physical Response method :

- Grammatical structures and vocabulary of the target language is presented through imperatives.
- Spoken language is emphasized over written language.
- The students first learn to respond to some oral commands, then perform the actions with the teacher and then learn to read and write the commands.
- The lessons are mainly teacher directed.
- The method believes that learning should take place in a stress-free environment.
- The native language is not frequently used in the classroom. Meaning is made clear through the body movements.

The Silent Way :

- Students begin their study of the language through its basic building blocks, it sounds through a language-specific-sound-colour chart.
- There is an attempt to develop all the four skills. Reading and writing follow speaking sessions.
- Most of the time the teacher is silent. Silence is a tool for the teacher. It fosters autonomy and removes the teacher from the centre of attention allowing the teacher to work with the students.
- Errors are seen as a natural part of the learning process. The students are asked to self-correct.
- Meaning is made clear by focusing on students' perceptions, not through translation.

Community language learning :

- Building a relationship with and among students is considered to be very important.
- The teacher creates an accepting atmosphere.
- Student initiative and independence is encouraged.
- In the initial stages, students create their own materials like dialogues and mini-dramas.
- There is emphasis on understanding and speaking the language.
- Native language is used specially in the initial stages to make the meaning clear and to give instructions.

The Natural Approach :

- There is emphasis on the development of basic communication skill-both oral and written.
- Importance is given to a wide exposure to vocabulary.
- A relaxed atmosphere is considered to be necessary for learning.
- Students should try to produce their language only when they feel they are ready to do so.
- The use of the students' native language is much encouraged.

Suggestopedia :

- There is an attempt to "desuggest" the psychological barriers that learners might bring with them to the learning situation.
- A relaxed, comfortable environment is considered to be necessary for learning.
- There is emphasis on using the language.
- Much importance is given to vocabulary recall.
- Fine arts and an atmosphere of play are considered to be important aids to learning.
- The students' native language is often used in the classroom to facilitate learning.

2.8 Glossary

Information gap : (in communication between two or more people) a situation where information is known only by some of those present. In communicative language teaching, it is said that in order to promote real communication between students there must be an information gap between them or between them and their teacher. Without such a gap the classroom activities and exercises will be mechanical and artificial.

Cohesion : the grammatical and / or lexical relationships between the different elements of a text. This may be the relationship between different sentences between different parts of a sentence.

Coherence : the relationships which links the meanings of utterances in discourse or of the sentences in a text.

Aural/oral proficiency : proficiency in listening and speaking skills.

Humanistic techniques : (in language teaching) these refer to the following

- 1) the development of human values.
- 2) growth in self-awareness and in the understanding of others.
- 3) sensitivity of human feeling and emotions.
- 4) active student involvement in learning.

Applied linguistics : the study of second and foreign language learning and teaching and the study of language and linguistics in relation to practical problems.

Pedagogy : the study of methods and styles of teaching.

Psycho therapy : the treatment of mental disorders by discussing problems rather than by giving drugs or other medical treatment.

2.9 Comprehension Exercises

Questions

1. What is the role of the teacher in Communicative Language Teaching?
2. What part do the instructional materials play in Communicative Language Teaching?
3. How is the role of the student in Communicative Language Teaching different from that of the Audio-Lingual method that has been dealt with in the previous unit?
4. How is language presented in the Total Physical Response Method?
5. One of the principles of Total Physical Response Method is that when student anxiety is low, language learning is enhanced. How does the method lower student anxiety?
6. There are many reasons for the teacher's silence in the Silent Way. Mention some of them.
7. What role do instructional materials play in the Silent Way?
8. What are the humanistic techniques of language learning? How are they used in Community language learning?
9. How are the students evaluated in Community language learning?
10. How are some of the techniques of the Natural Approach similar to other methods and approaches?
11. What areas of languages are emphasized in the Natural Approach?

12. What are the objectives of Suggestopedia?
13. What are the psycho-therapeutic techniques that are frequently used in suggestopedia?
14. What role does the classroom environment play in suggestopedia?

Activities :

1. List linguistic forms you can use for the function of inviting.
2. Imagine you are working with your students on the function of requesting information. The authentic material you have selected is a rail road timetable. Design a communicative game or problem-solving task in which the time table is used to give your students practice in requesting information.
3. Although the teacher uses imperatives in the Total Physical Response Method, she does so in a gentle, pleasant way, the way a parent would usually do with a child. Her voice, facial expression and manner are kind. Practise giving the commands in this way.
4. Teach some students a short target language verse which contains some unfamiliar sounds. What nonverbal gestures or cues can you develop to guide your students to produce the correct sounds, intonation and rhythm as they learn the verse?
5. Try teaching a lesson as you normally do but think of your students as a whole-person as if this is a new idea to you. Does this change your work? If so, how?
6. Most teachers do not have control of lighting in their classrooms. They also do not have access to special, comfortable chairs for their students. This does not mean that they cannot provide an environment designed to reduce the barriers the students bring with them. Can you think of ways that might do this?
7. Make a list of some points about the target language that you would want to display on posters to encourage students' peripheral learning.

2.10 Bibliography

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Unit 3 □ Theoretical Basis of Language Teaching

Structures

3.0 Objective

3.1 Introduction : Relevance of a theoretical basis to language teaching

3.2 Method, Approach and Techniques-Definitions

3.3 Theories related to Language Teaching

3.3.1 Stimulus Response and Behaviourist theories

3.3.2 Cognitive theories

3.3.3 Second Language Acquisition Theories

3.3.4 Error Analysis and Contrastive Analysis

3.3.5 Theories of Multiple Intelligence

3.3.6 Neuro Linguistic Programming

3.4 Recent trends in Language Teaching

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

3.6 Glossary

3.7 Comprehension Exercises

3.8 Bibliography

3.0 Objectives

In this unit we will take you through the theories on which language teaching is based. It may be useful for you to read Units 1 and 2 of Module III again before you start this Unit. Then you will be able to relate the different methods of language teaching discussed there, to the theories that will be explored in this Unit. However you may also read the Unit independently.

After working through this unit, you should be able to

- Discuss the relevance of a theoretical perspective of language teaching
- Elaborate on key concepts related to language teaching methodology
- Explain the various theories of language teaching and their pedagogical implications.

3.1 Introduction : Relevance of a Theoretical Basis to Language Teaching

The process of learning and teaching a language is interrelated. To teach a language, it is always useful to know the importance of a language to the learner and the purpose for learning it. In learning languages, a distinction is usually made between mother tongues, second languages, and foreign languages. Here, we will look at these distinctions with reference to English as a language. The mother tongue as you probably know, is the first language one learns (or acquires) as a child. This depends on the language(s) that the child has in its environment. For example, a child in UK, USA or Australia would have English as a mother tongue, if the parents and others in the child's environment speak English. When immigrants come to a new country and learn the language of that country, they are learning the language as a second language. For e.g., German speaking students moving on to UK for higher studies would be learning English as a second language (referred to as ESL). On the other hand, when Japanese speaking students in Japan learn English at the school or University level, or when Brazilians study English in Brazil, they are rearing English as a foreign language (referred to as EFL).

In the Indian context, English has the unique distinction of being a second language for majority of the students whose mother tongue is one of the several Indian languages (Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Malayalam and so on). English functions primarily as the link and library language for majority of the Indian students. Depending on the exposure to the English language in their environment, the language can even be a foreign language for students in India (as with first generation learners in the rural parts of the country). It is often seen that students also often bring with them the working knowledge of more than one regional language to the classroom. As you can see, the same language can have different roles in the language teaching and learning process and this could have important implications for English Language Teaching.

Many theories about the learning and teaching of languages have been proposed. These theories, normally influenced by developments in the fields of linguistics, sociology and psychology, have inspired many approaches to the teaching of second and foreign languages. The study of these theories and how they influence language teaching methodology today is known as Applied Linguistics. Keeping these in mind, let us now understand the relevance of language teaching.

Language Teaching has established itself as a profession in the last century. Central to this phenomenon was the emergence of the concept of "methods" of language teaching. The method concept in language teaching, that is, the notion of a systematic set of teaching practices based on a particular theory of language and language learning, is a useful concept, and the quest for better methods has engaged

the minds of teachers and applied linguists in the last century and continue to do so in the present one. Here we will restrict our discussion of language teaching methodology to an overview of the historical trends in practice of language teaching, specifically English language teaching. It will be useful for you to refer to Howatt (1984) as you work through this module.

In the Unit we will focus mainly on some of the theories and trends that has influenced the practice of English Language Teaching over the last decades. As mentioned earlier, you may refer to the Unit I and 2 of this Module to revise the different approaches and methods to language teaching: (Also see, Larsen-Freeman, 2000, and Richards & Rodgers, 2001).

Let us now briefly look at the major trends in language teaching that you are familiar with and link it with the philosophical orientation of these trends.

The **grammar-translation** method (18th, 19th and early 20th century), for example, is an early method based on the assumptions that language is primarily graphic, that the main purpose of second language study is to build knowledge of the structure of the language either as a tool for literary research and translation or for the development of the learner's logical powers. It was also assumed, that the process of second language learning must be deductive, and must be carried out with constant reference to the learner's native language.

The **audiolingual** approach, which was very popular from the 1940s through the 1960s, is based on structural linguistics (structuralism) and behaviouristic psychology (Skinner's behaviorism), and places emphasis on spoken rather than written language, and on the grammar of particular languages, stressing habit formation as a mode of learning. Rote memorization, role-playing and structure drilling are the predominant activities. Audiolingual approaches do not depend so much on the instructor's creative ability and do not require excellent proficiency in the language, as it is always based on sets of lessons and books. Therefore, they are easy to be implemented, cheap to be maintained and are still in use by many packaged language courses.

By the middle of the century, Cognitive psychologists like Vygotsky and Piaget evolved theories that explain the ineffectiveness of the traditional prescriptive and mechanistic approaches to language teaching and later this served as a basis for the new **natural-communicative** approaches. In the beginning of the 1950s' Noam Chomsky and his followers challenged previous assumptions about language structure and language learning, taking the position that language is creative (not memorized), and rule governed (not based on habit), and that universal phenomena of the human mind underlie all languages. This "Chomskian revolution" initially gave rise to **eclecticism** in teaching, but it has more recently led to two main branches of teaching approaches: the **humanistic** approaches based on the charismatic teaching of one person, and **content-based communicative** approaches, which try to

incorporate what has been learned in recent years about the need for active learner participation, about appropriate language input, and about communication as a human activity.

Most recently, there has been also a significant shift toward greater attention to listening and speaking as a complement of reading and writing. This is based on a new awareness of significant differences between spoken and written languages, and on the notion that dealing with language involves an interaction between the text on the one hand, and the culturally based world knowledge and experientially based learning of the receiver on the other.

There have been also developments such as a great emphasis on individualized instruction, more humanistic approaches to language learning, a greater focus on the learner, and greater emphasis on development of communicative, as opposed to merely linguistic competence.

In addition to Chomsky's generative studies, the advances in cognitive science and educational psychology made by Jean Piaget and Lev Semenovich Vygotsky in the first half of the century strongly influenced language teaching theory in the 1960s and 70s. New trends favouring more humanistic views and putting a greater focus on the learner and on social interaction, gave way to the Natural (USA) and Communicative (UK) approaches. Psychologist Charles Curran's **Community Language Learning** and Krashen's and Terrell's **Natural Approach** (in the 1980s) are very representative of this latest trend in language teaching.

The period from the 1950s to the 1980s has often been broadly referred to as "The Age of Methods," during which a number of quite prescriptions for language teaching were proposed. Situational Language Teaching evolved in the United Kingdom while a parallel method, Audio-Lingualism, emerged in the United States. In the middle-methods period, a variety of methods were proclaimed as successors to the then prevailing Situational Language Teaching and Audio-Lingual methods. These alternatives were promoted under such titles as Silent Way, Suggestopedia, Community Language Learning, and Total Physical Response. In the 1980s, these methods in turn came to be overshadowed by more interactive views of language teaching, which collectively came to be known as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). Communicative Language Teaching subscribed to a broad set of principles such as the following :

- Learners learn a language through using it to communicate.
- Authentic and meaningful communication should be the goal of classroom activities.
- Fluency is an important dimension of communication.
- Communication involves the integration of different language skills.
- Learning is a process of creative construction and involves trial and error.

However, CLT followers avoided prescribing the set of practices through which these principles could best be realized, thus putting CLT clearly on the approach rather than the method end of the spectrum.

Communicative Language Teaching has over the years branched off into other approaches that share the same basic set of principles, but which spell out philosophical details or envision instructional practices in somewhat diverse ways in different contexts.

3.2 Method, Approach and Techniques — Definitions

Methodology in language teaching has been characterized in a variety of ways. In general terms, one can say that methodology is that which links theory and practice. Theoretical statements would include theories of what language is and how language is learned or, more specifically, theories of first and second language acquisition (SLA). Such theories are linked to various design features of language instruction. These design features might include stated objectives, specifications about the syllabus, types of activities and tasks, roles of teachers, learners, materials, and evaluation criterions. Design features in turn are linked to actual teaching and learning practices as observed in the environments where language teaching and learning take place. This whole complex of elements defines language teaching methodology.

The method adopted can have a direct influence on the teacher and learner roles. Please see the table 1 below. We will not get into a detailed description of the different methods (see Unit 1 and 2) nor the varied possibilities of the roles that could be played by the teacher and learners here. So take a closer look at the table again and draw your own conclusions on how the roles can differ according to the changes in the methods for teaching.

Table 1. Methods and Teacher and Learner Roles
TEACHING METHODS AND TEACHER & LEARNER ROLES

| Method | Teacher Roles | Learner Roles |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Situational Language Teaching | Context Setter Error Corrector | Imitator Memorizer |
| Audio-lingualism | Language Modeller Drill Leader | Pattern Practicer Accuracy Enthusiast |
| Communicative Language Teaching | Needs Analyst Task Designer | Improvisor Negotiator |
| Total Physical Response | Commander Action Monitor | Order Taker Performer |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Community Language Learning | Counsellor Paraphraser | Collaborator Whole Person |
| The Natural Approach | Actor Props User | Guesser Immerser |
| Suggestopedia | Auto-hypnotist Authority Figure | Relaxer True-believer |

As suggested in the table, some schools of methodology see the teacher as ideal language model and commander of classroom activity (e.g., Audio-Lingual Method, Natural Approach, Suggestopedia, Total Physical Response) whereas others see the teacher as background facilitator and classroom colleague to learners (e.g., Communicative Language Teaching, Cooperative Language Learning).

There are other global issues to which spokespersons for the various methods and approaches respond in alternative ways. For example, should second language learning by adults be modeled on first language learning by children? One set of schools (e.g., Total Physical Response, Natural Approach) notes that first language acquisition is the only universally successful model of language learning we have, and thus that second language pedagogy must necessarily model itself on first language acquisition. An opposed view (e.g., Silent Way, Suggestopedia) observes that adults that have different brains, interests, timing constraints, and learning environments than do children, and that adult classroom learning therefore has to be fashioned in a way quite dissimilar to the way in which nature fashions how first languages are learned by children.

Another key distinction is on the role of perception versus production in the early stages of language learning. One school of thought proposes that learners should begin to communicate, to use a new language actively, on first contact (e.g., Audio-Lingual Method, Silent Way, Community Language Learning) while the other school of thought states that an initial and prolonged period of reception (listening, reading) should precede any attempts at production (e.g., Natural Approach).

One may therefore notice different views to the same issues of language teaching. It will therefore be useful for one to be familiar with the different theories related to language teaching and understand what will be appropriate for a given teaching situation.

Understanding Approach, Technique and Method :

We have been discussing about methodology in the earlier section. It is important to get the distinctions of some related terms clear before you read further.

Within methodology a distinction is often made between *method*, *approach* and *technique*. Let us look at these terms in closer detail.

Approach represents a language teaching philosophy that can be interpreted and applied in a variety of different ways in the classroom. It shows a general way in which language teaching should ideally be conducted based on a number of decisions taken prior to the commencement of teaching. These decisions could include the syllabus to be followed, the texts to be used, the topics to be covered and the classroom activities to be engaged in (Brumfit & Roberts, 1983). This is in addition to influence of factors like personality, age, cultural influence, experience and proficiency of the learners. The teacher is also influenced by the manner of presentation, sequencing of the presentation and practice, the teaching pace to be adopted and the organization of the classroom (ibid: 1983). The teacher sometimes makes these decisions autonomously or they are made by centralized authorities in the Government or/and the educational institution.

Let's take an example. Suppose spoken language is regarded as the most effective channel for communication. This will be reflected in the decisions which the institution and the teacher take regarding topic allocation, time table allotment and practical sessions. There could be another school of thought which regards reading as the effective tool for language learning. The conflicts that come out of these different hypotheses will need to be resolved in the classroom teaching and confirmed towards an accepted approach which the institution and the teacher agree upon. In a particular approach, learning through imitation may be the best way to learn or memorization of rules of grammar and rote learning may be encouraged. The teacher would need to decide on these details based on the general assumptions and one's personal beliefs on language teaching.

The decision to follow a certain approach to language teaching may have several practical outcomes. The teacher would then need to identify appropriate techniques suitable for the approach. **Techniques** may be defined as teaching procedures that are followed to suit a particular approach. For example, the use of dialogue for the presentation of language in a particular situation through role play is a technique. The techniques applicable to a particular approach may vary with those used for another approach. Techniques used for an oral approach to language teaching may allow for no use of mother tongue or explanation of rules, but may encourage repetition and drills. These are again decisions taken by the teacher. The **materials** used also need to go hand in hand with the techniques used. Materials can fulfil the teaching objective completely (as in distance mode materials) or would need involvement of the teacher to enable language teaching to take place.

Methods on the other hand, may be called as fixed teaching systems with prescribed techniques and practices. In other words, a method is a sum of teaching techniques utilized by the language teacher in a particular situation. This is based on the type of syllabus and the kind of teaching materials used. There is a saying

that there are as many methods as there are teachers, since the techniques teachers use will depend to a large extent on the relationship between the teacher and the learners and the combined effect of the factors which we discussed earlier. There are however some clearly defined methods that are prevalent in language teaching. You have already read about these in Units 1 and 2 of this module. Please refer to these Units again if you have any doubts on the methods of language teaching.

3.3 Theories related to Language Teaching

In this section, we shall look now at the various theories, which have influenced the practice of language teaching. Some of these theories have had a direct influence while others have an indirect implication for language teaching.

3.3.1. Stimulus Response and Behaviourist theories

The term *operant conditioning* is used here to describe a type of associative learning in which there is a close link between the response and the presentation of the reinforcer. This situation resembles most closely the classic experiments from Skinner, where he trained rats and pigeons to press a lever in order to obtain food as reward. In such experiments, the subject is able to generate certain motor-output, (that is a *response R*, e.g. running around, moving, resting, and pressing down the lever). The experimentator chooses a suitable output (e.g. pressing the lever) to pair it with an *unconditioned stimulus* (US, e.g. some food as reward). Often a *discriminative stimulus* (DS, e.g. a light) is present, when the connection between R-US is obtained. After a training period, the subject will show the *conditioned response* (CS, e.g. pushing the lever) even in absence of the US, if the R-US association has been memorized. Such instrumental or operant conditioning is opposed to Pavlovian or "classical conditioning", where producing a response has no effect on US presentations.

Around the turn of the century, Edward Thorndike attempted to develop an objective experimental method for the mechanical problem solving ability of cats and dogs.

Thorndike proved through experiments that in combination with the law of exercise, the notion that associations are strengthened by use and weakened with disuse, and the concept of instinct, the law of effect could explain all of human behavior in terms of the development of myriads of stimulus-response associations. It is worth briefly comparing trial and error learning with classical conditioning. In classical conditioning a neutral stimulus becomes associated with part of a reflex (either the US or the UR). In trial and error learning no reflex is involved. A reinforcing or punishing event (a type of stimulus) alters the strength of association between a neutral stimulus and quite an arbitrary response.

The Behaviourist position that human **behaviour** could be explained entirely in terms of reflexes, stimulus-response associations and the effects of reinforcers upon them entirely excluding 'mental' terms like desires, goals and so on was taken up by **John Broadus Watson** in his 1914 book *Behavior: An Introduction to Comparative Psychology*. The development of well-controlled behavioural techniques by Watson allowed him to explore the sensory abilities of animals, for example, their abilities to discriminate between similar stimuli, experimentally. Watson's theoretical position was even more extreme than Thorndike's - he would have no place for mentalistic concepts like pleasure or distress in his explanations of behaviour. He essentially rejected the law of effect, denying that pleasure or discomfort caused stimulus-response associations to be learned. For Watson, all that was important was the frequency of occurrence of stimulus-response pairings. Reinforcers might cause some responses to occur more often in the presence of a particular stimuli, but they did not act directly to cause their learning. Watson therefore rejected the notion that some mental traces of stimuli and responses needed to be retained in the mind of an animal until a reinforcer strengthened the associations — which is a rather mentalistic consequence of the law of effect.

With the publication of his second book *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* in 1919, Watson became the founder of the American School of Behaviorism. He felt that thought was explicable as subvocalization and that speech was simply another behaviour which might be learned by the law of cause and effect. In his 1919 book, he addresses a number of practical human problems such as education, the development of emotional reaction and the effects of factors like alcohol or drugs on human performance. He even suggests that thought processes might be investigated by monitoring movements in the larynx.

Watson believed that mental illness was the result of 'habit distortion' which might be caused by the learning of inappropriate associations which then go on to influence a person's behaviour so that it becomes abnormal. 'Watson tested part of this hypothesis on a baby in the hospital in which he worked. The baby, 'little Albert' apparently showed no particular fears or phobias about anything apart from sudden loud sounds. For example, when Watson placed a tame white rat in little Albert's lap the child happily played with the animal. On a subsequent occasion, Watson placed the rat in Albert's lap and his assistant made a loud noise by striking a large steel bar directly behind Albert's head. One week later, Albert was subjected to the same experience. After this, when Albert was shown the rat he began to panic and appeared to be anxious. Similar reactions were produced by other furry objects (e.g. a fur coat). Though Watson was keen to use this as evidence for the behavioural basis of phobias, apparently Albert's reactions to the rat were quite mild. Nevertheless, one of the most widespread applications of conditioning has been in the treatment of phobias and other behaviour problems and the case of Little Albert is often cited as the first experiment in this field.

In the 1920's *Behaviourism* slowly began to lose its popularity. A number of studies in the **Edward Tolman's** Berkeley laboratory revealed flaws in the law of effect. For example, rats were allowed to explore a maze in which there were three routes of different lengths between the starting position and the goal. The rats' behaviour when the maze was blocked implied that they must have some sort of a mental map of the maze. The rats preferred the shortest route; when the maze is blocked at point A, stopping them using the shortest route, they will choose the second shortest route. When, however, the maze is blocked at point B the rat did not retrace his steps and use route 2, which would be predicted according to the law of effect, but rather used route 3. The rat must have recognized that block B would stop him using route 2 by using some memory of the layout of the maze. Tolman's group also showed that unexpected changes in the quality of reward could weaken learning even though the animal was still rewarded. This result was developed further by **Crespi** who, in 1942 showed that unexpected decreases in reward quantity caused rats temporarily to run through a maze more slowly than normal, while unexpected increases caused a temporary elevation in running speed.

In 1938, **Burrhus Friederich Skinner** published what was arguably the most influential work on animal behaviour of the century *The Behavior of Organisms*. It was seen that Tolman's results were sensitive to factors like the openness of his maze - if the rats could not see the stimuli outside the maze they did not make appropriate choices when it was blocked, suggesting that they may have learned many stimulus response associations in different parts of the maze, perhaps in sequence, rather than having internalized a map of it.

The operant conditioning theory of B.F. Skinner is based upon the idea that learning is a function of change in overt behaviour. Changes in behaviour are the result of an individual's response to events (stimuli) that occur in the environment. A response produces a consequence such as defining a word, hitting a ball, describing a picture or solving a maths problem. When a particular Stimulus-Response (S-R) pattern is reinforced (rewarded), the individual is conditioned to respond. The distinctive characteristic of operant conditioning in relation to the previous forms of behaviorism (e.g. Thorndike) is that the organism can emit responses instead of only eliciting response due to an external stimulus.

Please note here that **reinforcement is the key element in Skinner's S-R theory**. A reinforcer is anything that strengthens the desired response. It could be verbal praise, a good grade or a feeling of increased accomplishment or satisfaction. The theory also covers negative reinforcers - any stimulus that results in the increased frequency of a response when it is withdrawn (different from aversive stimuli like punishment, which result in reduced responses). A great deal of attention was given to schedules of reinforcement (e.g. interval versus ratio) and their effects on establishing and maintaining behaviour.

Implications of Skinner's theory :

One of the distinctive aspects of Skinner's theory is that it attempted to provide behavioral explanations for a broad range of cognitive phenomena. For example, Skinner explained drive (motivation) in terms of deprivation and reinforcement schedules. Skinner (1957) tried to account for verbal learning and language within the operant conditioning paradigm. In the book, *Verbal Behaviour* (1957) Skinner applied this theory to the way human beings acquire languages. According to him, language is a form of behaviour which is similar to the behaviour of the rats pressing the lever in his experiments. The same stimulus-response-reinforcement model could account for how a child acquires a language. For eg. An internal stimulus such as hunger will prompt a response like crying, and this crying is reinforced by the food that is made available to the child. Similarly our performance as language learners is largely the result of such positive or negative reinforcement. Skinner (1971) added to the theory by dealing with the issue of free will and social control.

Scope/Application :

Operant conditioning and behaviourist theories have been widely applied in clinical settings (i.e., *behavior modification*) as well as teaching (i.e., classroom management) and instructional development (e.g., programmed instruction).

Implications for language teaching :

Lets now consider the implications of the theories of behaviourism as applied to the development of classroom instruction and management. The basic principles may be summarised as follows :

- Behaviour that is positively reinforced will reoccur; intermittent reinforcement is particularly effective.
- Informations should be presented in small amounts so that responses can be reinforced.
- Reinforcements will generalize accross similar stimuli producing secondary conditioning.
- The behaviorist theory focuses on language as a form of behaviour and therefore comprising of habits. The task of the language teacher is then to promote such conditions which will enable the acquiring of learning habits which are systematically controlled.

This could work out as discrete steps as follows :

- The learner is exposed to a model of language skill use (through books or the teacher).
- The learner imitates the model (with appropriate variation, when required) and is rewarded for it. Practice could take the form of question (stimulus)-answer (response) frames which expose the student to the subject in gradual steps.
- The learner makes a response for every topic and receives immediate feedback. Try to arrange the difficulty of the questions so that the response is always correct and hence there is a positive reinforcement.
- Ensure that good performance in the lesson is paired with secondary reinforcers such as verbal praise, prizes and good grades.

- As a result of this encouragement, the behavior is repeated and it becomes habitual.
- The learner's skill use is gradually developed, to resemble prescribed model.

In the 1960s this habit formation approach to language learning provided the main principles for the audio-lingual and audiovisual methods that were widely used in language teaching classrooms. This approach was characterised by activities like memorisation of dialogues and use of drills which gave the learners the opportunity to repeat the same language patterns until they could produce them automatically in response to the appropriate stimulus (refer Richard and Rogers, 1986; Rivers, 1964 and 1981; Littlewood, 1992.) This technique is still prevalent in many language learning settings.

3.3.2 Cognitive theories

The advances in cognitive science and educational psychology made by Jean Piaget and Lev Semenovich Vygotsky in the first half of the 20th century strongly influenced language teaching theory in the 1960s and 70s. By the middle of the 20th century, contributions of these cognitive psychologists evolved theories that explain the ineffectiveness of the traditional prescriptive and mechanistic approaches to language teaching and this later served as the basis for the new natural communicative approaches.

The origins of thought and language according to Vygotsky :

Thought and speech have different roots in humankind, as in the case of animals. Thought is nonverbal and language is non intellectual in the early stages of development. But their development lines are not parallel-they cross again and again. At a certain moment around the age of two, the curves of development of thought and speech, until then separate, meet and join to initiate a new form of behaviour. That is when thought becomes verbal and speech becomes rational. A child first seems to use language for superficial social interaction, but at some point this language becomes the structure of the child's thinking.

Once the child realizes that everything has a name, each new object presents the child with a problem situation, and he solves the problem by naming the object. When he lacks the word for the new object, he demands it from adults. The early **word meanings** thus acquired will be the embryos of **concept formation**. Vygotsky aptly states —

... a problem must arise that cannot be solved otherwise than through the formation of new concepts. (Vygotsky, 1962 : 55)

He also states that the history of the society in which a child is reared and the child's personal history are crucial determinants of the way in which the individual will think. In this process of cognitive development, language is a crucial tool for determining how the child will learn how to think because advanced modes of thought are transmitted to the child by means of words (Murray Thomas, 1992).

On thought, language, and intellectual development :

To Vygotsky, a clear understanding of the interrelation between thought and language is necessary for the understanding of intellectual development. Language is not merely an expression of the knowledge that the child has acquired. There is

a fundamental correlation between thought and speech in terms of one providing personality features.

An essential tenet in Vygotsky's theory is the notion of the existence of what he called the **zone of proximal development**. The zone of proximal development is the difference between the child's capacity to solve problems on his own, and his capacity to solve them with assistance. In other words, the **actual developmental level** refers to all the functions and activities that a child can perform on his own, independently without the help of anyone else. On the other hand, the **zone of proximal development** includes all the functions and activities that a child or a learner can perform only with the assistance of someone else. The person in this scaffolding process, providing non-intrusive intervention and assistance, could be an adult (parent, teacher, caretaker, language instructor) or another peer who has already mastered that particular function.

Piaget's contribution to Cognitive theory :

Piaget has been labelled an interactionist as well as a constructivist. His interest in cognitive development came from his training in the natural sciences and his interest in epistemology. Piaget was very interested in knowledge and how children come to know their world. He developed his cognitive theory by actually observing children (some of whom were his own children). Using a standard question or a set of questions as a starting point, he followed the child's train of thought and allowed the questioning to be flexible. Piaget believed that children's spontaneous comments provided valuable clues to understanding their thinking. He was not interested in a right or wrong answer, but rather what forms of logic and reasoning the child used (Singer, 1978). After many years of observation, Piaget concluded that intellectual development is the result of the interaction of hereditary and environmental factors. As the child develops and constantly interacts with the world around him, knowledge is invented and reinvented. His theory of intellectual development is strongly grounded in the biological sciences. He saw cognitive growth as an extension of biological growth and as being governed by the same laws and principles. He argued that intellectual development controlled every other aspect of development - emotional, social, and moral.

Stages Of Intellectual Development :

Piaget may be best known for his stages of cognitive development. Piaget discovered that children think and reason differently at different periods in their lives. He believed that everyone passed through an invariant sequence of four qualitatively distinct stages. Invariant means that a person cannot skip stages or reorder them. Although every normal child passes through the stages in exactly the same order, there is some variability in the ages at which children attain each stage. The four stages are : sensorimotor - birth to 2 years; preoperational — 2 years to 7 years; concrete operational — 7 years to 11 years; and formal operational (abstract thinking) — 11 years and up. Each stage has major cognitive tasks which must be accomplished.

In the sensorimotor stage, the mental structures are mainly concerned with the mastery of concrete objects. The mastery of symbols takes place in the preoperational stage. In the concrete stage children learn mastery of classes, relations, and numbers and how to reason. The last stage deals with the mastery of thought (Evans, 1973).

Understanding how children learn :

A central component of Piaget's developmental theory of learning and thinking is that both involve the participation of the learner. Knowledge is not merely transmitted verbally but must be constructed and reconstructed by the learner. Piaget asserted that for a child to know and construct knowledge of the world, the child must act on objects and it is this action which provides knowledge of those objects (Sigel and Cockung, 1977); the mind organizes reality and acts upon it. The learner must be active; he is not a vessel to be filled with facts. Piaget's approach to learning is a readiness approach. Readiness approaches in developmental psychology emphasize that children cannot learn something until maturation gives them certain prerequisites (Brainerd, 1978). The ability to learn any cognitive content is always related to their stage of intellectual development. Children who are at a certain stage cannot be taught the concepts of a higher stage.

Intellectual growth involves three fundamental processes : *assimilation*, *accommodation*, and *equilibration*. *Assimilation* involves the incorporation of new events into preexisting cognitive structures. *Accommodation* means existing structures change to accommodate to the new information. This dual process, assimilation-accommodation, enables the child to form its schema. *Equilibration* involves the person striking a balance between himself and the environment, between assimilation and accommodation. It is seen that when a child experiences a new event, disequilibrium sets in until he is able to assimilate and accommodate the new information and thus attain equilibrium. There are many types of equilibrium between assimilation and accommodation that vary with the levels of development and the problems to be solved. For Piaget, equilibration is the major factor in explaining why some children advance more quickly in the development of logical intelligence than do others (Lavatelli, 40).

The Cognitive theory : Scope/Application

Vygotsky's *zone of proximal development* has many implications for those in the educational milieu. One of them is the idea that human learning presupposes a specific social nature and is part of a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them (Vygotsky, 1978). According to Vygotsky (1978), an essential feature of learning is that it awakens a variety of internal developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child is in the action of interacting with people in his environment and in cooperation with his peers.

When it comes to language learning, the authenticity of the environment and the affinity between its participants are essential elements to make the learner feel part of this environment. These elements are however rarely predominant in conventional classrooms.

A Piagetian-inspired curricula emphasizes a learner-centred educational philosophy :

Piaget endorsed *active* discovery learning environments in schools. Intelligence grows through the twin processes of assimilation and accommodation; therefore, experiences should be planned to allow opportunities for assimilation and accommodation. Children need to explore, to manipulate, to experiment, to question, and to search out answers for themselves — activity is essential. However, this does not mean that children should be allowed to do whatever they want. So what is the role of the teacher? Teachers should be able to assess the child's present cognitive level, their strengths and weaknesses. Instruction should be individualized as much as possible and children should have opportunities to communicate with one another, to argue and debate issues. He saw teachers as facilitators of knowledge — they are there to guide and stimulate the students. Allow children to make mistakes and learn from them. Learning is much more meaningful if the child is allowed to experiment on his own rather than listening to the teacher lecture. The teacher should present students with materials and situations that allow them scope for new learning. In active learning, the teacher must have confidence in the child's ability to learn on his own.

Implications for Instructional Technology :

Laboratories, workshops and technologies that encourage interactivity such as multimedia, hypermedia and virtual reality fit in with Piagetian thought. Computer software that is strictly drill and practice does not fit in with an active discovery environment. Drill and memorization practice, often used in language schools, do not encourage creativity or discovery.

Students not only can use multimedia to learn, but they can also use it to communicate their understanding of the subject to those around them. Peer teaching is used as the students work together in the making of their projects. Students become active participants instead of passive sponges and the teacher truly takes on the role of facilitator as s/he gives them guidance in their creations. Hypermedia also allows the students to manipulate their environment as they follow the path(s) of their choice. Virtual reality has the potential to move education from its reliance on books to experiential learning in naturalistic settings. For example, rather than reading about an event, the children can participate in the event with simulated persons and/or objects. These technologies supply the students with a learning environment that encourages children to initiate and complete their own activities.

The Chomskian thinking

Let's now look at the changed perspective to language teaching with the introduction of Chomsky's thinking.

In the beginning of the 1950s, Noam Chomsky and his followers challenged previous assumptions about language structure and language learning, taking the position that language is creative (not memorized) and rule governed (and not based on habit). They also raised the idea that the universal phenomena of the human mind underlie all languages.

Chomsky (1959) was of the opinion that language cannot be adequately explained in terms of behavioural habits. The human mind has an underlying set of rules, which enables the creation of new sentences. According to him, the most important aspect of language learning is the development of an internal cognitive system — an internalized 'grammar' of the language. There are a finite number of grammatical rules in the system and with the knowledge of these an infinite number of sentences can be performed in the language. It is competence that the child gradually acquires, and this language competence allows children to be creative as language users. Chomsky here, distinguishes between *competence* and *performance*. *Competence* deals with the knowledge about the language whereas *performance* is about the realization of knowledge in action.

Another conception generated by Chomsky is that of Universal Grammar (commonly referred to as UG). UG deals with the theory of the human language faculty — a part of the brain involved in the design of language. UG basically refers to the system of principles and parameters that underlie all human languages. We will not get into all the theoretical details of the linguistic principles Chomsky dealt with, as it will be beyond the scope of this Unit. Here, we will focus on the impact of Chomskian thinking on language teaching and learning.

The main argument is that human beings are innately predisposed to learn natural languages, which conforms to Universal Grammar (UG). Note that Universal Grammar here refers to linguistic rules that are innately known and represented in the mind. According to Chomsky, all human languages are governed by these UG-rules. It is also stated all children, whatever their language, acquire elements of linguistic capacity in the same order. When there is poverty of stimulus, the child learns the grammatical rules from data of degenerate quality and limited range.

Scope and Application :

This "Chomskian revolution" initially gave rise to eclecticism in teaching, but it has more recently led to **two main branches of teaching approaches** : the **humanistic approaches** based on the charismatic teaching of one person, and **content-based communicative approaches**, which try to incorporate what has been learned in recent years about the need for active learner participation, about appropriate language input, and about communication as a human activity. Most recently, there has been also a significant shift toward greater attention to reading and writing as a complement of listening and speaking, based on a new awareness of significant differences between spoken and written languages. This is based on the notion that dealing with language involves an interaction between the text on the one hand, and the culturally based world knowledge and experientially-based learning of the receiver on the other. The theories related to cognitivism basically, attaches more importance to the learner's understanding of the structure of a language than in the facility in using the structure. It is believed that if the learner has cognitive control over a language the learner will automatically develop the ability to use the language in meaningful situations.

This has reflected in the development of classroom techniques such as a great emphasis on individualized instruction, more humanistic approaches to language learning, a greater focus on the learner, and greater emphasis on development of linguistic and later communicative competence.

3.3.3 Second Language Acquisition Theories

Research on language acquisition/use can be divided into first and second language learning settings. The literature on first language learning is most relevant to child development while second language learning pertains primarily to adult learning, although most general theories of language learning apply to both. While it is still not conclusive whether different psychological processes are involved in first and second language learning, there are differences in the way children and adults learn and this has important implications.

Vygotsky's influence on Krashen's second language acquisition theory :

Although Vygotsky and Krashen come from entirely different backgrounds, the application of their theories to second language teaching produces similarities.

Influence or coincidence, Krashen's *Input Hypothesis* resembles Vygotsky's concept of *zone of proximal development*. According to the *Input Hypothesis*, language acquisition takes place during human interaction in an environment of the foreign language when the learner receives language 'input' that is one step beyond his/her current stage of linguistic competence. For example, if a learner is at a stage 'i', then maximum acquisition takes place when he/she is exposed to '*Comprehensible Input*' that belongs to level 'i + 1'.

Krashen's *acquisition-learning hypothesis* also seems to have been influenced by Vygotsky. Although Vygotsky speaks of *internalization of language* while Krashen uses the term *language acquisition*, both are based on a common assumption: interaction with other people. The *concept of acquisition* as defined by Krashen and its importance in achieving proficiency in foreign languages, can be a perfect application of Vygotsky's view of cognitive development as taking place in the matrix of the person's social history and being a result of it.

Even the distinct concepts in Krashen's acquisition theory and Vygotsky's sociocultural theory are not conflicting but complementary in providing resources for language teaching methodology.

By explaining human language development and cognitive development, Vygotsky's theory serves as a strong foundation for the modern trends in applied linguistics. It lends support to less structured and more natural, communicative and experiential approaches and points to the importance of early real-world human interaction in foreign language learning.

Krashen (1981) distinguishes between acquisition and learning processes, the former involves understanding and communication while the latter are concerned with the conscious monitoring of language use (i.e. metacognition). Krashen argues that acquisition processes are more critical than the learning processes and should

be encouraged through activities that involve communication rather than vocabulary or grammar exercises. Many language researchers emphasize the inter-relationships among listening, speaking, reading, and writing processes (e.g. Clark & Clark, 1977; Cohen, 1990).

Language acquisition theories have thus basically centered around **nurture** and **nature** distinction or on **empiricism** and **nativism**. The **doctrine of empiricism** holds that all knowledge comes from experience, ultimately from our interaction with the environment through our reasoning or senses. Empiricism, in this sense, can be contrasted to **nativism**, Which holds that at least some knowledge is not acquired through interaction with the environment, but is genetically transmitted and innate. To put it another way, some theoreticians have based their theories on environmental factors while others believed that it is the innate factors that determine the acquisition of language. It is, however, important to note that neither nurturists (environmentalists) disagree thoroughly with the nativist ideas nor do nativists with the naurturist ideas. Only the weight they lay on the environmental and innate factors is relatively little or more.

Let's try and understand the main features of these two trends in the theories related to language acquisiton.

Environmentalist theories of language acquisition hold that an organism's nurture, or experience, is of more significance to development than its nature or inborn contributions. Yet they do not completely reject the innate factors. Behaviourist and neo-behaviourist stimulus-response learning theories (S-R for simplicity) are the best known examples. Even though such theories have lost their effect partially because of Chomsky's Intelligent review of Skinner's Verbal Behavior (Chomsky, 1959), their effect has not been so little when we consider the present cognitive approach as an offshoot of behaviourism.

The nativist theories, on the other hand, assert that much of the capacity for language learning in humans is 'innate' It is part of the genetic makeup of human beings and is nearly independent of any particular experience which may occur after birth. Thus, the nativists claim that language acquisition is innately determined and that we are born with a built-in device which predisposes us to acquire language. This mechanism predisposes us to a systematic perception of language around us. Eric Lenneberg (cited in Brown, 1987: 19), in his attempt to explain language development in the child, assumed that language is a species-specific behavior and it is 'biologically determined'. Another important point as regards the innatist account is that nativists do not deny the importance of environmental stimuli, but they say language acquisition cannot be accounted for on the basis of environmental factors only. There must be some innate guide to achieve this end.

Implications for language teaching :

The social context - inside the classroom, in the home and in other immediate environment available to the learner - influences the attitude and in turn the motivation of the learners to utilise the language learning opportunities available to

them. Other factors like age, personality, intelligence, aptitude and previous knowledge also influences the second/foreign language process. All these factors and its implications need to be kept in mind when the teacher evolves a teaching methodology for the students.

You may refer to Module 2 Paper 4 for further details on second language acquisition.

3.3.4 Error Analysis and Contrastive Analysis

We shall now look at the impact of the hypotheses of error and contrastive analysis on language teaching.

It is important here to make a distinction between mistakes and errors. Brown (1987) states,

"A Mistake refers to a performance error that is either a random guess or a "slip" a failure to utilize a known system correctly ... An error ... is a noticeable deviation from the adult grammar of a native speaker, reflecting the interlanguage competence of the learner."

Brown (1987) argues that the analysis of errors made in language learning reveals the development of an interlanguage — a set of rules made up by the learner that map the new language onto their native language. According to Brown, correction of errors is important in helping the student understand the grammar of the new language.

Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) has its roots in behaviourism and structuralism. The hypothesis claims that learners' errors could be predicted on the basis of differences between the learners' first language and the target language. Contrastive Analysis (CA) was basically based on the assumption that errors were all due to first language interference and were somehow harmful to the learner's development. Errors were seen as harmful, bad habits that must not be reinforced. Errors were to be avoided, even in the course of learning.

By the 1970's, it was clear that Contrastive Analysis could not predict the errors learners would make. It was discovered that many errors were not due to interference alone and that there must be other sources of errors besides the first language. The focus was shifted from predicting errors based on contrasting the languages the learners were exposed to, to classifying the various kinds of errors that the learner made. It was hoped that by studying the various types of errors that learners made at various stages of learning, researchers could get a clearer view of the second language learning process. Thus, Error Analysis, the study of learner language for the purpose of classifying errors and identifying their sources, emerged as the dominant research area.

Error Analysis was therefore based on the assumption that errors were a natural and healthy part of the language learning process — a natural by-product of the learner's step-by-step discovery of the second language's rules through a process of trial and error. This process is called "Creative Construction". Through creative construction learners could get ideas about the target language from many different sources.

including themselves, and these ideas could result in both progress and errors. This shows that the sources of errors are also the sources of the learners' knowledge.

Implications for language teaching :

When the teacher recognizes an error, the teacher needs to decide how important is the error to current pedagogical focus of the lesson. The teacher also needs to recognize between the **global errors**, which hinder communication and **local errors** which affect only a segment of a language but does not prevent comprehension of a message. Global errors need to be corrected in some way to enable understanding of a message. Local errors need not be usually corrected since the message is clear.

The question is then on how to correct errors. There is still no all conclusive answer to this, though it is evident that students expect the errors to be corrected. The teacher can either correct or ignore or to correct immediately or later among other options.

You may refer to Corder (1967, 1973), Selinker (1972) and Nemser (1971) for further understanding of this topic.

3.3.5 Theories of Multiple Intelligence

Howard Gardner (1983) proposed a new view of intelligence that is rapidly being incorporated in educational curricula. In his *Theory of Multiple Intelligences*, Gardner expanded the concept of intelligence to also include such areas as music, spacial relations, and interpersonal knowledge in addition to mathematical and linguistic ability. Gardner defines intelligence as *"the capacity to solve problems or to fashion products that are valued in one or more cultural setting"* (Gardner & Hatch, 1989). Using biological as well as cultural research, he formulated a list of seven intelligences. This new outlook on intelligence differs greatly from the traditional view which usually recognizes only two intelligences, verbal and computational. The **seven intelligences** Gardner defines are :

- **Logical-Mathematical Intelligence** — consists of the ability to detect patterns, reason deductively and think logically. This intelligence is most often associated with scientific and mathematical thinking.
- **Linguistic Intelligence** — involves having a mastery of language. This intelligence includes the ability to effectively manipulate language to express oneself rhetorically or poetically. It also allows one to use language as a means to remember information.
- **Spatial Intelligence** — gives one the ability to manipulate and create mental images in order to solve problems. This intelligence is not limited to visual domains — Gardner notes that spatial intelligence is also formed in blind children.
- **Musical Intelligence** — encompasses the capability to recognize and compose musical pitches, tones, and rhythms. (Auditory functions are required for a person to develop this intelligence in relation to pitch and tone, but it is not needed for the knowledge of rhythm.)

- **Bodily Kinesthetic Intelligence** — the ability to use one's mental abilities to coordinate one's own bodily movements. This intelligence challenges the popular belief that mental and physical activity are unrelated.
- **Personal Intelligences** — includes **interpersonal intelligence** — the ability to understand and discern the feelings and intentions of others - and **intrapersonal intelligence** - the ability to understand one's own feelings and motivations. These two intelligences are separate from each other. Nevertheless, because of their close association in most cultures, they are often linked together.

Although the intelligences are anatomically separated from each other, Gardner claims that the seven intelligences very rarely operate independently. Rather, the intelligences are used concurrently and typically complement each other as individuals develop skills or solve problems. For example, a dancer can excel in his art only if he has 1) strong musical intelligence to understand the rhythm and variations of the music, 2) interpersonal intelligence to understand how he can inspire or emotionally move his audience through his movements, as well as 3) bodily-kinesthetic intelligence to provide him with the ability and coordination to complete the movement successfully.

Basis for Intelligence

Gardner argues that there is both a biological and cultural basis for the multiple intelligences. Neurobiological research indicates that learning is an outcome of the modifications in the connections between cells. Primary elements of different types of learning are found in particular areas of the brain where corresponding transformations have occurred. Thus, various types of learning results in such connections in different areas of the brain. For example, injury to the Broca's area of the brain will result in the loss of one's ability to verbally communicate using proper syntax. Nevertheless, this injury will not remove the patient's understanding of correct grammar and word usage.

In addition to the biological aspect, Gardner (1983) argues that culture also plays a large role in the development of the intelligences. All societies value different types of intelligences. The cultural value placed upon the ability to perform certain tasks provides the motivation to become skilled in those areas. Thus, while particular intelligences might be highly evolved in many people of one culture, those same intelligences might not be as developed in the individuals of another.

Multiple Intelligences : Scope/Applications

What then are the implications of Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences for teachers in terms of classroom instruction? The theory states that all seven intelligences are needed to productively function in society. Teachers, therefore, should think of ways of developing all intelligences with equal importance in the learner. This is in great contrast to traditional education systems which typically place a strong emphasis on the development and use of verbal and mathematical intelligences. Thus, the Theory of Multiple Intelligences implies that educators should recognize and teach to a broader range of talents and skills.

Another implication is that teachers should structure the presentation of material in a style which engages most or all of the intelligences. For example, when teaching about an Independence War, a teacher can show students regional maps, play revolutionary patriotic songs, organize a role play of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, have the students read a novel about life during that period and even organize a fancy dress competition with costumes of that period. This kind of presentation not only excites students about learning, but it also allows a teacher to reinforce the same material in a variety of ways. By activating a wide assortment of intelligences, teaching in this manner can facilitate a deeper understanding of the subject material.

Everyone is born possessing the seven intelligences. Nevertheless, all students will come into the classroom with different sets of developed intelligences. This means that each child will have his own unique set of intellectual strengths and weaknesses. These sets determine how easy (or difficult) it is for a student to learn information when it is presented in a particular manner. This is commonly referred to as a learning style. Many learning styles can be found within one classroom. Therefore, it is impossible as well as impractical, for a teacher to accommodate every lesson to all of the learning styles found within the classroom. Nevertheless the teacher can show students how to use their more developed intelligences to assist in the understanding of a subject which normally employs their weaker intelligences (Lazear, 1992). For example, the teacher can suggest that an especially musically intelligent child learn about the revolutionary war by writing a poem about what happened.

Towards a More Authentic Assessment

As the education system has stressed the importance of developing mathematical and linguistic intelligences, it often bases student success only on the measured skills in those two intelligences. Supporters of Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences believe that this emphasis is unfair. Children whose musical intelligences are highly developed, for example, may be overlooked for gifted programs or may be placed in a special education class because they do not have the required math or language scores. Teachers must seek to assess their students' learning in ways which will give an accurate overview of their strengths and weaknesses.

As children do not learn in the same way, they cannot be assessed in a uniform fashion. Therefore, it is important that a teacher create an "intelligence profile" for each student. Knowing how each student learns will allow the teacher to properly assess the child's progress (Lazear, 1992). This individualized evaluation practice will allow a teacher to make more informed decisions, on what to teach and how to present information.

Traditional test (e.g. multiple choice, short answer, essay) require students to show their knowledge in a predetermined manner. Supporters of Gardner's theory

claim that a better approach to assessment is to allow students to explain the material in their own ways using the different intelligences. Preferred assessment methods include student portfolios, independent projects, student journals, and assigning creative tasks. An excellent source for a more in-depth discussion on these different evaluation practices is Lazear (1992).

Schools have often sought to help students develop a sense of accomplishment and self-confidence. Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences provides a theoretical foundation for recognizing the different abilities and talents of students. This theory acknowledges that while all students may not be verbally or mathematically gifted, children may have an expertise in other areas, such as music, spatial relations, or interpersonal knowledge. Approaching and assessing learning in this manner allows a wider range of students to successfully participate in classroom learning.

3.3.6. Neuro-Linguistic Programming

The term **Neuro-Linguistic Programming** comes from the disciplines which influenced the early development of the field. It began as an exploration of the relationship between neurology, linguistics, and observable patterns of behaviour. The word **Neuro** refers to an understanding of the brain and its functioning. **Linguistic** relates to the communication aspects (both verbal and non-verbal) of our information processing. **Programming** is the behavioural and thinking patterns we all go through. There is a relationship between perceptions, thinking and behaviour that is neuro-linguistic in nature. The relationship is operating all the time, no matter what we are doing, and it can be studied by exploring our internal or subjective experience. The formal definition of Neuro-Linguistic Programming can be summed up as the study of the structure of subjective experience (Garratt, 1997).

NLP was developed in the mid-70s by John Grinder and Richard Bandler. NLP as most people use the term today, is a set of models of how communication works. It is more a collection of tools than any overarching theory. NLP is heavily pragmatic - if a tool works, it's included in the model, even if there is no theory to back it up.

Much of early NLP was based on the work of Virginia Satir, a family therapist; Fritz Perls, founder of Gestalt therapy; Gregory Bateson, anthropologist; and Milton Erickson, Hypnotist. NLP is not based on theory. It is based on the process of making models. A model doesn't have to be "true" or "correct" or even perfectly formed. It only has to be useful when applied to what it's designed for. If it isn't, it can be discarded in any situation where it fails. NLP is really an epistemology (the study of the origin and structure of knowledge itself.) Everything in NLP is based on specific evidence procedures for effectiveness and is thoroughly tested.

NLP consists of a number of models, and then techniques based on those models. Performing these NLP techniques is a skill. One way an NLP therapist might approach a client session is by understanding the cognitive structure of how a client creates a problem. They then help figure out the cognitive structure of an area of life where

the client deals satisfactorily. Then they would teach the client to use the good strategy in the problem situation.

NLP is about communication on all levels, and is much easier to demonstrate than to write about.

The actual technology, or methodology, that Bandler and Grinder used is known as **human modeling**. *It is actually the building of models of how people perform or accomplish something.* This modeling process actually means finding and describing the important elements and processes that people go through, beginning with finding and studying a human model. This is a person, who does something in a particular, usually highly skillful, way. For example, if you want to know how to teach some particular skill or concept, you would first find someone who does it extremely well. Then ask him or her lots of questions about what they do, why they do it, what works and doesn't work, and so on. At the same time, observing this person in action will often lead to new and better questions to ask in the process. Most of us do this already, though perhaps not systematically.

The addition of specific NLP technology makes it possible to discover much of what this human model does that he or she is not aware of. To do this well means to actually study the structure of people's thought processes and internal experience, as well as their observable behaviour. During their early studies a unique system of asking questions and gathering information was developed that was based on the fields of transformational grammar and general semantics. Later they and their colleagues discovered certain minimal cues people give that indicate very specific kinds of thought processes. These include eye movements, certain gestures, breathing patterns, voice tone changes and even very subtle cues such as pupil dilation and skin colour changes.

NLP is thus gathering of information to make models, based on the internal experience and information processing of the people being studied and modeled, including the part that is outside of their conscious awareness.

3.4. Recent Trends in Language Teaching

New directions in language teaching have evolved based on upcoming theories and research findings. Here, we will briefly go through some of these trends which is gaining popular application in language teaching. This section therefore aims to stimulate you to think further on the recent trends in language teaching and the appropriateness of its application in the context in which you teach.

One of the recent trends in language teaching is the further importance given to the Humanistic Approach.

The Humanistic Approach began in response to concerns by therapists against perceived limitations of Psychodynamic theories, especially Psychoanalysis. Individuals

like Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow felt existing (Psychodynamic) theories failed to adequately address issues like the meaning of behavior, and the nature of health and growth. However, the result was not simply new variations on psychodynamic theories but rather a fundamentally new approach.

There are several factors which distinguish the Humanistic Approach from other approaches that place emphasis on subjective meaning, a rejection of determinism and a concern for positive growth rather than pathology. Most psychologists believe that behaviour can only be understood objectively (by an impartial observer), but the humanists argue that this results in concluding that an individual is incapable of understanding one's own behavior—a view which they see as both paradoxical and dangerous to well-being.

The future is always uncertain, and this is no less true in anticipatory methodological directions in second language teaching than in any other field. Some current predictions assume the carrying on and refinement of current trends; others appear more futuristic in their vision. Given below are some of the trends that are likely to take shape in the teaching of second languages in the next decades of the new millennium. These methodological directions are given identifying labels in a somewhat tongue-in-cheek style but the directions are worth noting.

1. Teacher/Learner Collaborates :

Matchmaking techniques will be developed which will link learners and teachers with similar styles and approaches to language learning. Looking at the Teacher and Learner roles mentioned in section 1.3.2. (see earlier section) one can anticipate development of a system in which the preferential ways in which teachers teach and learners learn can be matched in instructional settings, perhaps via on-line computer networks or other technological resources. Technology could be integrated in meaningful ways to enable more learner centered approaches to language teaching.

2. Method Synergistics :

Crossbreeding elements from various methods into a common programme of instruction seems an appropriate way to find those practices which best support effective learning. Methods and approaches have usually been proposed as idiosyncratic and unique, yet it appears reasonable to combine practices from different approaches where the philosophical foundations are similar. One might call such an approach "Disciplined Eclecticism."

3. Curriculum Developmentalism :

Language teaching has not profited much from more general views of educational design. The curriculum perspective comes from general education and views successful instruction as an interweaving of Knowledge, Instructional, Learner, and Administrative considerations. From this perspective, methodology is viewed as one of several instructional considerations that are necessarily thought out and realized in conjunction with all other curricular considerations.

4. Content-Basics :

Content-based instruction assumes that language learning is a by-product of focus on meaning—on acquiring some specific topical content—and that content topics to support language learning should be chosen to best match learner needs and interests and to promote optimal development of second language competence. A critical question for language educators is “what content” and “how much content” best supports language learning. The natural content for language educators is literature and language itself, and we are beginning to see a resurgence of interest in literature and in the view that language is the basic human technology used as sources of content in language teaching.

5. Multintelligencia :

The notion here is adapted from the Multiple Intelligences view of human talents proposed by Howard Gardner (1983) (see earlier section for details). This model is one of a variety of learning style models that have been proposed in general education with follow-up inquiry by language educators. The chart below shows Gardner's proposed eight native intelligences and indicates classroom language-rich task types that play to each of these of these particular intelligences.

| INTELLIGENCE TYPES AND APPROPRIATE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES | |
|--|---|
| Intelligence Type | Educational Activities |
| Linguistic | lectures, worksheets, word games, journals, debates |
| Logical | Puzzles, estimations, problem solving |
| Spatial | charts, diagrams, graphic organizers, drawing, films |
| Bodily | hands-on, mime, craft, demonstrations |
| Musical | singing, poetry, Jazz Chants, mood music |
| Interpersonal | group work, peer tutoring, class projects |
| Intrapersonal | reflection, interest centers, personal values tasks |
| Naturalist | field trips, show and tell, plant and animal projects |

Table 2. (Adapted from Christson, 1998)

Challenge here is to identify these intelligences in individual learners and then to determine appropriate and realistic instructional tasks in response. Language teaching would need to incorporate more scope for accounting for different abilities in the learners in a classroom. The possibilities for multiple entry and exit points for language learning is also to be explored further.

6. Discourse analysis :

The study of how a language actually works in real situations is explored further through *discourse analysis*. This involves not only studying the phonology, grammar and vocabulary of the language but also the ways in which people interact (for e.g. beginning a conversation, interrupting, changing the topic and so on) and the ways in which they use language to achieve situational purposes (for e.g. persuading, refusing to give offence, clarifying information given etc.) Refer to paper 1 Module 1 Unit 4 for a detailed discussion on this topic.

7. Total Functional Response :

Communicative Language Teaching was founded on earlier notional/functional proposals for the description of languages. Now new leads in discourse and genre analysis, schema theory, pragmatics, and systemic/functional grammar are rekindling an interest in functionally based approaches to language teaching. One pedagogical proposal has led to a widespread reconsideration of the first and second language programmes. For eg: in Australian schools where instruction turns on five basic text genres identified as Report, Procedure, Explanation, Exposition, and Recount. Refinement of functional models will lead to increased attention to genre and text types in both first and second language instruction. This could be adapted as a successful teaching methodology.

8. Strategopedia :

"Learning to Learn" is the key theme in an instructional focus on language learning strategies. Such strategies include, at the most basic level, memory tricks, and at higher levels, cognitive and metacognitive strategies for learning, thinking, planning, and self-monitoring. Research findings suggest that strategies can indeed be taught to language learners, that learners will apply these strategies in language learning tasks, and that such application does produce significant gains in language learning. Simple and yet highly effective strategies, such as those that help learners remember and access new second language vocabulary items, will attract considerable instructional interest in Strategopedia.

9. Lexical Phraseology :

The lexical phraseology view holds that only "a minority of spoken clauses are entirely novel creations" and that "memorized clauses and clause-sequences form a high proportion of the fluent stretches of speech heard in every day conversation." One estimate is that "the number of memorized complete clauses and sentences known to the mature English speaker probably amounts, at least, to several hundreds of thousands" (Pawley & Syder, 1983). Understanding of the use of lexical phrases

has been immensely aided by large scale computer studies of language corpora, which have provided hard data to support the speculative inquiries into lexical phraseology of second language acquisition researchers. For language teachers, the results of such inquiries have led to conclusions that language teaching should center on these memorized lexical patterns and the ways they can be pieced together, along with the ways they vary and the situations in which they occur.

10. O-zone Whole Language :

Renewed interest in some type of "Focus on Form" has provided a major impetus for recent second language acquisition (SLA) research. "Focus on Form" proposals, variously labeled as consciousness-raising, noticing, attending, and enhancing input, are founded on the assumption that students will learn only what they are aware of. Whole Language proponents have claimed that one way to increase learner awareness of how language works is through a course of study that incorporates broader engagement with language, including, literary study, process writing, authentic content, and learner collaboration.

11. Full-Frontal communicativity :

We know that the linguistic part of human communication represents only a small fraction of total meaning. Yet language teaching has chosen to restrict its attention to the linguistic component of human communication, even the approach is labeled Communicative. The methodological proposal is to provide instructional focus on the non-linguistic aspects of communication, including rhythm, speed, pitch, intonation, tone, and hesitation phenomena in speech and gesture, facial expression, posture, and distance in non-verbal messaging.

3.5. Let Us Sum Up

In this Unit, we looked at the relevance for a theoretical basis for language teaching. We examined the different terms related to learning a language—first, second or foreign. It was also seen that the same language can have different roles in the language teaching and learning process and this could have important implications for English Language Teaching. We briefly looked into the emergence of the concept of "methods" of language teaching which led to the development of different methodologies for classroom use. A general discussion—on the major trends in language teaching that you are familiar with was also done and it was linked with the philosophical orientation of these trends. It was seen that the method adopted can have a direct influence on the teacher and learner roles.

It was noticed that there are different views to the same issues of language teaching. We therefore familiarized with the different theories related to language teaching and tried to understand the need for applying the appropriate theory for a given teaching situation. Within methodology a distinction is often made between method, approach and technique and we looked at these terms in some closer detail.

It was seen that some of these theories have had a direct influence while others have an indirect implication for language teaching. The theories were discussed in detail along with the role of the major contributors of the theories. The implication of these theories was also linked up to language teaching.

The recent trends in language theories and the possibilities of its application for classroom instruction was also discussed

3.6. Glossary

Acquisition—The process of picking up a language without formal instruction and without a sustained conscious effort to learn the language. It usually results as a result of highly motivated exposure to the language in use along with the need and opportunity to communicate in that language. Children pick up their first language and adults their second and foreign languages this way. In the latter case, adults may need some conscious, formal training to improve on their accuracy.

Approach—In ELT, the term generally refers to a general view of how teaching should be carried out. It differs from a method in that the latter is more concrete and precise—for eg. the direct method is a definite set of procedures, but stems from an 'oral approach'.

Authentic materials—Materials such as newspaper articles, brochures, letters, advertisements, news recording, recording of railway station announcements which are originally used in real life situations and were not designed for use in language teaching. These materials are used in the classroom to expose the learners to language in real use.

Audio-lingualism—An approach to AL very popular in the 1960's, especially in the USA, and influenced by the trends in structural linguistics and behaviourist psychology. According to this approach there are four skills of language—Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing— which are to be learnt through imitation and practice and a special feature of audio lingual approach is pattern drill. It aims to ensure that the structural patterns of the target language are part of the learners' linguistic habits.

Community Language Learning—A method of language learning which relies upon the learners to provide their own syllabus. The learners form a circle with their chairs and start a conversation. The teacher stays outside the circle and waits of the learners to ask for help. When needed the teacher whispers an English translation or a corrected English version for the learner to use in the conversation. The group conversation is recorded and transcribed and later analysed by the group.

Competence—The ability to perform in the target language. In the technical sense, more precisely referred to as 'linguistic competence' i.e. the native speaker's tacit knowledge of the rules of his language. The notion stems from the work of Chomsky.

drills—A language teaching procedure designed to ensure assimilation of some linguistic point through repetition and also through manipulation i.e. changing or modifying the linguistic elements presented for the purpose of learning.

Eclecticism—An approach to ELT which is essentially pragmatic and advocates the judicious use of those parts of any language teaching methods which seem useful and effective rather than adhering to one particular method or set of techniques.

EFL—Abbreviation for English as a Foreign Language. English learnt by people from a community where English is not normally used. An Italian, Japanese or German learning English would be learning it as a 'foreign language'.

ESL—Abbreviation for English as a Second Language

experiential learning—learning seen as a process that gives emphasis on the experience of the learner. The experience gained by the learner becomes an aid to language learning.

First language—see **mother tongue**. First language is often the mother tongue for many learners. Term applied to the language that one learns first as a child and which he or she has continued to use. It is often referred to as L_1 .

foreign language—term usually applied to languages spoken outside the boundaries of the country in which one lives, or more crucially, to languages learnt only for communication with those living outside one's own community and not used for everyday communication within one's own community.

formulaic expressions—term refers to expressions which are learned as whole utterances (for e.g. How do you do?) or as patterns which the learners can use by inserting a relevant word in a vacant slot (for e.g. This is a —.)

Grammar translation method—A language teaching method which emerged in the 19th century in which the target language is taught through the presentation of the rules of the language in a sequence from simple to complex. These rules are then applied to the translation of the target language sentences into the mother tongue.

Linguistics—Pertaining to language. The systematic and objective study of languages (tongues).

method—a set of teaching procedures assembled together in accordance with the principles of a certain approach to language teaching. It is used in connection with a particular type of syllabus, materials and evaluation in a given Language teaching situation.

mother tongue—refers to usually (not always) the first language to which the child is exposed to in its environment through one's parents, relatives, peers and so on. It is also often the language that one speaks first. The individual "identifies" best and has the most natural command in this language.

Operant conditioning—A type of conditioning in which the experimenter attempts to make some particular response or action initiated by a experimental subject habitual and predictable by reinforcing it.

Prescriptive—as opposed to descriptive. In Language teaching, it refers to the stating of the rules about how people should speak and write in the interest of ensuring that the learners acquire and use only those forms of the target language widely acceptable to the native speakers of the language. Prescriptive rules make statements about standards to be aimed at rather than reflecting what native speakers actually say.

performance—contrasted with competence. It refers to the actual utterances one produces or the actual use of the language as opposed to knowledge of the regularities of the language.

Psychology—the study of the behaviour of human beings and animals in terms of the internal forces and the conditions of the mind, emotions and body which makes them behave as they do.

Role-play—imitating real life situations by the learner(s) so that they get practical experience on how to handle the communication needed in real life situations. Activities in which the learner plays parts (e.g. waiter, policeman, customs officer, shopkeeper etc.) and practice language appropriate to the situations they are placed in. This helps the learners to overcome their inhibitions to speak in the target language.

Rote learning—Learning by making a deliberate effort to commit to memory lists of words or other items of information not necessarily connected with each other through placement in context. This is usually part of short term memory.

Second language—a language which is not the mother tongue of its speakers but which is the language of the country in which they live and which they use regularly for transactions within their country.

Silent Way—A Language teaching method invented by Charles Gattegno. The major characteristic of this method is that the teacher, remains as silent as possible, allowing and encouraging learners to utilise and maximise their own inner resources in coping with the learning task. The teacher uses charts illustrating pronunciation and grammar and in some versions, coloured rods. Does not depend on any particular linguistic or language learning theory, but is based on more general ideas about education.

Structuralism—An approach to linguistics which concentrates on the outward form and structure of language as opposed to its *inner structure* or conceptual aspects.

Structure drilling—Drilling of structures by repeating them over a period of time. The structures in a language are fixed and are of finite numbers.

Suggestopedia—a humanistic teaching method that tries to make the learning as relaxed and comfortable as possible (e.g. use of soft music, pleasant colours etc.) and to make the maximum use of the brain's capacity to combine the conscious and the unconscious for learning.

Technique—a particular teaching procedure such as the use of dialogues for the presentation of language in a particular situation or of drills for practice and consolidation.

3.7 Comprehension Exercises

1. What do you understand by the terms mother tongue, second language and foreign language?
2. Comment on the philosophical orientation of the major trends in language teaching.
3. Distinguish between method, approach and technique.
4. Comment on how the teacher and learner roles change according to the language teaching methods. Give appropriate examples.
5. What do you understand by the term 'language teaching methodology'?
6. How has the concept of operant *conditioning* influenced language teaching?
7. Write short notes on the contribution of the following persons :
 - a. J. B. Watson
 - b. B. F. Skinner
 - c. Edward Thorndike
 - d. Jean Piaget
 - e. Noam Chomsky
 - f. Howard Gardner.
8. Comment on Piaget's stages of intellectual development and the fundamental processes of intellectual growth.
9. What are the contribution of the mentalist theories to language teaching?
10. Define LAD and its impact on the learner's exposure to language.
11. How are Krashen and Vygotsky similar in their perceptions on SLA?
12. What is the difference between mistake and an error? Should the teacher correct both immediately?
13. What are the distinguishing features of Error Analysis and contrastive Analysis?
14. Define the seven intelligences as identified by Howard Gardner.
15. What are the implications of Gardner's *theory of Multiple Intelligences* for language teaching and evaluation?
16. What is NLP? Comment on the usefulness of using NLP as a teaching strategy in language classes.

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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a review of the literature on the topic of the role of the state in the development of the economy. It is found that there is a general consensus that the state plays a significant role in the development of the economy, particularly in the case of developing countries.

2. The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the role of the state in the development of the economy. It is found that the state plays a significant role in the development of the economy, particularly in the case of developing countries.

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PG : ELT - 1
MODULE - 4

PG : EIT - 1
MODULE - 4

Unit 1 □ History of English Education under British Rule

Structures

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- 1.8. Questions
- 1.9. Bibliography

1.0 Objectives

This unit will give a broad overview of the historical development of English education in British India. We begin this unit with the advent of European education in India. Then we move on to examine the establishment, diffusion and growth of English education throughout the British period and place it in the larger context of British contribution to education in India. We will also in the process look at the key issues that have both informed and plagued English education in modern India.

1.1 Introduction

English education in India had slow and tentative beginnings. In the first 200 years (1600 - 1800) of their stay, the British had not really ventured extensively into education. Once the plunge was taken however, English education proliferated in such leaps and bounds, that by 1900, almost all educational institutions in India

used English as the medium of instruction. In fact, when we trace the history of English education in India, we find three recurring aspects – the **content** of such education, its **extent or spread** and its use as the **medium of instruction**. All these questions remain very relevant even today. Which is why you need to have some understanding of the historical processes that have shaped the framework of English Language Teaching in contemporary India.

Please note that in this unit you will get an idea of the landmark events and main issues related to the teaching of English in colonial India. For more detailed information on this subject, you may refer to the books listed in the bibliography given at the end of the unit.

1.2 The Foundation of English Education in India (1600–1813)

The genesis of western education in India lies in the proselytising activities of the missionaries who accompanied the European traders who first came to India upon the discovery of the sea-route to the sub-continent by Vasco da Gama in 1498. In fact, the Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries had already established educational institutions in India long before the incorporation of the English East India Company. Some of them were the Jesuit College at Goa (1575), the College of St. Anne at Salsette, and several elementary schools and theological colleges to train Indian clergymen. They even set up a printing press at Goa in 1556. Portuguese enterprise started to decline in the 17th century and was replaced by Dutch maritime power. The Dutch, however, were not a conspicuous presence, for apart from establishing some isolated trade settlements in India, they preferred to concentrate their colonizing efforts in Ceylon and Indonesia. In contrast, the French East India Company, established in 1664, actively pursued the dream of a French empire in India. French Missionaries were not tardy in joining the fray. In their educational enterprise they did not restrict their efforts to the Christian population alone, and founded institutions at Mahe, Pondicherry, Madras and Chandannagar where they imparted liberal education. Playing for larger political stakes, the French however, lost out to the English in mortal combat and had to withdraw for all practical purposes. But their schools did continue to exist even under the British Indian Empire. Thus it was that English rose to the top of the pile from the melee of European languages present in India in the 17th century.

1.2.1. Early Educational Activities of the East India Company (1600-1765)

On 31 December 1600, Queen Elizabeth I granted a Charter to a few merchants of the City of London giving them a monopoly of trade with India and the East. The newly formed Company wrangled footholds in India in Madras, Calcutta and later in Bombay. Though it was primarily a business concern, the Company was conscious even in its early days of the vital role that might be played by the missionaries in aid of their commercial and political ventures. As early as 1614, a directive was issued to take steps "for the recruitment of Indians for the propagation of the Gospel among their countrymen and for imparting to these missionaries such education, at the Company's expense, as would enable them to carry out effectively the purpose for which they were enlisted". In 1659, the Court of Directors made it clear that they earnestly desired to spread Christianity in India and permitted missionaries to embark on their journey to India. This was further confirmed by the inclusion of the famous **missionary clause** in the Company's Charter in 1698, requiring it to maintain ministers of religion at their factories in India and to have a Chaplain on board

every ship of 500 tons or more. The Charter also directed the Company to maintain schools in all their garrisons and bigger factories for the education of European and Anglo-Indian Christians. The Chaplains were instrumental in setting up the **charity schools** for Anglo-Indian children, which is an important landmark in the attempt at organized education by the East India Company.

It is interesting to note that these ministers had to learn Portuguese and conduct schools in that language because Portuguese was then the *lingua franca* among the lower employees of the Company factories. This attempt never became popular, and was soon given up in favour of English as the medium of instruction. The oldest charity school to be established on this new model was **St. Mary's Charity School** at Madras founded by Rev. W. Stevenson in 1715, followed by others in Bombay (1719) and Calcutta (1720). These schools were encouraged by the Company, but mostly survived on subscriptions and donations. Though these schools were not meant for the general Indian people, the Charter of 1698 is nevertheless important because it laid the foundation of formalized English education in India.

1.2.2. Shift in the Educational Policy of the Company (1765 - 1812)

After 1765 when the Company became a political power in India, its educational policy changed from its professed earlier stand. Previously, the Company had restricted its attention to the education of European and Anglo-Indian children. Now it began to feel that it must do something for the Indian people. With the object of winning over the 'natives', the Company now placed a check on the missionaries as it became conscious of the political importance of maintaining strict religious neutrality. The Company found it convenient, under the circumstances, to pose as the champion and preserver of Hindu and Muslim culture, education and traditions.

The Company's Supreme Council in India under the leadership of Warren Hastings (Governor - General of India, 1772-1785) adopted a distinctive policy to increase British influence with the people and to find access to the masses. They squarely opposed any hasty attempt to impart western knowledge and chose, rather, to support traditional learning. Moreover, the Company wanted to educate sons of influential Indians for higher posts under Government and thereby win the confidence of the upper classes and consolidate its rule in India. So the Company decided to establish some centres of higher learning for the Hindus and Muslims and thus it was that the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benaras Sanskrit College came into existence.

Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781 with Islamic Theology, Law, Logic, Grammar, Geometry and Arithmetic as curricular subjects and Arabic as language. The Resident of Benaras, Jonathan Duncan, emulated this example to establish the Benaras Sanskrit College (1791) with Hindu Theology, Law, Grammar, Medicine etc. as subjects and Sanskrit as language. This marks the beginning of the **Orientalist School of Educational Policy**. Obviously this school of thought was prompted more by political rather than educational considerations, and made its policy decisions on politically expedient grounds. The Orientalist views were readily accepted by the Court of Directors and between 1765 and 1812 the principal object of the educational policy of the Company was to encourage traditional Oriental learning in Sanskrit and Arabic.

1.2.3. Missionary Educational Enterprise in India (1765 - 1813)

While the Company initiated and conducted its own activities in the field of education, the missionary educational enterprise continued under the shadow of its political authority. The missionary institutions are of great importance in the history

of English education in modern India as pioneers of private enterprise in education. Before we consider their contribution in this sphere, let us understand why the missionaries undertook such an enterprise in the first place.

The primary objective of the missionaries was to convert people to Christianity. Opening educational institutions or working as teachers was not really on the agenda, but the practical experience of the early missionaries convinced them that they had to start schools as an important means of proselytising. Schools would help them to educate the minds of the people so that they could understand and appreciate the Scriptures better. It would also provide them with the means to access large sections of people – children and parents – and thereby provide greater opportunities of preaching to them. Moreover the early converts to Christianity came mostly from the lowest rungs of the Hindu society. They were generally illiterate, and since reading the Bible was essential for salvation, the missionaries had to establish schools to teach the new converts to read and write. For the same reason, they also had to introduce the printing press and print the Bible in the Indian languages. In short, the missionaries found that schools were both the cause and the effect of proselytisation and educational and missionary work had to be undertaken side by side. It is out of this realization that the mission schools of modern India were born.

Two such missionary establishments in India at that time are worth mentioning – the Danish Mission in Madras and the Serampore Trio and others in Bengal. From its days of inception, English enterprise in India was closely associated with the Danes. The reason for this could be that both the English and the Danes were Protestants, and the Danes had no unseemly imperial aspirations unlike the French. Ziegenbalg and Plustchau – the pioneers of the Danish missionary movement arrived at Tranquebar in South India in 1706. They set up a printing press in Tamil (1711) and a teacher-training institution (1716). In the following year two charity schools with Portuguese and Tamil as media were opened in Madras. Other missionaries such as Kiernander and Swartz followed them. Kiernander founded charity schools for Eurasians as well as Indians in Fort St. David in 1742. His work became so famous that Robert Clive invited him in 1758 to open a charity school in Calcutta. Kiernander thereafter stayed on to do pioneer service in Bengal. As European educational activities in India flourished, there started to emerge the problem of choice of medium of instruction – Indian or Western languages?

Swartz meanwhile founded an English-medium school for European and Eurasian boys at Trichinopoly (1772) and an English Charity School at Tanjore with the help of Haider Ali of Mysore. He was also instrumental in persuading the Rajas of Tanjore and Marwar to establish schools for teaching English to Indian children (1785). They may be said to be the **earliest schools for teaching the English language to Indians**. Incidentally, at this time, John Sullivan was the Resident at Tanjore, and he actively encouraged the establishment of English-medium schools hoping that this would help “the company and the people to understand each other” and to “facilitate dealings of all kinds between them.” Sullivan’s observations are significant in that this was the earliest expression of the **Occidental School of Educational Policy**.

After Kiernander set up school at Mission Church Lane in Calcutta in 1758, there was a spurt of establishment of missionary schools in Bengal. This included the first girls’ school – Hedges Girls’ School (1760). Not all of these were established by missionaries, however, and in 1791 Ramjoy Datta became the first Bengali gentleman to set up an English school at Colootola. Then in 1800 the Fort William College was

established, where worked such stalwarts as Carey, Colebrooke and Gilchrist. Dr. William Carey of the Baptist Missionary Society joined up with two other missionaries – William Ward, an expert printer, and Joshua Marshman, a teacher, to establish the Serampore Mission at Serampore, a Danish settlement. The Serampore Trio as they came to be known, though not particularly in favour of English education for the 'natives', have to be mentioned in any historical record of education in modern India. They were instrumental in translating and publishing numerous books in Bengali and other Indian languages. In 1801, Carey translated the New Testament into Bengali and also published his Bengali Grammar. One of his singular achievements was the preparation of an Anglo-Bengali dictionary in 5 volumes with 80,000 words. The Trio also brought out one of the earliest Bengali journals – *Samachar Darpan* (1818). Listing the manifold achievements of the Serampore Trio is beyond the scope of this unit; suffice it to say that they contributed immensely to the growth of Bengali literature, journalism and education. This is not to say, however, that they had no contribution to make to English education in Bengal. Carey and Marshman established the Calcutta Benevolent Institution in 1810 and Marshman established a boarding school in Serampore the same year. By 1817 there were 115 schools were established by the Trio. In 1818 was established the Serampore College to instruct Christian and non-Christian Indian youth in Western arts and sciences and to train teachers. This was the **first English Missionary College in Bengal**.

Slowly but surely the socio-historical context for the dominance of English was taking shape. It was at this critical juncture that the first book written to teach English was produced in India in 1797 (Howatt 1984 : 67). The book (*The Tutor: Or a New English and Bengali Work, Well adapted to Teach the Natives English*) was written by John Miller and published in Serampore. The only extant copy of this book is in the library of the University of Calcutta.

1.2.4. The Revival of the Missionaries (1793–1812)

Towards the end of the 18th century missionary activities had become considerably curtailed due to policy changes of the East India Company post 1765. The acquisition of sovereignty prompted it to maintain religious neutrality and to lose all its former sympathy for missionary enterprise. The adoption of the Orientalist policy in education between 1781 and 1791 also lessened the importance of the mission schools. Naturally, the missionaries did not like these changes and began to criticize the new policies and to plead for a return to the old practices.

There was great resentment amidst the missionary circles in England and the Clapham sect, consisting of Charles Grant, Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, started agitating for freedom for missionary work in India. As early as 1793 Wilberforce had proposed to insert a clause in the Company's Charter empowering the Court of Directors of the Company to appoint schoolmasters, missionaries and so on to achieve the moral and religious improvement of the inhabitants of British India.

The Court of Directors opposed this violently. They could see by now the benefits of religious neutrality and were wary of the missionary zeal for conversion that invariably created trouble with the Indian people. The conflict between the Company and the missionaries grew more acrimonious with each criticizing the other's policies. Between 1793 and 1813 the Company did not ordinarily issue a permit to any missionary to work within its territories and expelled several missionaries as soon as they became active. The missionaries began an *intensive* agitation to persuade Parliament to legislate on the matter. The foremost among those who thus agitated was Charles Grant, who is sometimes called the father of English education in modern India.

Charles Grant, who as Commercial Resident lived in Malda, Bengal, from 1783 - 1790, lamented the moral, social and intellectual decline of India. In 1792 he wrote an important treatise titled '*Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals and the means of improving it*'. He first gave a description of the utterly immoral, depraved and wretched condition of Indian society and then proceeded to analyse its causes and to suggest a remedy. According to Grant, the causes of the miserable condition of the Indian people were - ignorance and lack of a proper religion. He therefore felt that the situation could only be improved if the Indians were first educated and finally converted to Christianity. Now the question naturally arose : in what medium should this education be communicated to the Indian people? Grant suggested that the English language should be adopted as the medium of instruction. He foresaw the use of English in all administrative, judicial and educational spheres and emphasized the need for English education to foster greater understanding between the ruler and the ruled, which would ultimately lead to greater expansion of British commerce in India. He also suggested that special emphasis be laid on the teaching of natural sciences and the use of mechanical inventions in order to bring about agricultural and industrial development of the country. The most precious subject of instruction, however, according to Grant, was the Christian religion.

Whatever may be the veracity of Grant's opinions regarding the condition of the Indian people, his treatise is very significant historically because of the prophetic nature of his suggestions. His proposal that English be adopted as the language of Government was taken up forty years later by Lord Bentinck and his suggestion of adopting English as a medium of instruction was made a reality by the famous Minute of Macaulay in 1835. His view on the possibility of Indians becoming English teachers was also not a misplaced one as history has proved.

While the missionaries were thus agitating in England, the officials of the Company in India were proposing expansion of Oriental education and asked for more funds to revive and improve classical Indian learning. In his Minute dated 6 March, 1811, Lord Minto (Governor-General of India, 1806 - 1813) extolled the worth of Oriental literature and felt that Government support should be extended to promote its study and open up its literary riches to the Western world as well.

Grant, as an influential Director of the Company and a Member of Parliament, could promote suggestions and ultimately paved the way for the educational clauses of the Charter Act.

1.3. Crystallization of English Education in India (1813-1854)

The Charter of the Company came up for renewal in 1813 and Parliament had to decide upon two controversial issues - attitude towards the missionaries and the nature and extent of the role of the State in education. On the first issue, the missionaries won in as much as they were permitted to preach and teach freely in India again. On the second issue, the Company Directors were reluctant to reduce their dividend by increasing their expenditure on education. But the opponents of the mission clauses also felt the need to create a rival agency in Indian education to counteract the results of missionary enterprise. So the 43rd clause of the Charter was inserted. It required the Company to provide an annual sum of one lakh rupees for the "revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India".

The principal implication of this clause was that the Company would create its own agency to spend this amount of a lakh of rupees and try to educate the people of India in a secular and conservative fashion as opposed to the proselytizing and revolutionary proposals of the missionaries. This in effect laid the **foundation of a state educational system in India** and the **Charter Act of 1813**, therefore, is a turning point in the history of Indian education.

However, there was a deliberate ambiguity in this Act regarding the type of learning – Oriental or English – that was to be aided, as well as the medium of instruction to do so. The Directors themselves were in a dilemma as to how to interpret the Act. It was obviously a compromise solution produced by the inability of Parliament to reach a firm resolution. It took forty years and the intervention of a hide-bound Anglicist – T. B. Macaulay – to resolve this ambiguity.

1.3.1. Official Educational Enterprise in India (1813 – 1833)

As has been pointed out in the previous section, the Company's Directors were none too eager to spend one lakh rupees on education as required by the Charter Act of 1813. The ambiguous nature of its proposals also prompted the Company to interpret the clauses in their own way and they preferred to use the grant to (a) grant gratuities to Indian pundits and (b) encourage Englishmen to study oriental languages and literature. In 1815 the then Governor-General Lord Moira agreed to spend a large sum for the establishment and maintenance of institutions of higher oriental studies. Political preoccupations and military campaigns kept the Govt. engrossed at this time and little was done to implement the Charter clauses before 1823. Between 1823 and 1833 (when the educational grant was increased from one lakh to ten lakhs of rupees per annum) however, the work of organizing a state system of education was carried on simultaneously in all the three Presidencies.

In 1823 a **General Committee of Public Instruction** was appointed for the Bengal Presidency to dispose of the annual grant. The Committee mostly consisted of persons who greatly admired Sanskrit and Arabic literature and therefore they decided to encourage Oriental learning. But already a new attitude was forming. When the Committee proposed to found a new Sanskrit College in Calcutta in 1824, Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, on 11 December 1823 urging against the Sanskrit system of education and recommended the use of English in India. No heed was paid to Roy's appeal and the plan for establishing the Sanskrit College in Calcutta was carried out. Meanwhile the Bombay Presidency had been created in 1818 out of the conquered territories of the Peshwa and in 1821 the Poona Sanskrit College had also been established. But the winds of change had begun to blow and the growing desire for English education among Indians was becoming quite evident. At this point in time, there were three options available as the medium of instruction : (a) classical languages (Sanskrit and Arabic), (b) Indian 'vernacular' languages (Bengali, Tamil, Hindi etc.) and (c) English. The first option was the choice of older officials of the Company in the tradition of Warren Hastings and Minto. The second option was the choice of men like Munro and Elphinstone who believed that encouraging education through the medium of modern Indian languages was the only way to reach the masses. The third option was favoured by Anglicists like Macaulay who drew support from a few enlightened Indians like Ram Mohan Roy. While the English-supporting group was mainly in Bengal, across the country, in Bombay, the regional language found favour as the medium of instruction. In Madras, the Directors had advised concentration on English Education as early as 1830. Though the Committee did take some steps to meet the growing demand

for English (English classes were attached to the College at Agra and the Calcutta Madrasah and District English Schools were established in Delhi and Benaras), the Oriental-Anglicist controversy reached such heights that it led to a split in the Committee itself.

1.3.2. The English Education Act (1835) and Official Educational Policy (1833-1853)

When Macaulay came to India in 1834 as the newly appointed legal adviser to the Supreme Council of India, the battle between the old and the new was already in full swing. The people desired education and being unable to get it from the Company, quenched their thirst in the missionary schools. The General Committee of Public Instruction could not resolve the dispute and the matter was placed before the Executive Council of which Macaulay was a member. In his famous **Minute (2 February 1835)** regarding the new educational policy, referring to Section 43 of the Charter Act (1813), Macaulay unequivocally stated that "literature" could only be interpreted to mean English literature and that "a learned native of India" could also refer to a person well versed in Milton and Locke. Macaulay dismissed the regional languages as being "poor and rude" and lacking in any literature or scientific information whatsoever. All the wealth of Indian and Arabic literature, he said, could not equal that which was contained in "a single shelf of a good European library". Western learning alone could reawaken and morally regenerate the Indians. As regards medium of instruction, he felt English 'stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West' and accordingly recommended English as the language "best worth knowing" and "most useful to our native subjects". At the same time Macaulay recommended a policy of restricted educational facilities. "It is impossible for us with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population". (Macaulay in Agarwal 1983 : 11).

Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General of India, 1828- 35) immediately accepted Macaulay's recommendations and the **English Education Act** was passed in 1835. It clearly stated that the objective of state aid to education would be to promote the study of English literature and sciences and henceforth all funds would be devoted to the spread of English education. Bentinck did not, however, go so far as to abolish any institution of Oriental learning, but stopped all future stipends to students. This was the **second major policy decision of the Government regarding education**, the first having been taken in 1813 by introducing state interest in education. The landmark resolution of 1835 meant that state resources would patronize only Western education through English medium. This firmly established the beginning of the process of producing English-knowing bilinguals in India.

Incidentally, Lord Bentinck had commissioned Rev. William Adam in 1835 to report on the state of the indigenous education in India at that time. Unfortunately, Bentinck did not even wait for Adam to submit his reports before concurring so precipitately with Macaulay. Bentinck was succeeded by Lord Auckland (Governor-General of India, 1836 - 42) who further strengthened the official mandate in favour of English by making English the language of the law courts.

Macaulay did succeed in creating an 'interpreter' class of Indians who were given a 'good' English education by the Company. It was expected that these educated persons would educate the masses through the modern Indian languages in what is known as the **Downward Filtration Theory**. Unfortunately, the theory did not quite work out as expected as almost every person educated in English schools got employment under Government. Lord Hardinge (Governor-General of India, 1844 - 48) strengthened this tendency through his **Proclamation in 1844** whereby he decided to offer employment only to those who were trained in English. Ultimately however the theory *did* work out in the desired way, but these results were slow in coming and did not become very conspicuous till the early years of the twentieth century.

1.3.3. Missionary Educational Enterprise (1813-1853)

Missionary enterprise in education got a fresh impetus after the Charter Act of 1813. Prior to 1813, the missionaries had worked mainly in the field of primary education through the modern Indian languages, but after 1813 although they did not withdraw from primary education, their attention was gradually shifted to secondary and higher education. English was consciously adopted as the medium.

At this time the missionaries did extremely valuable pioneer work in the field of women's education by opening day schools for Indian girls and arranging for domestic instruction in the families of the middle and upper classes. Rev. May's Girl's School at Chinsurah began this movement for women's education. William Carey founded a girls' school at Serampore the following year and others soon followed. Such schools were established in Madras, Benaras, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Bareilly. etc. By 1853 a strong foundation for women's education in India had already been laid.

All this while, the missionary activities in India were principally conducted by the missions based in the United Kingdom. But the Charter Act of 1833 brought missions from other countries as well. Prominent among them were the German and American missions who did considerable missionary work in India. The missionaries had by this time started focusing on schools and colleges teaching through English. Boys and girls from upper classes crowded to these institutions to learn English and thus gave the missionaries an excellent opportunity to preach the Gospel to them. A lead in this direction was given by Alexander Duff, the Scottish missionary who ran the General Assembly Institution in Calcutta from 1830 to 1843. Duff's faith in the potential power of English education to secure converts soon inspired many other missionaries to conduct English schools. So much so that the quarter century, 1830-57, can perhaps be called the **age of the mission school**. Between 1839 and 1853 the missionaries set up colleges in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, Nagpur, Masulipatam etc.

During this period the relations between the Company officials and the missionaries were very cordial. The mission schools with their insistence on Bible-teaching and secular schools conducted by the Company grew up independent of each other. It soon became apparent that the Company-run schools would provide serious competition to the mission schools. So some of the missionaries started criticizing the Company's schools as "godless" or "heathen". They were of the view that the sole purpose of English education was to convert the Hindus into 'good' Christians. Thus a conflict developed between denominational western education and secular western education.

1.3.4. Private Enterprise in Education (1813-1853)

The missionaries' was not the only non-official enterprise in education in India during this period. A pioneer British gentleman who tried to build up a new educational system for India was a retired watchmaker and jeweller from Calcutta, David Hare (1775-1842). He was no scholar, but was keenly interested in the spread of education. Like the missionaries, he believed that a knowledge of the English language and literature was essential for the regeneration of the Hindu society; but being a secularist he could not support their views on the subject of religious instruction. Hare established a junior school at Pataldanga, which subsequently came to be known as Hare School. Meanwhile, the Calcutta School Book Society was formed in 1817 to produce and distribute textbooks. The Calcutta School Society (1819) started to establish English and Bengali schools and by 1821 the number of schools run by it was 115. In Madras also a School Society was formed. In Calcutta a few Indian and European gentlemen got together to establish the Hindu Vidyalaya or College (Naik and Nurullah, 1995 : 122) in 1817. Hare became associated with it in 1819 and thereafter worked zealously to make this attempt at imparting secular Western collegiate education a success. The Vidyalaya was later handed over to the Company due to financial difficulties and was renamed the Presidency College in 1854.

Mention must also be made in the context of the private educational enterprise of J.E.D. Bethune (1801-51) who was a Law-member of the Executive Council and the President of the Council of Education (1848-1851). He was keen on educating women but as the Company's official stand was contrary to it, he decided to establish a secular school for girls in his own individual capacity. Instruction was to be given in Bengali but English was offered as an option.

1.3.5. Wood's Despatch (1854)

By the time the Company's Charter came up for renewal in 1853; it was found that a comprehensive survey of the whole field of education in India was indispensable. Many of the old controversies still needed to be resolved even as new problems such as the need to establish a complete system of education were becoming apparent. A Select Committee of the House of Commons held a thorough enquiry into educational developments in India and on the basis of this the Court of Directors sent their **Educational Despatch on 19 July 1854**. This is perhaps the most important educational document under the Company and is even referred to sometimes as the Magna Charta of English Education in India. The Despatch became famous as Wood's Despatch of 1854 after the name of Charles Wood, President of the Company's Board of Control.

As far as English education is concerned, Wood's Despatch was significant in that English was to remain the medium only of higher branches of instruction and particularly of the new Universities the Despatch envisaged. For mass education purposes, the vernacular languages were to be preferred. The content of instruction, however, would still be the 'superior' European knowledge : "We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge ... (Wood 1854, from Agarwal, 1983 : 16). Wood's Despatch was thus responsible for creating a vertical split in Indian society: upper class elite associated with English and lower classes associated with 'vernacular' languages - a situation that has unfortunately continued till date.

1.4. Consolidation of English Education in India (1855-1904)

The fifty years or so following the Wood Despatch (1854) was a period of consolidation not only for the British Empire in India, but also for western education in modern India. The Despatch set the general tone for the educational policies of this period and its recommendations continued to be broadly followed until the early years of the 20th century when Lord Curzon (Viceroy of India, 1899-05) initiated another new era in Indian education. The most significant aspect of the Despatch was that it removed the obstacles to English education and created the scope for its expansion. Indeed the influence of University education firmly established by the Despatch still holds sway. The mother tongue was accorded recognition in the Despatch, but the monopoly of English in the universities created a pressure on the secondary schools to anglicize themselves. A gulf appeared between primary education in the vernacular languages on the one hand and secondary education on the other, which was long to remain mainly in English.

In consequence of the Despatch, Departments of Public Instruction were established in the Provinces in 1855 - 56 and a Central Committee was appointed in 1855 to plan the universities. In 1857 the first three Indian Universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras came into existence by the Acts of Incorporation of the Central Executive Council. This was also the time when the Govt. set up Presidency Colleges in the provinces. In Calcutta the senior of the Hindu College was merged into the Presidency College established in 1855 by Lord Dalhousie (Governor-General of India, 1848 - 56). The Madras Presidency College was established in 1857. In Bombay the Elphinstone College was set up in 1856.

Before any further action could be taken on the recommendations of the Despatch, there occurred the Mutiny of 1857, and subsequently in 1858 the East India Company ceased to be a political power and the Government of India came directly under the Crown. Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, confirmed most of the directives of the Despatch of 1854 in his Despatch of 1859.

Two of the important recommendations made by Wood related to grants-in-aid to missionary institutions and the spread of primary education/popular education among the masses. The events of 1857 however, prompted the Queen to declare in her Proclamation of 1858 a policy of strict neutrality in religious matters. As a result the Govt. was extremely unsympathetic to mission schools between 1858 and 1882 and this led the missionaries to conduct an agitation in England about the educational system of India not being conducted in accordance with the Despatch of 1854. On the other hand, although the Despatch had announced a policy of patronage to primary education, nothing substantial was immediately done. Available resources were mostly spent on secondary education in the towns, to the neglect of primary, vocational, rural and indigenous education. Meanwhile private Indian enterprise in education had increased enormously and the Govt. had to face the growing national consciousness of the educated Indians. The govt. sensed danger and Lord Ripon (Viceroy of India, 1880-84, felt obliged to appoint the first **Indian Education Commission (1882-83)** to make a thorough survey of the field of primary and secondary Indian education and to "inquire particularly into the manner in which effect has been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854".

1.4.1. Report of the Indian Education Commission (1882-83)

The Indian Education Commission, also known as Hunter Commission after the name of its President, Sir William W. Hunter, submitted its recommendations on primary and secondary education in 1883. It unanimously rejected governmental withdrawal from education and strongly endorsed secular education in government institutions. It recommended that priority be given to primary education and the responsibility for this would be taken up by the Local Self-Govt. bodies. Moreover, it recognized the vitality of and need for indigenous institutions and their languages. As far as the missionary representation was concerned, the opinion of the Commission went against them. It decided that missionary educational enterprise would have to occupy a secondary position in Indian education and Govt. would not withdraw in favour of missionary managements. All hopes the missionaries might have nurtured of gaining ascendancy in the educational sphere in India were extinguished and thereafter the missionaries concentrated on running efficiently a few educational institutions only. Till 1882 missionary institutions had dominated the private educational effort in India but gradually they were overtaken by private Indian enterprise in education.

There was also a growth of Universities during this period. By 1902 there were 5 universities in India. In addition to the 3 earlier ones (1857), Punjab University (1882) and Allahabad University (1887) were established by special Acts of Incorporation. It is worthwhile to note that all the 5 universities were merely affiliating and examining bodies and did no direct teaching work themselves.

1.4.2. Implications for English Education

The post-1854 era was one of rapid multiplication of secondary schools that mostly catered to the growing demand for English education. The Commission recommended that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction at the primary stage. There was an option of either English or mother tongue at the Middle School level, but nothing explicit was said about the secondary stage. Naturally, English continued to be the medium linked as it was with the predominance of English at the collegiate level. In Bombay and Bengal there were some medical schools where instruction was given through the modern Indian languages but these experiments in teaching through the mother tongue were discontinued by about 1880 in favour of medical degree courses conducted in English. Since the Hunter Commission focused mainly on primary and secondary education and English was the preferred medium at the latter stage, it would perhaps help to discuss briefly what the implications of English education were at this time. Firstly, there was a definite bias in favour of English education at the secondary level geared as it was to University education in English. At the high school stage, English was invariably used as the medium of instruction. Secondly, the study of English as a language was often begun when the pupil was not properly grounded in his own mother tongue. Moreover, English was taught as a *subject* (at the lower secondary level) *before* it was used as a *medium of instruction* and the period of its study as a subject was too short to give the pupil mastery over the language, which is essential for its successful use as a medium of instruction. The Indian Education Commission did not make any definite statement favouring the dominance of either English or the modern Indian languages. Consequently, the dominance of English in the secondary course continued unabated and indeed the teaching of *English* and not *European* knowledge as such, became the prime object

of the secondary course. Even a cursory examination of ELT in India will reveal that remnants of some of these problems linger even today.

1.4.3. Lord Curzon and English Education in India (1898-1904)

No account of education in modern India would be complete without acknowledging Curzon's considerable contributions in this sphere. As soon as he came to India in 1899, Curzon moved swiftly to introduce long overdue changes in Indian education. It was found that there had been an unbalanced development in education : teaching and research was greatly lacking at the highest levels. Curzon felt that maximum attention needed to be directed to university reform and so he appointed in 1902 the **Indian Universities Commission** to examine the condition and prospects of Indian universities and suggest ways of improvement. The Commission gave a number of recommendations aimed at achieving a qualitative improvement in university administration. It also recommended the assumption of teaching functions by the Universities. Curricula and standards of teaching (*particularly English*) were to be improved and examinations reformed. In pursuance of these recommendations, the **Indian Universities Act (1904)** was passed which determined territorial jurisdictions of each university, reformed university administration and most importantly, gave veto power to the Govt. regarding decisions taken by the Senates of Universities. The last provision ensured tight state control over university and college administration.

After dealing with the Universities, Curzon turned his attention to secondary education. The rapid expansion of secondary education after 1882 had undoubtedly led to a quantitative progression but there was likewise a qualitative regression, too. Curzon adopted some positive measures enunciated in the form of a **Government Resolution on Educational Policy in 1904** where he clearly reiterated that the mother tongue of the pupil should be used as the medium of instruction both at the primary and middle stages and English should not take the place of the mother tongue. English should have **no** place in primary education at all, but **some** mastery over English at the middle stage was necessary so that the pupil could cope better in the High School stage where English was the **medium of instruction**. He encouraged the study of the vernacular throughout the secondary course and the application of the Direct Method in the teaching of English.

1.5. The Final Phase of Education under British Rule (1905-1947)

From the end of the 19th century Indian enterprise in education had been developing a nationalist slant which gradually gained prominence in the final phase of education in British India. This was indeed the beginning of the nationalization of Indian education. The need to give more attention to primary education had been emphasized since the time of the Hunter Commission (1883), but it was Gopal Krishna Gokhale who first tabled his famous Bill on *compulsory* Primary Education in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1910. This motion was rejected in 1912, but the Govt. could not totally ignore the claims of primary education and passed the **Government Resolution on Educational Policy in 1913** endorsing increased Govt. responsibility for the expansion of primary education.

Meanwhile the resolutions passed at the Calcutta convention of the Indian National Congress in 1906 began what is now known as the **National Education Movement (1905-1938)**. The resolutions clearly mentioned that education through the mother

tongue was all-important. As a consequence of this growing trend, the National Council of Education was established in 1906 and it gave a clear directive that education would be imparted ordinarily through the medium of the vernacular with English as a compulsory subject. The demand for Indian control of education became persistent. The conflict was most pronounced in higher education. Several new universities, some with an indigenous bias, were set up during this period—Mysore University (1916), Benaras Hindu University (1917), Patna University (1917), Osmania University (1918), Aligarh University (1920), Poona S.N.D.T. (1920), Dacca University (1920) and Lucknow University (1920).

With this rapid expansion in higher education, it soon became time for another stocktaking, and so the **Calcutta University Commission** was instituted in 1917 to report on the situation. This is also known as the **Sadler Commission (1917-1919)** after its President, Dr. Micheal E. Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, England. The Commission recommended that intermediate classes should be separated from universities and a curriculum spreading over three years was prescribed for the B.A. degree. It also said that the mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction in intermediate colleges and efforts should be made to promote the study of vernaculars in secondary schools, intermediate colleges and universities.

Despite the expansion of education in the vernacular medium, the undue importance attached to the study of English at the turn of the century, continued during this period and various means were employed to improve the teaching of English. Newer methods of teaching like the Direct Method were introduced and as far as possible only trained teachers were appointed to teach English. In the lower standards the most competent teachers available in the school were entrusted with the teaching of English, and special attention was paid to what textbooks were prescribed. The minimum pass marks were raised and the examination standards were made more stringent. Whether all these measures made any tangible difference in the quality of English is, however, debatable. In consonance with Curzon's policy, vernacular languages were used as the media of instruction in the lower secondary schools and by 1921-22 this was also true for the middle school stage. But the question of retention or abolition of English as the medium of instruction at the high school stage was again left undecided.

A Royal Commission presided over by Sir John Simon was appointed in 1927 to enquire into different issues including education. The Commission appointed an **Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission** (popularly known as the **Hartog Committee**, after its Chairman, Sir Philip Hartog) to enquire into all aspects of the organization of education in India. The Committee submitted its report in 1929 recommending the consolidation and improvement of education rather than indiscriminate expansion and gave particular emphasis to primary education. It deplored the low standard of English at the higher education level.

The next important educational document of this period was the **Abbot-Wood Report (1936-37)**, which recommended technical education as an integral part of education. It also said that if English was taught to any children of middle school age it should not be allowed to result in an excessive amount of linguistic load. The mother tongue should, as far as possible, be the medium of instruction throughout the high school stage, but English should be a compulsory language for all pupils at this stage. The teaching of English should be made more realistic.

Thus by 1937 modern Indian languages had been adopted as media of instruction on quite a large scale. Nevertheless, the use of English as a medium of instruction was not completely abandoned for reasons like : (a) the secondary course was still viewed as an appendage of the university course and the use of English as a medium of instruction at the university level dictated similar use at the secondary level also; (b) Government Competitive Examinations were still conducted in English and proficiency in that language ensured a greater chance of success in such examinations; (c) lack of terminology, textbooks etc. were still shown as excuses to retain the use of English, and so on.

The case for the mother tongue as the medium of instruction was considerably strengthened by the announcement of the **Basic Education Scheme by Mahatma Gandhi in 1937**. Gandhi categorically stated that the medium of instruction had to be the mother tongue. Likewise, Rabindranath Tagore also rejected the manner and content of English education at his experimental school set up at Santiniketan in 1901. The **Zakir Hussain Committee Report (1938)** was prepared largely under the influence of Gandhi and it said that "the proper teaching of the mother tongue is the foundation of all education."

The last major educational document of the British period was the **Post-War Plan of Educational Development (1944)**, also known as the **Sargent Report** after John Sargent the then Educational Adviser to the Government of India. The object of this plan was to create in a span of 40 years, the same standard of education as was present in England. The Report focused on universal, compulsory and free Basic (Primary and Middle) Education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14. It reiterated earlier views endorsing the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. It also suggested that English be not introduced as an optional subject in basic schools. High Schools, it suggested, should be of two types : (i) academic and (ii) Technical and the medium of instruction in *all* High Schools should be the mother tongue. English should be a compulsory second language. The Sargent Report also made a thorough survey of University, Technical & Vocational, Adult Education and teacher training and presented a comprehensive plan for the complete educational reconstruction of India. But hardly had the first steps been taken for the implementation of this plan by the Government, when the British period came to an end with India becoming independent on 15th August 1947.

1.6. Let Us Sum Up

In this unit, we have presented the historical development of teaching English in British India. The first attempts were made by the missionaries who contributed immensely to the establishment of the modern Indian educational system. During its early years the East India Company was rather reluctant to take the responsibility of educating Indians. After it gained political power however, it became administratively expedient for the British to take a more active interest in Indian education. Gradually, western education with English as the medium of instruction became very widespread. Towards the end of the 19th century there grew a demand for education in the vernacular medium and by 1940 this became the norm in most primary and secondary schools with English being taught as a compulsory subject. The English bias at the University level, however, continued and would be addressed properly only in independent India.

1.7. Glossary

Diarchy : Literally, 'the rule of the two'. The British introduced diarchy in India by the Government of India Act, 1919, whereby the sphere of activities of a Provincial Government was divided into two parts – the reserved departments and the *transferred* departments. Education was one of the 'transferred' departments.

Magna Charta : [Latin] Literally, 'the Great Charter'. Historically the Great Charter of liberties was signed by King John in 1215 and hence any basic principle or document, especially one conferring or implying liberty. Sometimes also spelt as Magna Carta.

Proselytise : to try to persuade others to accept one's own beliefs, religion etc.

1.8. Questions

1. Discuss the contribution of the missionaries to the spread of English education in India.
2. Trace the development of English education in India from 1800–1900.
3. How did the relationship of English with the vernacular languages change in British India and what was its position in the educational system?
4. Would you say that the Minute submitted by T. B. Macaulay in 1835 was a turning point for English education in India? Discuss.
5. What changes in the educational system were effected in consequence of the Wood's Despatch of 1854?
6. Write short answers on :
 - Significance of the educational clauses of the Charter Act, 1813
 - Importance of the English Education Act, 1835
 - The Anglicist - Orientalist controversy and its impact on English education
 - Grant's observations and its effect on English education in India
 - Role of Rammohan Roy in growth of English education.

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Unit 2 □ English Education in Independent India (1947-1966)

Structures

- 2.0 Objectives
 - 2.1 Introduction
 - 2.2 University Education Commission (1948-1949)
 - 2.2.1 Radhakrishnan Commission's Recommendations on Medium of Instruction and Role of English
 - 2.3 Secondary Education Commission (1952-1953)
 - 2.3.1 Recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission
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Education Commission (1964-1966)
 - 2.4.1 Recommendations of the Kothari Commission
 - 2.5 Status of English in India (1947-1966)
 - The Official Language Question
 - Initiation of the Three-Language Formula
 - 2.6 Trends in English Language Teaching and Training (1947-1966)
 - 2.7 Let Us Sum Up
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-

2.0. Objectives

This unit presents a detailed analysis of the developments in the field of English education in the two decades after Independence. We will examine the recommendations of the three major educational commissions of this period with reference to the position and teaching of English and will relate these enquiries to the position of English in the larger national mainstream.

2.1. Introduction

You will remember from the last unit that one of the major aspects of English education in India is its use as medium of instruction. As far as school education was concerned, this had been more or less resolved in favour of regional languages, but the related issue of when to begin the teaching of English was still being debated. In the post-Independence period we find that the major issues in languages education were :

- How many languages;
- Which languages; and
- When to start each.

The various educational commissions constituted during this period tried to grapple with and find acceptable solutions to these issues.

2.2-2.4 will discuss the recommendations of the three major commissions of this period : the Radhakrishnan Commission, Mudaliar Commission and Kothari Commission. 2.5 chronologically traces the events and developments in the intervening years between the constitution of each Commission. You may therefore find it helpful to intersperse the relevant portion of 2.5 as you read about each Commission. This will give you a better understanding of the sequence of events during the period under discussion. The appendix to this unit also gives a chronological summary of the significant events of these two decades. For a more detailed delineation of the subject you may refer to the books listed in the bibliography given at the end of this unit. Also note that the abbreviation MT represents the 'Mother-tongue'.

2.2. University Education Commission (1948-1949)

The first education commission to be appointed in independent India was the University Education Commission, also called the Radhakrishnan Commission after its Chairman, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. The commission was set up in 1948 and submitted its report in 1949. The decision to give attention to the tertiary level first was taken because it was realized that a reconstruction of university education would provide the basis for the scientific, technical and socio-economic development of the country. The Radhakrishnan Commission Report presents an in-depth evaluation and plan for Indian education. It made several valuable recommendations regarding the expansion of higher education, the need to emphasize on research and the formation of the University Grants Commission. However, not all its formulations were clear-cut and easily understandable. For example, on the subject of women's education, the Commission rather vaguely suggested, "Women students in general should be helped to see their normal place in a normal society, both as citizens and as women, and to prepare for it. College programmes should be so designed that it will be possible for them to do so" (Agarwal : 87). A similar ambiguity can be noticed in its recommendations regarding the medium of instruction.

2.2.1. Radhakrishnan Commission's recommendations on Medium of Instruction and the Role of English

The University Education Commission examined the sensitive issue of the medium of instruction in great detail and made the following recommendations :

- The federal language be developed through the assimilation of words from different sources.
- For the medium of instruction for higher education English be replaced as early as practicable by an Indian language which cannot be Sanskrit on account of vital difficulties. (Agarwal: 86).
- The regional language should be the medium of instruction at the higher level.
- International technical and scientific terminology be adopted with appropriate Indianization of pronunciation and spelling and uniform technical and scientific terms should be used in all the Indian languages.
- The Devanagari script be adopted with necessary modifications.
- Pupils at the higher secondary and university stages be made conversant with three languages—the regional language, the federal language and English (in order to acquire the ability to read books in English). [Naik and Nurulfi, 434]

- English be studied in high school and in the universities in order that we keep ourselves in touch with the living stream of ever-growing knowledge. (Naik and Nurullah : 434)

As far as the role of English was concerned, the Report says :

Now it is true that the English language has been one of the potent factors in the development of unity in the country. In fact, the concept of 'nationality' and the sentiment of nationalism are largely the gifts of the English language and literature to India.

....English has become so much a part of our national habit that a plunge into an altogether different system seems attended with unusual risks. It appears to us, however, that the plunge is inevitable. English cannot continue to occupy the place of state language as in the past. The use of English as such divides the people into two nations, the few who govern and the many who are governed, the one unable to talk the language of the other, and mutually uncomprehending. This is the negation of democracy. (Radhakrishnan : 316 in Kachru : 91).

Ultimately it concludes, "English would disappear from the scene" (Radhakrishnan : 325).

Again, when it considers what the future role of English might be, the Report equally emphatically avers that English "must continue to be studied" (Ibid) and taking our *Yugadharma* into account, recommends "that English be studied in High Schools and in the universities" (Ibid : 326) and that no university student should be allowed to take a degree "unless he acquires the ability to read English fluently and with comprehension." (Ibid : 325).

Thus, we can see that on the subject of choice of medium of instruction and the role of English the Report's opinions and recommendations seem to swing between extremes. On the one hand it wants to replace English as soon as possible at the higher education level and on the other insists that English should continue to be studied in high schools and universities. It says that pupils at the higher secondary and university stages should be aware of three languages - regional, federal and English, but does not consider the unequal language learning loads this might foster in different parts of the country. Obviously the load would be much less in universities where the regional language is the same as the federal language.

As per the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission, the transition from English to the regional languages was to be made within a period of five years. But by and large the universities failed to respond. In 1962, no more than four Indian universities were using languages other than English as the chief media of instruction.

2.3. Secondary Education Commission (1952-1953)

The Radhakrishnan Commission had focused mainly on university education though it did make some remarks on the secondary level as well. The Tarachand Committee (1948-49) had also made several recommendations on the organization and duration of secondary education. But a comprehensive all-India inquiry into the state of secondary education had not been taken up since 1881-82. Therefore the secondary Education Commission, more commonly known as the Mudaliar Commission after its Chairman Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, was appointed in 1952 and it presented its report in 1953.

2.3.1. Recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission

The Mudaliar Commission made important and extensive recommendations regarding the structural pattern and curriculum for the secondary level. The suggested curriculum would include English and the MT at the **lower secondary** stage in addition to other compulsory subjects. At the **higher secondary** stage, the compulsory 'core' subjects would include (a) the MT or regional language and (b) two more elective languages including English, in addition to other subjects.

The Report also made valuable recommendations on **teaching methodology** and the **examination system**, which though applicable to all subjects, has particular relevance for the study of English. On methods the Commission insisted that :

The emphasis in teaching should shift from verbalism and memorizations to learning through purposeful, concrete and realistic situations and for this purpose the principles of 'Activity Method' and 'Project Method' should be assimilated in school practice ...A well-thought out attempt should be made to adopt methods of instruction to the needs of individual students as much as possible so that dull, average and bright students may all have a chance to progress at their own pace. (Agarwal : 115-6).

On the matter of **textbooks** for languages the Commission recommended that 'definite textbooks should be prescribed for each class to ensure proper gradation.' (Agarwal : 115).

The Mudaliar Commission recommended a **three-language formula** for **secondary education** i.e. (i) MT (or the Regional Language), (ii) English and (iii) Hindi. A classical language might also be taken on an elective basis. As far as the language curriculum was concerned, the Commission mentioned that the following five distinct groups of languages had to be taken into consideration for inclusion in any curriculum :

- (a) the MT
- (b) the regional language
- (c) the official language of the Centre
- (d) the classical language
- (e) English

For those whose MT is Hindi it was suggested to learn another language.

For the **high and higher secondary stages** it recommended only **two languages** - (i) the MT or the regional language, (ii) one of the following options: Hindi, Elementary English, Advanced English, a modern Indian language (other than Hindi), a modern foreign language (other than English) or a classical language.

The Commission further observed that "in those areas where the MT and the regional language are the same, the number of languages to be taken into consideration will be limited to four and in those areas where the regional language, the MT and the language of the Union are the same, the number of languages to be taken into consideration will be limited to three." (Mudaliar: 58).

This formula was in general terms applied with slight amendments in different States. In West Bengal, for example, the formula became (i) MT all through the school stage, (ii) English from class V all through, (iii) Hindi at the Junior Secondary stage only, and (iv) Sanskrit (compulsorily) in the two upper grades of junior secondary education.

The report of the Mudaliar Commission was, in the main, accepted by the Govt. of India and the new scheme was launched in 1956 and continued till the Kothari Commission Report (1964-66) was implemented.

2.4. Educational and National Development – Education Commission (1964-1966)

The Education Commission appointed in 1964 is more popularly known as the Kothari commission after its Chairman, Dr. D. S. Kothari, an eminent Indian scientist and educationist. The Radhakrishnan Commission had mainly focused on University education while the Mudaliar Commission focused on the secondary level. But the terms of reference of this Commission were, for the first time, comprehensive. It dealt with all aspects and sectors of education and was required to advise the Government on the evolution of a national system of education for the country. The Commission submitted its report in June 1966.

2.4.1. Recommendations of the Kothari Commission

The Kothari Commission extensively examined the knotty issue of languages in education and recommended a modified version of the three-language policy. The general recommendations it made regarding languages are summed up below :

- All modern Indian languages should be developed and used as media of instruction at the university stage and as the languages of administration in the States concerned.
- Hindi should be developed as the *lingua franca* for the country as a whole for purposes of internal communication, and as the official language of the Union.
- English should continue to be studied as the most important library language and as a channel of international communication.
- Side by side, the study of other library languages like Russian, German, French, Chinese or Japanese, should also be encouraged.

It also recommended that the three-language formula be adopted in a modified form :

- At the **lower primary stage** one language be studied compulsorily - the MT or the regional language, at the option of the pupil, and the medium of instruction should be the MT.
- At the **higher primary stage** only two languages should be studied on a compulsory basis: (1) the MT or the regional language and (2) the official (Hindi) or the associate official (English) language of the Union.
- At the **lower secondary stage** a study of three languages should be obligatory; in non-Hindi areas these would be the regional language, Hindi and English, and in Hindi areas the pupils would study - Hindi, English and a modern Indian language.
- At the **higher secondary stage**, only two of the above 3 languages would be compulsory. However the students could study one or more additional languages on an optional basis.
- No language would be compulsory at the **university stage**.

The Commission took note of the language riots in Tamil Nadu, but still recommended that both Hindi and English should be link languages of the country which function

as instruments of national and social integration. The Commission also felt "English will continue to enjoy a high status as long as it remains the principal medium of education at the university stage (indeed it recommended that English should be the medium of instruction in all major universities)", and the language of administration at the Centre and in many of the States. Even after the regional languages become media in higher education in the universities, a working knowledge of English will be a valuable asset for all students and a reasonable proficiency in the language will be necessary for those who proceed to the university." (Kothari : 192)

The Commission made some recommendations specifically with regard to English :

- Teaching of English should begin in Class V and not in Class III.
- Endorsement of the use of the structural approach for teaching English.
- Special units should be set up for teaching English as a language skill, as distinct from teaching it as literature.

The findings and recommendations of the Kothari Commission provided the basis for the formulation of the National Policy on Education in 1968, about which you will find more details in the next unit.

2.5. Status of English In India (1947–1966)

- The Official Language Question
- Initiation of the Three-language Formula

The enquiries and recommendations of all these commissions were not occasional attempts made to address the educational problems of India. As far as the recommendations regarding languages in general and the position of English in particular were concerned, several committees and commissions had submitted their reports and the issue was even debated in the Parliament. The history of English Education in India in the post- Independent period is closely linked to the position of English in the broader mainstream of national life and this section will therefore present the events and issues that shaped the status of English during the period under review.

Immediately after Independence, there was a haste to usher out English because of its colonial associations. The Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad, the first Minister of Education in free India, both favoured the early replacement of English by an Indian language particularly for purposes of instruction. But it was not so easy to drastically redefine the role of English in education and indeed in other spheres of activity as well. The debates of The Constituent Assembly held in 1949 clearly indicated the significance of English in India. Many Indians, especially in southern India, resented the imposition of Hindi as a linguistic hegemony symbolic of the supremacy of northern India over other regions.

However, when the Constitution was adopted on 26 January 1950, English was not included in its eighth Schedule, which listed 14 (now 18) Indian languages. According to Article 343(2) of the Indian Constitution, the English language would continue to be used for all official purposes of the Union for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution (i.e. till 26 January 1965). The official language of the Union would be Hindi in Devanagari script

1. parenthetical matter inserted by author

(Article 343[1]). The language to be used in The Supreme Court, all High Courts and for Acts, Bills etc. in the Parliament, however, would be English.

The declaration of Hindi as the official language of India meant that Hindi would have to be taught at an early stage in the school system if Hindi was to ultimately replace English as the official language in India. This presented no difficulties in those areas where Hindi was the MT of the pupils. But it created serious problems for schools in the non-Hindi-speaking areas where special provision had to be made to teach Hindi in addition to the MT and English. There was therefore, an inequality in the **language load** borne by school pupils in the Hindi and non-Hindi regions. This caused dissatisfaction in the non-Hindi states and intensified the opposition to the adoption of Hindi as the official language of India. Concurrently, the move to retain English for official purposes strengthened to such an extent that the Government had to retract the statement in the Constitution.

Before that happened however, there took place several events which are significant for our discussion. The Constitution had in Article 344(1) provided for the constitution of a Commission to examine the progressive use of Hindi for official purposes and the restriction of English for the same. Accordingly the **Officials Language Commission** was appointed by the President of India on 7 June 1955 under the Chairmanship of B.G. Kher. The Commission recorded a verdict in favour of the regional languages as the medium of instruction. But no less than 5 members penned separate notes of dissent. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee felt that to abandon English would be disastrous to academic life in India and M.P. Desai felt the proposal to have Hindi as the medium of instruction for all pupils was nothing less than the promptings of Hindi imperialism. The **Report of the Official Language Commission (1956)** is a monumental document on India's language question, and the future of English in various roles is discussed in detail in it.

The claims of Hindi to be the common medium were felt by many to be paramount. It had a lot going for it—it was spoken and understood by more Indians than any other language, it was an Indian language and it was related to all other Indo-European languages. But the Indians from the non-Hindi regions remained on the whole impervious to the charms of Hindi. By the mid 1950s it was becoming clear that the South, and to a lesser extent the East, were not going to accept Hindi as the national language. This was a turbulent time for the country. The quarrels over State boundaries, exacerbated by linguistic feelings, contributed to English emerging as the only acceptable option. The Government stance, too, slowly started to change. At a **Conference of Professors of English in 1953**, Humayun Kabir, Secretary to the Ministry of Education, reminded the delegates, 'we must not forget that English is a valuable instrument for gaining access to the knowledge of the West - nor must we minimize its importance for international contacts.

All these divergent views were seemingly reconciled by the three-language formula, which was first mooted by the **Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE)** in 1956, after examining the needs of the country and provisions of the Constitution. It recommended that three languages should be taught in the Hindi as well non-Hindi areas at the middle and high school stages.

Meanwhile, in 1955, the University Grants Commission had appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of H.N. Kunzru. The **Kunzru Committee** submitted its report in December 1957. Its important recommendations are summarized in

the **Report of the English Review Committee** (1965 : 39). Some of these recommendations were as follows :

- That the change from English to an Indian language as the medium of instruction at the university stage should not be hastened.
- That even when a change in the medium of instruction is made, English should continue to be studied by all university students.
- That where English is not the medium at any university it is necessary to adopt special methods to secure an adequate knowledge of English as a second language.
- That it is in our educational interest that English should be retained as a properly studied second language in our universities even when an Indian language is used as the ordinary medium of teaching. (as cited in Kachru, 1983 : 91-92).

The recommendations of the Kunzru Committee were presented at a **Conference of English teachers** in 1958 at the Central Institute of English later renamed the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, (CIEFL) in Hyderabad.

Parliamentary debates on the official language issue continued to rage and in 1959 Frank Anthony moved a non-official resolution for the inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. On August 7, 1959, the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, assured the House that "... for an indefinite period ... I would have, English as an associate, additional language which can be used, not because of facilities and all that, but because I do not wish the people of the non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advance are closed to them, because they are forced to correspond ... in the Hindi language. They can correspond in English. So, I would have it as an alternate language as long as people require it and the decision for that, I would leave not to the Hindi-knowing people, but to the non-Hindi-knowing people." (as cited in **The Study of English in India: Report of a Study Group**, 1967 : 262).

Alongside this tug-of-war over the official language, the old controversy about **when to start English** was still going on. The Mudaliar Commission had recommended the teaching to English and the MT at the lower secondary stage and most of the States had already adopted this pattern. But the **Report by the Languages Committee** appointed by the Government of West Bengal (1960) voiced a different opinion:

"We felt that the earlier the foundations of the learning of English were laid, its acquisition would be easier and more fruitful We, therefore, hold that English should begin not later than in Class III" (as cited in Gokak, 1965 : 29-30).

A **Conference of Chief Ministers** was held in 1961 and it recommended the adoption, in a more simplified manner, of the three-language formula proposed by the CIBE in 1956. The Conference recommended that the following languages be taught at the middle and high school stages of education :

- a) The regional language or MT when the latter is different from the regional language;
- b) Hindi or any other Indian language in Hindi-speaking areas;
- c) English or any other modern European language.

Please note that the phrase 'any other Indian languages' in clause (b) made i

possible to teach Sanskrit or Persian in the Hindi-speaking areas as a second language whereas the CASE had made the study of a modern Indian language compulsory in the Hindi-speaking areas.

Most of the States adopted the three-language formula, but in such varied ways, that the desire for uniformity was still a distant dream. In Assam and Orissa for example, the study of Hindi was compulsory only up to Class VIII whereas in Bengal, the study of Hindi actually began from VIII! Madras refused to make the study of Hindi compulsory while in Andhra Pradesh the required percentage of marks for a pass was so low (15%) that the attainment in Hindi was far from impressive. As for the Hindi-speaking areas, the three-language formula was honoured more in the breach than in the observance, with hardly any schools in Hindi areas having provisions for teaching a South Indian language. Most of these schools preferred to teach Urdu or Sanskrit as the third language, thereby defeating the objective of national integration that the three-language formula sought to achieve. It was left to the Kothari Commission to finally devise what it called a "Workable Three-Language Formula."

By this time, it was more or less accepted in all quarters that English was there to stay, and **The Official Languages Act, 1963** confirmed this. Clause 3 of this Act reads as follows :

3. "Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language may, as from the appointed day, continue to be used, in addition to Hindi—

(a) for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used—before that day, and

(b) for the transaction of business in Parliament. (All India Reporter, 1963:46)

This was further reinforced by **The Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967**.

1.6. Trends in English Language Teaching and Training (1947-1966)

From the second decade of the twentieth century, there was a shift in the way English language was taught, with the 'grammar-translation method' giving way to the Direct Method advocated by Henry Sweet, Michael West and others. During this period pre-service training for school-level teaching got more emphasis and there was practically no provision for in-service training. At the college level the situation was worse as no kind of training was even deemed necessary. The pre-service training in the colleges of education did not keep abreast of burgeoning knowledge in the field. So the training offered by them was not adequate as far as English teaching was concerned. A number of **English Language Teaching Institutes (ELTIs)** and **Regional Institutes** were also established for the training of English teachers, but these institutes did not have any clear mandate regarding their role in this.

In 1952 the structural syllabus prepared by the London School was introduced in Madras by the British Council through the **Madras English Language Teaching (MELT) Campaign**. 27,000 primary level teachers of English were trained under this scheme. However, the Campaign was not grounded in local realities and by 1964 the whole scheme fizzled out.

Meanwhile the **first ELTI** was established in 1954 in collaboration with the British Council, once again. In 1957 the **All India Seminar on the Teaching of**

English in Secondary Schools was held in Nagpur where the first move was taken to adopt, on an all India basis, the structural syllabus for the teaching of English in secondary schools. Madras had already accepted such a syllabus. One of the recommendations that the Seminar made was, "that, within a period of six years of the high school course, the pupils should be enabled to attain a working knowledge of English, giving them mastery over about 250 basic structures and a vocabulary of 2500 essential words." (Gokak, 1964 : 69).

The **Central Institute of English** (present-day CIEFL) was established in **Hyderabad** in 1958 under Pandit Nehru's initiative, to train teachers, produce teaching materials and help improve the standards of teaching English in the whole country. The Institute now has two Regional Centres at Shillong and Lucknow. The **Regional Institute of English at Bangalore** was set up in 1963, with a second one in Chandigarh. A number of ELTIs came up all over India. The one in West Bengal is called the **Institute of English**, Calcutta and was established in 1963.

In spite of all these measures, English language teaching did not get a very positive impetus in the twenty-odd years after Independence. The absence of proper language planning, which is an absolute necessity in a multilingual country like India, and the lack of coordination between the various agencies—Centre, State, Boards of Education, universities, colleges of education, CIE(FL), RIEs, ELTIs—were the main factors responsible for this.

2.7. Let Us Sum Up

In this unit you have come to know about the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan, Mudaliar and Kothari Commissions with regard to English education. You have also been able to place the recommendations made by these Commissions in the larger context of the status of English in non-academic spheres of activity. As had already been done for the school level, the regional languages were recommended as the media of instruction at the higher education level as well. But despite this resolution we find that not much actual progress took place in this direction in the period under review. The Secondary Commission clearly stated that English should not begin before Class V and also presented in some form, the kernel of the three-language formula. This formula was given a concrete shape in the Kothari Commission Report and this is what is being followed even today. Controversy about the official status of English played a very significant role in national affairs during this period and ultimately legislation was passed in favour of the retention of English.

2.8. Glossary

Lingua franca : [Italian 'Frankish tongue'] a mixed language, resembling a much simplified Italian, hence, any language used for communication between people of different nationalities; a language used over a wide area by people of various races, though not their native tongue.

2.9. Questions

1. Discuss the terms of reference and major recommendations of the
(a) Radhakrishnan Commission

- (b) Mudaliar Commission
 - (c) Kothari Commission
- with respect to English education.
2. How did the three-language formula come into being? Trace its development from initiation to crystallisation.
 3. What is the official role of English according to the Constitution of India? In what way is this official status of English relevant to English education in India?
 4. Write short answers on :
 - Recommendations regarding the medium of instruction at the university level
 - The Report of The Official Language Commission
 - Training schemes for ELT
 - Educational implications of selecting Hindi as the official language

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Appendix

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS FOR THE PERIOD 1947 - 1966

| YEAR | EVENT |
|------|---|
| 1948 | University Education Commission (Radhakrishnan Commission) set up |
| 1949 | Radhakrishnan Commission submits report |
| 1950 | Constitution of India adopted on 26 January; English not included in Eighth Schedule |
| 1952 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondary Education Commission (Mudaliar Commission) was set up • Structural Syllabus introduced in Madras |
| 1953 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mudaliar Commission submits report • Conference of Professors of English |
| 1954 | First ELTI established |
| 1955 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Official Language Commission appointed • Kunzru Committee appointed |
| 1956 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report of the Official Language Commission submitted • CAGE initiates the concept of the three-language formula |
| 1957 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kunzru Committee submits report • All India Seminar on the Teaching of English in Secondary schools held at Nagpur |
| 1958 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Central Institute of English (CIE) established in Hyderabad • Conference of English Teachers at CIE |
| 1959 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frank Anthony moves a non-official resolution to include English in the Eighth Schedule • On August 7 the Prime Minister, J. Nehru, affirms the retention of English as associate (official) language. |
| 1960 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report submitted by the Language Committee appointed by the Govt. of West Bengal |
| 1961 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference of Chief Ministers |
| 1963 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Official Language Act is passed in the Parliament • Regional Institute of English set up in Bangalore • Institute of English, Calcutta, established |
| 1964 | Education Commission (Kothari Commission) appointed |
| 1965 | Kothari Commission submits report |

Unit 3 □ English Education in India from 1967 to the present

Structures

- 3.0 Objectives**
 - 3.1 Introduction**
 - 3.2 Overview of Noted Government Policies and Commission Reports on English Education since 1967**
 - 3.2.1 National Policy on Education and the Programme of Action (1986)**
 - 3.2.2 The Acharya Ramamurti Commission**
 - 3.2.3 Report of the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC)**
 - 3.2.4 Recommendations of the Ashok Mitra Commission**
 - 3.2.5 The Scene in West Bengal : Recommendations of the One-Man Pabitra Sarkar Commission**
 - 3.3 The status of English as a Second Language in India**
 - 3.4 Let us sum up**
 - 3.5 Glossary**
 - 3.6 Questions**
 - 3.7 Bibliography**
-

3.0. Objectives

This Unit will focus on English Education in Post Colonial India since 1967 to make the learners aware of :

- 1) The need for English Education in India.
 - 2) Noted Government Policies and Commissions regarding English Education.
 - 3) The status of English as Second or Foreign language
 - 4) The prospect of English Teaching in India leading on to important issues in ELT in the next unit.
-

3.1. Introduction

The Need For English Education

India is a sociolinguistic giant with varied linguistic/sociocultural/economic situations and backgrounds. Regarding competence in English also there is a wide variety—'a Native Speaker English', 'Indian English or Indians' English' and other such 'marked broken' varieties of English e.g. 'Butler English', 'Cheechee English' and so on.

The background of the learners of English, as well as the teachers—present an equally fascinating but also problematic variety. They range from first generation school goers to children from families that have an impressive library at home. There are urban and rural learners, there are learners from English Medium Schools even conversing in English with their parents at home, and there are learners coming from regional medium with English as one of the subjects.

In recent times there has been a raising awareness regarding English Education- be it Language or Literature. The basic intention of enlightening the Indians to a British language and culture and the Indian sentiment of regarding an English education to be a symbol of eternal slavery has long receded to the background. Now an English Education is viewed more pragmatically as a **window on the world** and as providing Indians the intellectual and conceptual ability with which to evaluate all experience including Colonial and Post-Colonial experience in the modern world.

3.2. Overview of Noted Government Policies and Commission Reports on English Education since 1967

After Independence, there was no attempt to define the goals of an English Education in Post-colonial India, which resulted in an aimless drift; the absence of proper language planning in a multilingual and multicultural country, the lack of political will to implement policies outlined by various Commissions and the lack of co-ordination amongst various educational agencies added to the drift.

English Education however continued in the midst of the drift and reports continued to be written. After the Kothari Commission Report of 1966* the National Policy on Education was formulated in 1968 largely to implement the recommendations of the Kothari Commission. The Policy noted that the regional languages were already in use as medium of instruction at the Primary and Secondary levels and proposed that urgent steps should now be taken to adopt them as media of instruction at the University level too. The Policy also suggested that effort should be made to promote the development of Hindi as a link language, at the same time stating that the study of English deserved to be specially strengthened- to quote lines from the report- "world knowledge is growing at the tremendous pace especially in science and technology, India must not only keep up with this growth but should also make her own significant contributions to it."

[* Kothari Commission Report on the role of English in the early years of schooling]

"We have recommended that its teaching may begin in class V, but we realise that for many pupils, particularly in the rural areas, the study will not commence before class VII" (page 342). In Section 8.47, the Commission refers to the view of the Study Group of English- "the Group has also expressed the view that the policy recently adopted by several states (our note : West Bengal was one of them) is educationally unsound. We agree with this view. We believe that an adequate command of the Mother Tongue should be acquired before the learning of a foreign language like English has begun. Moreover, the effective teaching of English in the lower primary classes where millions of pupils are enrolled requires a very large number of trained teachers who are not available. Even if they were the programme will be a heavy drain on the funds allotted for education. We, therefore, recommend that the study of English as a first language, except on an experimental basis in certain schools, should not begin before class V" (page 343).]

3.2.1. National Policy on Education and the Programme of Action (1986)

The next significant landmark is the National Policy on Education and the Programme of Action (1986). However, the Policy merely reiterates the 1968 National Policy and says : "*The Education Policy of 1968 had examined the question of the*

development of languages in great detail; its essential provisions can hardly be improved upon and are as relevant today as before. The implementation of this part of the 1968 Policy has, however, been uneven. The Policy will be implemented more energetically and purposefully.

The 1986 Policy does not make any mention of medium of instruction in its chapter on Higher Education but says that a major effort will be directed towards the transformation of teaching methods and that *'urgent steps will be taken to protect the system from degradation.'*

One important step that the Programme of Action recommended was the establishment of rural institutions, with the objective of identifying and promoting excellence. The 1968 Report had also proclaimed, *'concomitant with de-linking, and appropriate machinery such as a National Testing Service will be established in appropriate phases to conduct tests on a voluntary basis to determine the suitability of candidates for specific jobs and to pave the way for the emergence of norms of comparable competence across the nation.'* This has been criticised, however, as to creating another form of elitism and to widen social and educational gaps.

3.2.2. The Acharya Ramamurti Commission

The Acharya Ramamurti Commission, appointed to review this 1986 Policy, submitted its report in 1990. It observed, however, that whatever the difficulties or the unevenness in the implementation, the *Three-Language Formula* had *'stood the test of time'* and that it was not *'desirable or prudent to re-open it.'*

About the learning of Hindi and English, the Ramamurti Commission also made the pertinent observation, reiterating a statement made by the Education Commission Report (1964-1966), that the criteria should be, not years of study, but hours of study and even more importantly, levels of attainments. In view of these considerations this Commission suggested that the KHS (Kendriya Hindi Sansthan), CIEFL (Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages) and CIIL (Central Institute of Indian Languages) charged respectively with the development of Hindi, English and modern Indian languages, should come together and, in consultation with CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) and NCERT (National Council of Educational Research and Training) and the State Governments spell out modalities of ensuring uniformity in the matter of acquisition of language competency by the students in the school system. The Ramamurti Commission also stated the need for a fresh linguistic survey of India.

3.2.3. Report of the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC)

One more report with regard to the place of English Education in India is the Report of the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) which was set up by the UGC (University Grants Commission) in 1987 and which submitted its recommendation in 1989. In 'A Note on the New Curriculum', the CDC report on English says that the new Undergraduate curriculum comprises a General English Course and a Special English Course. It adds : "to cater to the heterogeneous tertiary level student population (the range of linguistic competence is extremely varied since students from both English medium and Regional medium schools come together at this level), the General English Course is conceived as comprising different units and modules suited to the different levels of learners. The patterning of the courses is such that students depending on their linguistic competence at the time of admission would not only begin their General

English programme at different levels but also reach different levels at the time of graduation."

After talking about a learner-oriented teaching, the CDC report in English has streamed only the learners on the basis of some test administered and not the teachers! It is well known that not all teachers can teach the gifted, the average and below average students; the 1986 report said that 'methodologies will be developed for evaluation of teacher performance through self-appraisal, through peer groups and also by students.' This was forgotten completely and it was taken for granted that all teachers of English can teach English to the gifted group! The concept of streaming the learners has been applied only to the teaching of English but not to the teaching of other languages or subjects. It is encouraging to note a few words from the CDC report in English: "If Education was to be viewed as an instrument of human resource development, then, it was argued, why an MA programme in English Literature (and that too chiefly British Literature) only. It was felt that we should introduce a multiplicity of MA courses in English such as MA in British Literature, MA in American Literature, MA in Comparative Literature, MA in Creative Writing in English, MA in Modern English Language, MA in English Language Teaching and so on as several universities in Britain and America currently do. While there was a broad agreement on this view it was felt none the less that the time was not yet right for such diversification - chiefly because we do not have the human resources necessary to implement it."

3.2.4. Recommendations of the Ashok Mitra Commission

Keeping in tune with the reports of earlier commissions regarding the teaching of English at different academic levels, we come to the recommendations of the Ashok Mitra Commission. From the recommendations of the Ashok Mitra Commission we have come to learn that an undercurrent of dissatisfaction persisted concerning the state government's decision to discard English at the primary stage in West Bengal. The experience of other states was not considered to be of particular relevance. The problem of West Bengal was special. It was felt that unless students learn English from the, primary stage, the prospect of their being able to hold their own position in competitive examinations and in other spheres at the national level seemed to be bleak. In the circumstances, it was felt that it would be wise to return to the earlier system of teaching English from the primary stage. This, in view of the members of the Commission would be throwing out the baby along with the bath water; because a proper method and proper set of text books had been found wanting (a cause of the dissatisfaction), one could not abandon a cardinal principle of educational policy, but cross over to a new method which would assure greater success. The load of learning for very young children should be light and to re-introduce English at the primary level would aggravate the burden already upon them, for nobody would suggest that English should be put in at the primary stage as substitute for Arithmetic, History or Geography. It should also be kept in mind that children entering the primary schools in the state of West Bengal came from extremely poor households where parents were often without letters and adding English to the curriculum could have an adverse effect on enrolments. One suggestion however before the Commission was that the Government might consider the teaching of English to be optional in the primary schools. But this again would create two classes of pupils pursuing the same curriculum. Therefore, the Commission recommended that the teaching of English in Government and Government aided institutions might commence from Class V where learners

would be introduced to the English alphabet and only learn the meaning of simple words and expressions. Specialists in language teaching should be appointed to recast the textbooks and the method of teaching demanded reviewing and rethinking.

3.2.5. The Scene in West Bengal : Recommendations of the One-Man Pabitra Sarkar Commission

We have thus seen that an English Education in India has aroused a lot of interest, enthusiasm and controversy at the same time. This has resulted in the publication of several reports of different commissions. The most current report is the report of the Pabitra Sarkar Commission. This Commission recommends the teaching of English in West Bengal be started from Class III with the aid of an appropriately devised text. Apart from the continuous evaluation system, which has to be implemented with rigour, no test in English need be taken, nor detention affected on its basis till the end of Class IV, a public test after Class IV may be in vogue. The Commission found the beginning of English from Class I untenable in view of the situation prevailing in rural West Bengal. Most of the children there have a home language, no doubt a dialect of Bengali, which is more or less distant from the school Bengali, i.e. the Standard Colloquial Written Dialect of Bengali they have to learn, to read, write and also speak to an extent. They have therefore to cross a dialect-barrier in order to reach the standard language. For tribal students, it is a language wall that they have to cross. English for many of them is almost a third-language and thus a burden definitely. The Commission also feels that the Government should pay more attention to teacher-training and orientation programmes for effective teaching. In addition to this, measures should be taken to break the compartmentalization that exists between the primary and secondary levels and teachers of both the levels should interact with each other and language-cum-literature education might also be regarded as a single process which will perhaps enrich the teaching-learning process.

3.3. The status of English as a Second Language in India

English as first language is in practice in the Missionary schools in India as well as in purely English Medium schools where English is the medium of instruction. In the early 20th century, there emerged the notion of English as a second language (ESL) and later in the century came to be adopted, often out of practical necessity as the intra-national medium of official and social communication in multilingual societies like India or Singapore. In the changed context of today, the number of users of English as second/foreign language (EFL) has surpassed those for whom English is their mother tongue. English now is supposed to have five main functions in an ESL setting :

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| 1) Instructional | : | As a medium of instruction. |
| 2) Regulative | : | As a language of law and administration. |
| 3) Interpersonal | : | As a means of interpersonal, inter-state communication. |
| 4) Commercial | : | As a language of trade and commerce. |
| 5) Creative | : | As a medium of creative writing in various genres. |

3.4. Let us sum up

It is established that there is a need for an English education in India to keep pace with other countries competing at the international level where English reigns supreme.

We have come across different education policies regarding the teaching of English, we have switched over from syllabus to syllabus, from method to method, from material to material to prove and confirm that an English education is indispensable in the country. We have also tried to define and redefine the status of English as first, second, foreign language to reinforce the idea. But, what is of major consideration is **quality teaching and orientation programmes for teachers** in the perspective of teaching English in the language class or English in the literature class.

3.5. Glossary

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Acquisition | : The process by which a person learns a language |
| Amenable | : Willing to do or accept |
| Autonomous | : Self-governing |
| Assumption | : Imagining something to be true |
| Beneficiary | : One who is helped by something |
| Colossal | : Very large |
| Conformity | : Behaviour, thought, appearance, i.e. the same as that of other people |
| Consolidation | : Bringing together |
| Contemptuous | : Disrespectful |
| Degradation | : A state of disgrace |
| Deployment | : Organizing something for immediate action |
| Divergent | : Different |
| Efficacy | : Force or power |
| Elitism | : Belief of being ruled or influenced by a superior class of people |
| Emergence | : Coming out |
| Envisage | : To imagine something which is likely to happen |
| Evaluation | : Judgement, appraisal, estimation or assessment |
| Feasibility | : Practicability |
| Foreseeable | : Predictable |
| Glean | : To obtain information slowly and with difficulty |
| Gloss | : To deal with something very quickly or to ignore making it seem unimportant |
| Heterogeneous | : Multiple, mixed |
| Influx | : Inflow |
| Learner oriented | : Helping the learner in autonomous learning |
| LSRW | : Listening-Speaking-Reading-Writing |
| Modality | : Condition |
| Obligatory | : Necessary |
| Pedagogical | : Scholastic, instructional, academic |
| Peer group | : Members of the same group at any academic level |
| Pertinent | : Appropriate, relevant, applicable |
| Pragmatically | : Intelligently, reasonably |
| Pursuant | : According to or following something |
| Reiterate | : To restate, re-establish |
| Retrospect | : To considering something afterwards |

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Scepticism | : Doubting state of mind |
| Self-appraisal | : Act of judging your own work |
| Simulation | : Classroom activities, which reproduce real situations |
| Three Language Formula | : The status and study of three different languages in the curriculum |
| Transformational Syntax | : Rules which change a basic syntactic structure into a sentence-like structure |

3.6. Questions

A. Answer in two or three sentences :

- 1) Why is India called a Sociolinguistic Giant?
- 2) Why is there a need for an English education?
- 3) State briefly what you understand by Three-Language Formula.
- 4) What is the main message of the Kothari Commission Report?
- 5) What are the functions of English in an ESL setting?
- 6) What is the most important issue according to you, that should be considered and given attention to in imparting an English education in India?

B. Answer in not more than 150-200 words :

- 1) Write an Essay on :
 - a) The Report of The National Policy on Education 1986.
 - b) The Acharya Ramamurti Commission Report.
 - c) The Recommendations of The Education Commission 1992.
 - d) The Recommendations of the Pabitra Sarkar Commission.
- 2) Comment on the role of English as Second Language in India.

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Unit 4 □ English language & Literature Teaching : Practical Applications

Structures

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 ELT Overseas (some fundamental concepts)

4.1.2 From 'form' to 'meaning' (Introduction of Communicative Language Teaching)

4.2 The Procedural Syllabus

4.3 Current ELT trends in India

4.4 The Language/Literature Syllabus (India)

4.5 Let us sum up

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4.0. Objectives

This unit reflects the concepts of ELT in India and considers its practical application in the classroom. The purpose is a pedagogical one. It considers :

- 1) An overview of ELT and its pedagogical implications.
- 2) The present ELT scenario in India.
- 3) The place of Literature in Language teaching.
- 4) The persisting and ongoing search for a pedagogy in the English class.

4.1. Introduction

English has been taught and learnt in India for more than centuries, and to most of the learners, English has been much more than a language. Besides being a professional necessity or means to progress, an English education is a cultural odyssey that brings to him Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Dickens and the nostalgic spirit. With the departure of the British from the Indian scene, English became India's second language; but this brought about little change in the teaching situation. A love for literature co-exists with a rigour for the knowledge of the grammar of the language its rules and definitions and so on. However literature and language are two compartments, it seems, and teachers and experts are still trying to explore a methodology for integrating the two in the course of English teaching. New approaches, methods, syllabi, materials come and go, and English teaching still continues amidst various constraints to establish the indispensability of the language.

4.1.1 ELT Overseas (Some Fundamental Concepts)

ELT in India has gone through different phases in respect to approaches, methodologies, syllabus design and text-book materials. The work of Michael Wes (1888- 1973) is quite important for us in India because the priorities and principles he

laid down and the materials he prepared were based on his actual experience of the ELT situation in India. West had recommended developing reading skills with practical information material, not literature. He saw the need in India for texts which would provide informative reading and there were two important principles that West followed – 1) The simplification of reading text by the replacement of archaic/literary words by more common words and 2) to control the introduction of new words so that their density does not place too great a burden on the learner. However, West's recommendation has not found favour with the curriculum planners. At the same time, the planners are also aware of the learners' general need of a few basic reading and writing skills in English.

In India language and literature teaching have been looked upon as two different compartments of English study. During the period of structural dominance (the structural approach) which emphasized on the teaching of the structure of words and sentence patterns, rules and definitions, the teacher in the English class taught grammar from the books of noted grammarians like Nesfield, Wren & Martin and others. The literature class was based on lectures on authors and their backgrounds, history of the different periods, analysis of different genres and references cited from different critics. The text as a literary unit of language remained unexplored to a great extent. H.G. Widdowson rightly comments that the study of English language or literature is meaningless if students are unable to **use the language** in different contexts even after years of formal English teaching.

According to the Structuralists, the knowledge of the rules of grammar is all that the learner needs in order to communicate through language in speech as well as in writing. It is also important to note that during the period of structural dominance, literature was side-lined; it was difficult to fit the use of literary texts in a structural frame where the grading of vocabulary and structures was given so much importance. The formal properties of language were emphasised and **Sound Linguistic Principles** became the key phrase in Language Teaching Methodology. Noam Chomsky brought about a revolution in linguistics by successfully demolishing the structuralist model and installing in its place a transformational-generative model. Chomsky emphasized the creative principle in language and language acquisition. Language acquisition is a cognitive process of rule formation, not a mechanical process of imitation and memorization; it follows from this principle that language learning, whether of the first or of the second language, is a process of creative construction. Chomsky brought back meaning as a criterion in linguistic analysis. (Meaning had been deliberately kept out of Structuralistic descriptions which were based on rigorous formal criteria). Yet Chomsky's emphasis was more on **linguistic competence** rather than on **performance or use**.

The method in use in schools for a long time was the **Grammar-Translation Method**. Howatt's *A History of English Language Teaching* (1984) gives a detailed account of the factors contributing to this method: "The origins of the method do not lie in an attempt to teach languages by grammar and translation, these were taken for granted anyway ... the traditional scholastic approach among individual learners in the 18th century had been to acquire a reading knowledge of foreign languages by studying a grammar and applying this knowledge to the interpretation of texts with the use of a dictionary the grammar translation method was an attempt to adopt these traditions to the circumstances and requirements of schools" (Cited in

Krishnaswamy & Sriraman, p. 77). Thus what was used by individual learners who wished to acquire a reading knowledge of foreign languages by interpreting texts with the help of dictionaries and grammar books was extended to the teaching of languages. It is important to note that literary texts were the very staple of foreign language teaching when the grammar translation model was popular; this was because they represented models of good writing as well as illustrations of the grammatical rules of the language to be learned.

The Direct Method argued against the use of translation. The following principles and procedures used in this method were:

- 1) All classroom instructions are to be given only in the target language
- 2) Only day to day vocabulary and sentences are to be taught
- 3) Oral communication skills are to be built up in a carefully graded progression, organized around question and answer exchanges between teachers and learners in small intensive classes
- 4) Grammar is to be taught inductively
- 5) New teaching points are to be introduced orally
- 6) Concrete vocabulary is to be taught through demonstration; objects, pictures are to be used; abstract vocabulary is to be taught through association of ideas
- 7) Both speech and listening comprehension are to be taught
- 8) Correct pronunciation is to be emphasised.

4.1.2 From 'form' to 'meaning' (Introduction of Communicative Language Teaching)

We have seen that pre-CLT approaches to language teaching assume that knowledge of the rules of grammar is all important. Later, we find that such a structural approach was blamed to be unnatural in many ways because they forced the learner to concentrate more on the grammar mechanisms than on meaning. The view has been put forward by the eminent linguist Krashen that any kind of teaching in which the focus is primarily on form leads to conscious learning of the underlying rules of grammar whereas, focus on meaning leads to **unconscious learning or acquisition**. There are traditions within linguistics especially British and European Linguistics which have over the years emphasised on **meaning and use**. It was only when Dell Hymes (1966) introduced the concept of **communicative competence** in the USA and British applied linguists such as D.A. Wilkins, Christopher Candlin, Henry Widdowson, Christopher Brumfit, Keith Johnson and others that a real shift took place in the approach, methods and techniques in language pedagogy. The goal of language instruction shifted to building up learners' **communicative competence**. It was declared that there are **rules of use** without which **rules of grammar** would be **useless**; a distinction was made between grammatical rules of usage that enable users to construct correct sentences and the use of language to accomplish some kind of communicative purpose. Sound **Sociolinguistic Principles** became the key phrase in language teaching.

Dell Hymes, Michael Halliday and other sociolinguists propagated the theory of Applying the Rules of a Language *appropriately* and *meaningfully* in different situations. Thus during the 1960's and 70's there came a major shift from *syntax* to *semantics*. Thus Hymes replaced Chomsky's idea of **linguistic competence** with his **communicative competence** referring categorically to competence in the use of

language in different social contexts or situations. Wilkins' advocacy of a **notional functional syllabus** in his book **Notional Syllabus** (1976) was one manifestation of the shift from the structural approach to a more functional or communicative approach. The familiar structural patterns, however, remained but they were ordered differently and organized around functional **headings**. Widdowson, however, recognized that the functional notional approach had shifted the focal point in foreign language teaching to the communicative aspects of language but did not recognize Wilkins' claim that it "takes communicative facts of the language into account". According to Widdowson: "Communication does not take place through the linguistic exponents of concepts and functions on self contained units of meaning. It takes place as discourse whereby meanings are negotiated through interaction".

4.2. The Procedural Syllabus

As a result of the shift from linguistic competence to communicative competence the procedural syllabus of Prabhu and Carrol (1980) came in vogue in India. There was a project called the Bangalore Project dealing with Communicational Teaching of English based on this syllabus. It started off in 1979 in Bangalore and extended to Madras and later to Cuddalore. According to Dr. N.S. Prabhu it arose as a result of the dissatisfaction with the structural approach to which south India had been heavily exposed and emphasized on communication as a process rather than a product and the underlying assumption here too was that form is best learnt when the attention is on meaning and that deployment leads to acquisition.

In essence advocates of the Communicative Approach claimed that learners' motivation will be increased if they feel that they are working on communicative skills; they assert that a language is learnt effectively when the focus is not on language and that learners learn how to communicate by communicating, by interacting with their teachers and fellow-mates. Therefore language teachers should emphasize the concepts of communication, discourse and negotiation of meaning rather than structures, phonemes and allophones. The communicative approach is also responsible for the revival of interest in literature.

4.3. Current ELT trends in India

In recent years, ELT overseas has taken a new character. English teaching has been called upon to provide students with the basic ability to use the language to receive and (to a lesser degree) to convey information associated with their specialist studies. This is particularly so in the developing countries where essential text book material is not available in the vernacular languages. Thus whereas one talked previously in general terms of ELT emphasizing also on skill development (namely LSRW), we now have such acronymic variants as ESP (English for Special Purposes) and EST (English for Science and Technology) and English for Vocational Purpose. Language considered as Communication no longer appears as a separate subject but as an aspect of other subjects. A corollary to this is that an essential part of any subject is the manner in which its content is given linguistic expression.

The ELT scenes in Indian schools had been influenced by the structural approach since its introduction in the sixties. Then onwards systematic attempts have been made to produce materials based on the structural syllabus and structural approach formed the basis for teaching of English both during the pre-service and in-service

training courses. This approach envisaged three major steps in language teaching. The first step was the introduction of a single structure followed by the second step of drilling the structure through the repetitive type of exercises and finally the application of structures by the students in appropriate contexts. The teachers were successful to a great extent in managing the first two steps, as most of the text books based on the structural syllabus had given detailed information about how to deal with these two steps. The final step which aimed at the internalization of structures, however, was glossed over. Hence the Structural Approach remained incomplete, though at the initial stages it succeeded in generating overt language production through drills and other classroom techniques.

The seventies and eighties saw an influx of language teaching materials presumably based on communicative language teaching (CLT). Many jumped onto the communicative bandwagon with great zeal and overestimated the effectiveness of the approach (e.g. the publication of the Learning English series in West Bengal).

Communicative competence has been considered as an important component of language learning ever since Chomsky brought in the distinction between "performance" (the external realization of a language) and "competence" (a set of rules that underlie the actual sentences). Since then the concept of communicative competence has widened from its linguistic potential to sociological implications. Though there is no consensus regarding what is meant by communicative competence, the four domains identified by Littlewood would suffice for practical purposes. They are analysed from the learner's angle :

- 1) The learner must develop skills in manipulating the linguistic system (linguistic competences).
- 2) The learner must understand the linguistic system as a part of communicative system (i.e. distinguishing between 'form' and 'function').
- 3) The learner must develop strategies for using language to communicate meaning.
- 4) The learner must become aware of the social meaning of language forms (i.e. socially appropriate speech).

But ELT in India was, in general, unaffected by these new trends, except for the Bangalore Project by Prabhu. The experiment, which was based on the theoretical construct of language through communication, though internationally recognized as a significant contribution to ELT, has not had a strong impact at the level of classroom teaching.

It was during the first half of the last century that the teaching of English as a foreign language emerged as an autonomous profession. This was basically the result of a change in the perception of the role of English in colonial and postcolonial societies. The assumption behind the curriculum in the 19th century was that the objective of such a study would be the assimilation of British Culture through the medium of English Literature. It was therefore taken for granted that English should be taught elsewhere in the same way as it was taught in Britain. In the early 20th century there emerged the notion of English as a *second language with a utilitarian function in the communication of knowledge*. Later in the century English came to be adopted as the intra-national medium of official and social communication in multilingual societies like India or Singapore. More recently English (or a nativized variety of it) has come to be recognized as part of the local literary and cultural tradition of postcolonial societies because of its use in imaginative and creative contexts.

4.4. The Language/Literature Syllabus (India)

Most of the University Departments of English have virtually been departments of English Literature. The literary bias of English syllabuses has led to the lamentable neglect of functional English. When, for instance, one discovers a text like 'On His Blindness' in a text book for higher secondary school, one wonders whose blindness should one feel concerned about - Milton's or the textbook writer's? A similar anxiety is noticeable in the World Language Survey Report (1961-62): 'Students who cannot understand simplified English textbooks have to read Lamb, Hazlitt, Wordsworth and Shelley and to listen to lectures about them.'

Curiously, when in an atmosphere charged with literary bias, an attempt is made to introduce course(s) in the English language with emphasis on communicative skills, we come across resentment from senior professors of English. As D. J. Enright wrote in the Times Literary Supplement, 'I could never see how any one could teach language except by teaching literature' (quoted in Times of India 12 August 1978).

Such idolatrous attitude to literature in the ESL countries like India has fostered a system of English studies in which a language teacher is treated as a second class citizen and rated decidedly inferior to the one teaching literature. Senior teachers protest when asked to teach English grammar and composition. The protest becomes louder still when they are asked to teach the language courses to science and commerce students.

Teaching English as a language is different from teaching English literature. One does not look for the same teaching/learning exercise in a language lesson as in that of literature. The demands made by the two are very different. In a literature lesson, for instance, one is concerned with a biographical sketch of a writer, the characteristics of his age, the plot, character, philosophy of life, the meaning of the text and the meaning of that meaning. In a language lesson, on the other hand, one is preoccupied with vocabulary, usage, grammar, pronunciation and communicative skills. Interestingly, when a work of literature is used to teach language, the language class often turns into literature class and sometimes a general knowledge class, leaving language to take care of itself.

Sometimes the literature text in the hands of a teacher is used as a launching pad for his own flight of fancy to the realms of geography, history, biology, philosophy. He loves to philosophize every poem whether there is any philosophy in it or not. A student of English who is not conversant with the basic verb patterns and sentence structures is asked to mark the Platonism, the metaphysical conceit, the pathetic fallacy, the classical restraint, the romantic thrill, in one stanza or the other. If the passage does not lead to any of these labels, he is asked to mark the beauty of that passage. There is thus considerable weight in the suggestion that wherever poetry is taught as part of language training, the sooner it is given up the better both for the sake of language training and poetry.

Increasing one's vocabulary and being able to use it in appropriate contexts is one of the objectives of TESL. A literary text, particularly a classic, is not much help in this regard. Words used in literature do not have fixed meaning. They sometimes convey meanings which do not conform with those provided in the dictionary. One can imagine the difficulty of a student who comes across the word gale in Coleridge's *The Nightingale*: "And if some sudden gale had swept at once a hundred airy harps." He looks up the

dictionary and finds the meaning 'storm or fast blowing wind' which incidentally is not applicable in the literary text being studied. It is a rather formidable job for the teacher to convince him that the word has been used in the sense of 'a light gentle breeze' and support his statement with illustrations from other literary texts such as "At last blow up Some gentle gale of ease" (Faery Queen) and 'Fresh gales and gentle airs' (Paradise Lost). Similarly, a learner who is taught the reverential meaning of the word buxome with the help of Langland's phrase "To be buxome at his bidding" will be stupefied to find the word used to refer to plump, healthy looking women.

Furthermore, a word has symbolic or associative meaning in literature which may be of little relevance to the learner in day-to-day interaction. Consider the word 'water' used by Shakespeare in the context of murder:

Go get some water

And wash this filthy witness from your hand

or by Coleridge suggesting sexual starvation:

Water, water everywhere

And not a drop to drink

or, by Eliot symbolizing life itself:

Here is no water but only rock

Rock and no water we should stop and drink.

The use of words in literature is thus 'hypersemantisized' and thus cannot be recommended to students without reservation and risks.

Similar risks are involved in relying on literature in respect of syntax and other areas of grammar. Although syntax in poetry has been defined by Coleridge as 'the best words in the best order', that is not the order that should be recommended in language learning programme. The syntax of poetry and sometimes that of the other genres of literature is at loggerheads with the syntax recommended in books of grammar. Leaving apart literary artists like Cummings, Pound, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf who seem to have gone to the extreme at one time or the other, of experimenting with the normal word-order, one may refer to a simple poem, The Daffodils, which is favourite of the textbook writer and prescribed in a large number of schools and colleges. The inverted word-order 'Ten thousand I saw at a glance' is not the right model for our learner. Similar is the case with the following lines from Gray's Elegy in a Country Church Yard:

Some village Hampden, that with dauntless breast

The little tyrant of his fields withstood.

The Word-order in Paradise Lost:

Him the Almighty Power

Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky

needs some explaining on the part of the teacher. An additional hurdle is noticeable in the mix-up of Latin and English syntactic patterns in a poet like Milton.

It may be argued that a programme of teaching the language through English literature will give the learner an opportunity to understand the way of life, customs, beliefs and ideals of the West, besides providing insights into the mechanism and use of the language. But does it serve any purpose to impose foreign literature and foreign culture on students who are not familiar with their own? Indigenous literature written

in English may in such a situation be perhaps more useful than British or American Literature. We cannot but admire the wisdom of the language planners and policy-makers in the Peoples Republic of China where literature plays an insignificant part in the teaching of English. Ferguson reports, 'in China, on the other hand, foreign languages are studied as weapons in the revolutionary struggle and the teaching materials for at least the first three years are based on life and thought in China, not in the foreign country. The student of English learns to talk about the Chinese countryside, to sing songs in honour of Chairman Mao and the party. The Chinese student of English learns how to talk to foreign visitors about his own country; only the advanced student is exposed to texts from foreign countries - and then with political interpretation and commentary'. The lesson from the Chinese experience, both for EFL and ESL countries is that the teaching of English must be embedded in the indigenous contexts and geared to local needs. For example, a study of literary masterpieces and an understanding of literary history and allusions is not going to help a silk merchant of Benaras in striking a deal with a rayon dealer from Zafna or a Sari trader in Mauritius.

As things stand today in India, and possibly in some neighbouring countries, one does not notice in any difference between the method and strategy of teaching English as a second language and of teaching the indigenous first language like Hindi or Bangla. Besides, not much thought is given to the fact that norms of communicative competence of users of English as a second language are not identical with those of the native speakers of English.

While teaching language, especially second language, we are primarily concerned with denotations. This is a different kind of activity from learning the mother tongue for instance, where language is not learnt in dissociation from how it is used. In any encounter with language, one never meets the abstraction 'language'. What one meets is an instance of it. A child learns language for what it can do for him since language and its function are inseparable for him. Thus, learning one's mother tongue is learning the 'potential' meanings or learning 'how to mean' in Halliday's terms and so the child goes straight to the 'value' of words and only later is made aware of the 'signification'. A second language learner, on the other hand, is first given the 'signification' - a one-to-one relation between the 'signified' and the 'signifier'. For example, the cry of 'mummy' for a mother tongue learner stands for satiation of hunger, for warmth and security while 'mummy' for a second language learner is 'mother' - one who gives birth.

While teaching language means drawing on the referential skills of the students, enabling them to derive meanings on the basis of what the words denote, teaching literature means taking them to the realm of connotations and making demands on their interpretative abilities because literature emerges as much out of what is explicitly stated as from what it left unsaid. In the following poem, which is linguistically simple, the meaning is contained as much in the lines as between and beyond them:

Twenty men crossing a bridge,
into a village
Are twenty men crossing twenty
bridges into twenty villages
Or one man
Crossing a single bridge into a village.

4.5. Let us sum up

To sum up so far, there is an attempt to illustrate that the skills and abilities required for the study of literature do not facilitate language learning and may prove to be impediments. It may be added that the exercises following a literary text—ostensibly to teach language—are no more than a drill practice of some randomly selected discreet grammatical items, often taught in isolation and independent of the text and a context.

Ideally at the tertiary level, at least three types of courses should be made available to learners in keeping with their levels of language acquisition. This is not always feasible in a country which can ill-afford the extra expense this would mean in terms of extra space, trained teachers and various sets of textbooks. But it needs to be stressed that if any justice is to be done to the really weak students, i.e. the 'victims', provision will have to be made for specially designed courses and trained teachers. If further streaming is not possible, then the next best alternative is a syllabus with a lot of flexibility, where gradation is a built-in component of learning and testing. Before addressing ourselves to the possibility of such a course, it would be worthwhile to find out what these learners are likely to need English for after they graduate.

In recent years there has been a healthy trend in course design with the focus shifting from teacher-centred to learner-centred activities and in this connection a lot of credibility is being given to need-based courses. The slogan is that at the tertiary level, the students be given the prerogative of deciding what their needs are. This seems like a sound theory in principle. While it may be easier to devise English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses for those joining professional colleges, since their requirements of language are linked with its use in their prospective professions, it would not be practical to depend on the wishes of the students of a general B. A. Class. Firstly, and most importantly, a large number of these students have little idea of the careers they may end up choosing and can, therefore, not predict what use they would put English to. Secondly, they may have considerations other than vocational or educational ones when expressing their needs. The desire to be able to speak English, for instance, often springs from the wish to sound 'smart' and 'elitist' and many have little to do with professional requirements. Thus in the absence of any clear guidelines, a multi-skill approach would appear to be the most practical alternative.

However, what has been undeniably gained from the current approaches to the teaching of English is the spirit of exploration. It is this spirit of exploration to which Widdowson directed the attention of the English teaching community in India, when he referred to T.S. Eliot's famous lines in *The Four Quartets* in his paper from sentence to situation:

We shall not cease from exploration

At the end of all our exploring.

Will be to arrive when we started

4.6. Glossary

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| Abstraction | : | Concept, hypothesis |
| Acronymic | : | Referring to a word composed of the initial letters of the words in a phrase, especially when this is the name of something |
| Allusion | : | Indirect reference |
| Bandwagon | : | Craze, fashion, vogue |
| Classical | : | Traditional in form, style or content |
| Conform | : | Agree |
| Connotative | : | Subject to inference; additional meanings of any word or phrase |
| Corollary | : | Analogy |
| Credibility | : | Trustworthiness |
| Denotation | : | Subject to signification or explanation |
| Dissociation | : | Separation |
| Efficacy | : | Effectiveness |
| Elitist | : | Considered to be superior to others |
| Emergence | : | Coming out |
| Encode | : | To put a message or information into a code |
| Esoteric | : | Unclear |
| Feasible | : | Practicable |
| Formidable | : | Fearful |
| Futility | : | Uselessness |
| Generative- semantics | : | An approach to linguistic theory which considers all sentences are generated from a semantic structure |
| Idolatrous | : | Worshipful |
| Impediment | : | Hindrance, obstacle |
| Indigenous | : | Native, local |
| Inductive | : | An approach to language teaching in which learners are not taught grammatical rules directly but are left to discover or induce rules from their experience of using the language |
| Innovative | : | Prone to creativity |
| Internalization: | : | Receiving and consolidating in knowledge |
| Lamentable | : | Unfortunate |
| Loggerheads | : | Subject to strong disagreement |
| Ostensibly | : | Seemingly |
| Permeate | : | Interfuse, pervade |
| Precursor | : | Forerunner |
| Prerogative | : | A privilege or a power |
| Prospective | : | Coming, unfolding |
| Reverential | : | Obedient, devoted, respectful, regardful |
| Satiation | : | Completion, fulfilment |
| Semantics | : | The study of meaning |

| | | |
|----------|---|--|
| Strategy | : | Method |
| Syntax | : | The study of how words combine to form sentences and the rules which govern the formation of sentences |
| TESL | : | Teaching English as Second Language |

4.7. Questions

A. Answer in one or two sentences :

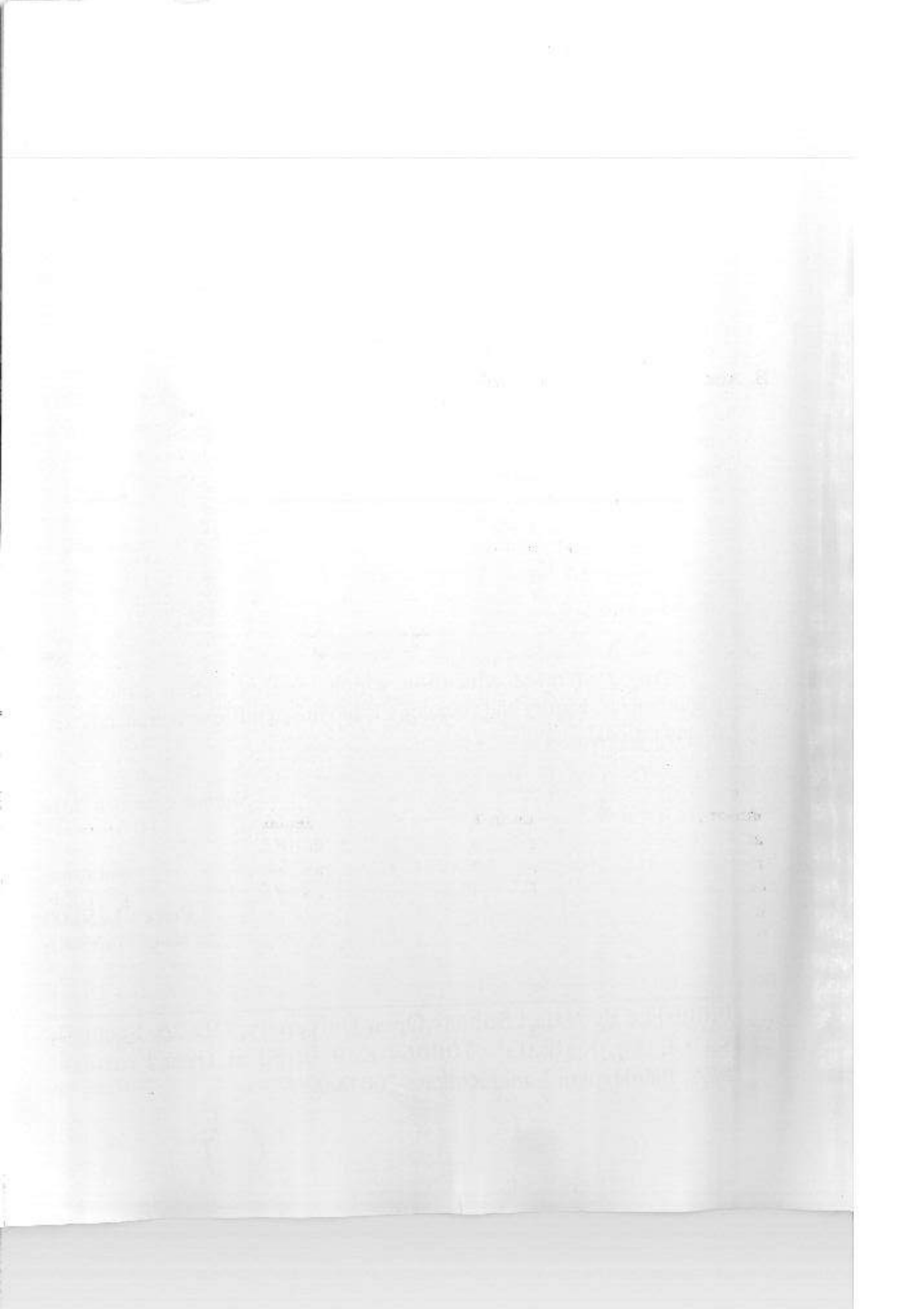
- 1) What is Hymes' observation about Communicative Competence?
- 2) (a) What are the disadvantages of the Grammar-based approach to Language teaching?
(b) Why was there a shift from *form* to *meaning*?
- 3) What is the key message of Prabhu's Bangalore Project?
- 4) What is the main difference between Literature and Language teaching?

B. Answer in 150 to 200 words :

- 1) Analyse the changing trends in ELT and its influence in India.
- 2) Write about the role of Literature in the ESL classroom. What are the constraints of using Literature in Language Teaching?
- 3) Write short notes on :
 - a) Communicative Language Teaching.
 - b) Hymesian concept of Communicative Competence.
 - c) The Procedural Syllabus.
 - d) The Language-Literature controversy.

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মানুষের জ্ঞান ও ভাবকে বইয়ের মধ্যে সঞ্চিত করিবার যে একটা প্রচুর সুবিধা আছে, সে কথা কেহই অস্বীকার করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু সেই সুবিধার দ্বারা মনের স্বাভাবিক শক্তিকে একেবারে আচ্ছন্ন করিয়া ফেলিলে বুদ্ধিকে বাবু করিয়া তোলা হয়।

—রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

ভারতের একটা mission আছে, একটা গৌরবময় ভবিষ্যৎ আছে, সেই ভবিষ্যৎ ভারতের উত্তরাধিকারী আমরাই। নূতন ভারতের মুক্তির ইতিহাস আমরাই রচনা করছি এবং করব। এই বিশ্বাস আছে বলেই আমরা সব দুঃখ কষ্ট সহ্য করতে পারি, অন্ধকারময় বর্তমানকে অগ্রাহ্য করতে পারি, বাস্তবের নিষ্ঠুর সত্যগুলি আদর্শের কঠিন আঘাতে ধূলিসাৎ করতে পারি।

—সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু

Any system of education which ignores Indian conditions, requirements, history and sociology is too unscientific to commend itself to any rational support.

—Subhas Chandra Bose

Price : ₹ 150.00

(Not for sale to the Students of NSOU)

Published by Nctaji Subhas Open University, DD-26, Sector-I,
Salt Lake, Kolkata - 700064 & Printed at Gita Printers,
51A, Jhamapukur Lane, Kolkata-700 009.