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Programme in WEST BENGAL following NCTE Regulations, 2014

LANGUAGE ACROSS THE CURRICULUM

SEMESTER-I • COURSE-IV • WITH PRACTICUM

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Syllabus

Course-IV (1.1.4) Language Across the Curriculum

Theory: 50 Engagement with the field: 50 • Full Marks:100

Unit I : Theoretical Background of Language Usage:

- Language—Meaning and Concept.
- Functions of Language
- Role of Language across curriculum.
- A brief historical background of language development.
- Theories of language development—Bloomfield, Chomsky, Saussure..
- Theoretical understanding of Multilingualism.

Unit II : Understanding the Language Background:

- Understanding home language and school language.
- Power dynamics of 'standard' language vs. 'home language'.
- Dialects.

Unit III : Different Strategies for Language Development:

- Nature of classroom discourse.
- Develop strategies for using language in the classroom—oral and written
- Discussion as a tool for learning.

Unit IV : Language Interaction in the classroom:

- Nature of questioning in the classroom.
- Types of questions—Teachers' role.
- Multicultural classroom—Teachers' role.

Unit V : Nature of Reading Comprehension in the Content Areas:

- Reading proficiency in the content areas—Social Sciences, Sciences, Mathematics.
- Schema Theory.
- Different Texts—Expository, Narrative, Transactional, Reflexive.

Engagement with Field / Practicum:

Any one of the following:

- School Visit to Find out Communication Problem/Apprehension in Students
- Designing Games and Exercises for Developing Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing Skills
- Assignments on Developing Writing Skills—Summary, Letter, Paragraph, Essays, Speech
- Assignments on Developing Speaking Skills—Oral Presentations, Debate, Elocution, Discussion, Brain-storming
- Assignments on Developing Listening Skills—Listening to speech, directions

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1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF LANGUAGE USE

LANGUAGE—MEANING AND CONCEPT

Language is the means of communication and an integral part of life. An individual communicates with the help of language and even thinks in language. In meditations or dreams, thought or speech, human existence is inseparably intertwined with language. In both oral and written form, language has generated and perpetuated knowledge in human civilization. In the ancient Indian culture, Language has been compared with the 'Brahma' or the transcendental Absolute. In Brihadaranyaka Upanishada Yajnavalkya explains to King Janaka of Videha that the absolute Reality or the 'brahman' dwells in speech that, assuming the form of knowledge, connects the bewildered self with the worlds both temporal and transcendental:

Speech itself is the dwelling, space is its support. One should worship it as knowledge (Prajna)

'What is the nature of this knowledge?'

'Speech itself, your majesty', he said. By speech, your majesty, a Friend is known. The Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Samaveda, the hymns of the Atharvans and Angirases, history, legend, science, the Upanishads, verses, sutras, explanatory passages, expositions, sacrifice, offering, food, drink, this world, the other world, and all beings are known by speech, your majesty: speech, your majesty, is indeed the supreme Brahman. The one who knows this, and worships it as such, speech does not desert him; all beings flock to him; and becoming a god he goes to the gods.

Indication of the potency of the language in communing with an inner word equivalent to the absolute reality or 'brahman', through the knowledge that comprises of the worldly factual manifold, is operative in Yajnavalkya's equation of the word with a light that illuminates the human heart. In the Bible too, it is shown that God used language to create the Universe. "In the beginning was the word", is the very first line of the Genesis, the first book of the Old Testament of the Holy Bible.

Linguists have attempted various definitions of language. Some of them are discussed below for a clear understanding of the development of language:

- (i) Language is a symbol system based on pure or arbitrary conventions...infinitely extendable and modifiable according to the changing needs and conditions of the speakers. **Robins** (1985)
- (ii) Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols. **Sapir** (1921)
- (iii) A language is a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements. **Noam Chomsky** (1957)
- (iv) Language is a system of conventional spoken or written symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in its culture, communicate. **Encyclopaedia Britannica**
- (v) Language may be defined as the expression of thought by means of speech-sounds. **Henry Sweet**

FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

There are three functions of language:

- (i) The first is the informative function, that is, to communicate information. The history teacher who is giving details of some battle to the class is communicating information.

- (ii) The second function of language is **expressive**, that is to express feelings, emotions, or attitudes and evoke similar feelings in the reader. When **W H Davis** said:

What is this life if full of care?

We have no time to stand and stare.

he was conveying no information, but was expressing his feelings.

- (iii) The third function of language is **directive**, that is, to cause (or prevent) actions. When a teacher asks a student to write on the blackboard or when a major in the army asks his soldiers to march ahead, the intention is not to communicate information or to evoke a particular emotion but to cause action of the indicated type.

Principles of Language Teaching:

H Douglas Brown (2002) in *Methodology in Language Teaching* proffers twelve functions of language teaching, that he asserts, are "relatively widely accepted theoretical assumptions about second language acquisition." They are—

- (i) **Automaticity:** Efficient second language learning involves a timely movement of the control of a few language forms in to the automatic processing of a relatively unlimited number of language forms. Overanalyzing language, thinking too much about its forms, and consciously lingering on the rules of language all tend to impede this graduation to automaticity.
- (ii) **Meaningful Learning:** Meaningful learning will lead toward better long-term retention than rote learning. One among many examples of meaningful learning is found in content-centered approaches to language teaching.
- (iii) **Anticipation of Reward:** human beings are universally driven to act, or "behave" by the anticipation of some sort of reward-tangible or intangible, short-term or long-term—that will ensue as a result of the behaviour. Although the long-term success in language learning requires a more intrinsic motive, the power of immediate rewards in a language class is undeniable. One of the tasks of the teacher is to create opportunities for those moment-by-moment

rewards that can keep the classrooms interesting, if not exciting.

- (iv) **Intrinsic Motivation:** Sometimes reward-driven behaviour is dependent on extrinsic motivation, but a more powerful category forward is one which is intrinsically driven within the learner. When the behaviour stems from needs, wants or desires within oneself, the behavior itself has the potential to be self-rewarding. In such a context, externally administered rewards are unnecessary; learners are likely to maintain the behaviour beyond the immediate presence of the teachers, parents and other tutors.
- (v) **Strategic Investment:** Successful mastery of the second language will be to a large extent, the result of a learner's own personal "investment" of time, effort and attention to the second language in the form of an individualized battery of strategies for comprehending and producing the language.
- (vi) **Language Ego:** As human beings learn to use a second language, they develop a new mode of thinking, feeling and acting—a second identity. The new "language ego", intertwined with the second language, can easily create within the learner a sense of fragility, defensiveness and a raising of inhibitions.
- (vii) **Self-confidence:** The eventual success that learners attain in a task is partially a factor of their belief that they indeed are fully capable of accomplishing the task. Self-esteem, at least global self-esteem, lies at the roots of eventual attainment.
- (viii) **Risk Taking:** Successful language learners, in their realistic appraisal of themselves as vulnerable beings yet capable of accomplishing tasks, must be willing to become "gamblers" in the game of language to attempt to produce and to interpret language that is a bit beyond their absolute certainty.
- (ix) **The Language-Culture Connection:** Whenever a language is taught, a complex system of cultural customs, values and ways of thinking, acting and feeling, are also taught with it, even in formal settings.

- (x) **The Native Language Effect:** The native language of the learners will be a highly significant system on which learners will rely to predict the target-language system. Although that native system will exercise both facilitating and interfering (positive and negative transfer) effects on the production and comprehension of the new language, the interfering effects are likely to be the most salient.
- (xi) **Interlanguage:** Second language learners tend to go through a systematic or quasi-systematic developmental process as they progress to full competence in the target language. Successful interlanguage development is partially a factor of utilizing feedback from others. Teachers in language classrooms can provide such feedback, but more important, can help learners to generate their own feedback outside of the language classroom.
- (xii) **Communicative Competence:** Communicative competence has many components that are essentially "organizational, pragmatic, strategic and psychomotoric." Communicative competencies the primary goal of a language class and so instruction needs to point towards all these components. Communicative goals are best achieved by giving due attention to language use and not just usage, to fluency, and not just accuracy, to authentic language and contexts and to students' eventual need to apply classroom learning to heretofore unrehearsed contexts in the real world.

Again, analyzing the relation between approach and treatment or planned application of method to language learning, **Brown** in *Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy* (1994), mentions ten principle of language learning, with each specifying certain appropriate activities for the second language classroom. These principles are as follows:

- (i) **Lowering Inhibitions:** Playing guessing and communication games, role-plays and skits, songs, group work, sharing of good experiences and fears in small groups and with the teacher.
- (ii) **Encouraging Risk-taking:** Praising pupils for making sincere efforts to try our language; use of fluency exercises

where errors are not corrected at that time; assigning outside-class tasks of speaking and writing or trying out language in different ways.

- (iii) **Building Students' Self-confidence:** Making the students prepare a list of their strengths and what they have accomplished so far and showing them that the teacher has full faith in their abilities in the language class.
- (iv) **Help Students Develop Intrinsic Motivation:** Clarify the need for learning English and the jobs that require a competence in English
- (v) **Promote Co-operative Learning:** Playing down of competition and promotion of group work with proper team-spirit. This leads to effective language learning in formal settings.
- (vi) **Encourage Students to use Right Brain Processing:** Use of movies, tapes, video clips, making pupils read the passage fast, oral and written fluency exercises with least interference in form of correction.
- (vii) **Promote Ambiguity Tolerance:** Minimal translation and promotion of peer discussion when the pupils fail to grasp the meaning of some new expression on the target language.
- (viii) **Help Students Use their Intuition:** Correction of selected structural errors and promotion of intuitive use of the target language.
- (ix) **Make the Errors Work for the Students:** Recoding of the errors made by the students, especially oral ones and promoting self-correction with the help of the peers. The errors themselves then become the exercise for enhancing linguistic skills of the students in the formal settings.
- (x) **Enable Students to Set their Own Goals:** Encouraging pupils to go beyond the classroom goals and have them specify a list of what they can accomplish on their own in a given time. Specific time commitments at home to study the language and granting "extra credit" is effective in language learning in formal settings.

Apart from the accepted principles discussed by Brown, some general principles of language learning have evolved in recent years, which may be summarized in the following manner:

- (i) Principle of Speech
 - (ii) Principle of Basic sentences
 - (iii) Principle of Patterns as Habits
 - (iv) Principle of Teaching Sound System
 - (v) Principle of Vocabulary Control
 - (vi) Principle of Co-ordination and Correlation
 - (vii) Principle of Writing as Representation of Speech
 - (viii) Principle of Graded Patterns
 - (ix) Principle of Drill/Exercise as opposed to Translation
 - (x) Principle of Authentic Linguistic Standards
 - (xi) Principle of Shaping Responses
 - (xii) Principle of Situational Use of Language
 - (xiii) Principle of Learning as a Scientific Technique
 - (xiv) Principle of Immediate Reinforcement
- (i) **Principle of Speech:** In a formal setting English is initially taught through the oral approach that emphasizes audio-lingual skills followed by reading and writing. In other words, this principle reveals the fact that language learning is incomplete without an initial knowledge of language patterns used in speech, and it is only after the students have gained mastery over speech habits that they can successfully proceed to reading and writing as follow-up activities.
- (ii) **Principle of Basic Sentences:** Remembering long sentences in the target language is difficult for a child usually with a short memory span. As a result, the learners cannot generate original sentences to clarify grammatical concepts or create sentences by analogy. The problem is overcome by teaching very short and simple conversational sentences to the learners. The natural and situational position of the words in the sentence structure in a given context prepares the learners for the target language learning. An idea of the sentence construction learned in this manner, is helpful in enabling the learner learn the target language faster and in a more effective manner.

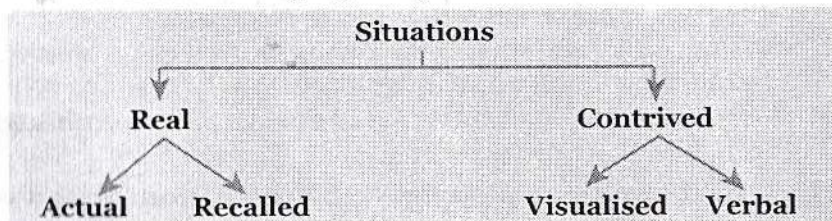
- (iii) **Principle of Pattern as Habits:** Use of any language largely involves recognition of the linguistic patterns of the language. However, if those patterns are not made a part of the linguistic habit of the learner through systematic drill, then the learner would not be able to use them in specific contexts.
- (iv) **Principle of Teaching Sounds System:** Language is principally verbal in nature and thus must be taught to students through various methods like demonstration, imitation, props, revealing contrasts and through constant practice. Structures and vocabulary must be taught systematically for the purpose as it has been found that the learners fail to learn through mere observation. The phonemic differences and subtleties of sound are easily grasped by the learner if the sound system is introduced systematically and followed up by sufficient practice.
- (v) **Principle of Vocabulary Control:** A learner initially masters the phonemic and then the grammatical pattern of a language. However, learning vocabulary is of supreme importance for sentence construction. An unplanned exposure to unlimited vocabulary leads to confusion and inappropriate usage. So vocabulary should initially be selected and graded properly. A carefully selected and graded vocabulary helps the learner to grasp the basic patterns and sounds that are necessary for effective use of the target language. Initially the popular methodology for learning a second language was to focus on grammar and sentences first and then on vocabulary. However, there has been a shift toward the importance of learning vocabulary first. It is now believed that a sound base of vocabulary to draw from makes learning grammar and sentence structure easier.

Five principles of effective vocabulary learning have been described in Joe Barcroft's *Second Language Vocabulary Acquisition: A Lexical Input Processing Approach*:

- a. Present new words frequently and repeatedly in input
- b. Use meaning-bearing comprehensible input when presenting new words

- c. Limit forced output during the initial stages of learning new words.
 - d. Limit forced semantic elaboration during the initial stages of learning new words
 - e. Progress from less demanding to more demanding vocabulary-related activities.
- (vi) **Principle of Co-ordination and Correlation:** Learning a language in a formal setting involves specific objectives, planning of the curricula and lessons, design of text books and organization of teaching-learning materials, evaluation and so on. Besides, the target language is taught formally through specific stages. All these must be co-ordinated and correlated properly for learning the target language.
- (vii) **Writing as Representation of Speech:** Graphic symbols and associating them with the spoken language units they represent take place in successive phases. Writing can represent speech only after the formal language learning has progressed through effective listening and speaking, followed by extensive and intensive reading given with the help of carefully selected and prescribed reading material. Language learning may be said to have been achieved when writing represents speech fully and that is achieved after passing through these successive stages.
- (viii) **Graded patterns:** Linguistic patterns of the target language are taught in cumulative graded steps that emphasize the patterns of complete sentences. Starting with graded functional sentences and questions with response, the learning proceeds to parts of speech and modifications of structures.
- (ix) **Drill/Exercise as opposed to Translation:** Since it is acknowledged that no two languages can provide exact substitutes for each other, literal translation for language learning is ineffective and may lead to incorrect constructions. Linguists like Gurrey advocate the complimentary use of the mother tongue and the target language, drill or practice in the target language emerges as the more effective mode of formal language learning than literal translation of the native language.

- (x) **Authentic Language Standards:** Contextual use of language by the speakers must be taken as the authentic standard to be complied with and the target language must be learned with that in perspective. Mechanical learning from many sources that are distinct from the actual use of the target language, leads to learning of inappropriate structures and patterns. Thus formal language learning necessitates adherence to authentic language standards.
- (xi) **Shaping Responses:** The formal language learning setting must facilitate production of ample responses from the learners. Clues may be given along with different hints to enable the students to frame appropriate responses. Such activities must be organized in such a way that the responses elicited initially are smaller fragments and the learner is made to proceed to framing a more complete response through consistent practice.
- (xii) **Situational use of Language:** Even when learned in a formal classroom setting the organic and social nature of language cannot be denied. The communicative function of the target language necessitates creation of appropriate situations in the classroom for practice of skills of the target language contextually. Such situations must be as closely related to the real life of the learners as possible. The various types of situations used for teaching English as a second language may be summarized as follows:



Ideally verbal contexts should precede real and visual situations which are considered to be most effective for learning the second language.

- (xiii) **Learning Scientific Technique:** In case of language learning in formal classroom settings, language is presented with scientific precision with little or no regard for the learner's individual interest, aptitude or motivation.

- (xiv) **Immediate Reinforcement:** Immediate feedback or reinforcement in form of immediate praise or remedial teaching aids in formal learning of the target language in the classroom situation.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE

Original development of language has always been a matter of enquiry and research. In Biblical stories there is a reference to the Tower of Babel in the Old Testament where linguistic diversity and development of new languages is portrayed as punishment and a deviation from the original language. For a long time it was believed that human children would communicate in the original language if they are kept away from the multiplicity of modern human languages. **John Edwards** in his book *Multilingualism* (1994) cites Herodotus who mentioned an experiment reportedly conducted by the Egyptian Pharaoh Psamtik (663-610 B.C.) in which two babies were nurtured without hearing any human language. It is believed that at the age of two the infants uttered 'becos', a Phrygian word meaning 'bread'. However reports of subsequent similar experiments challenged the theory of original language and revealed that language develops parts arbitrarily and partly by modification of what human beings hear. John Edwards cites an experiment by the Mughal Empire Akbar (1542-1605) who kept children in total seclusion for four consecutive years in a 'Mahal' meant for the dumb and it was found that in these four years the children developed physically but had no part of the talisman of speech. Ever since there has been two schools of thought regarding the origin of language—(i) principle of monogenesis or the theory of one original language and (ii) the principle of polygenesis or the theory of multiple languages emerging simultaneously in different places. The question received renewed attention in 1981 in a conference sponsored by UNESCO in Paris where thirty-five papers were presented on 'glossogenetics'. The renowned Danish linguist **Otto Jespersen** (1860-1943) grouped popular theories on this subject into five types. They are—

- (i) Words developed through onomatopoeic association, that is a dog's bark became the name for the dog. This theory

is obviously limited, since most objects in the world do not make characteristic noises.

- (ii) Words developed from spontaneous exclamations of an emotional nature, which is not accepted due to various limitations.
- (iii) People react to external phenomena by making specific noises which somehow reflects the phenomena. This may be called sound symbolism. There is some evidence for sound symbolism in English. E.g., words with high front vowels convey smallness like 'teeny' or 'wee'.
- (iv) This is called the 'yo-he-ho' theory. According to this theory, as people worked together communal and rhythmical grunts emerged which duly evolved into language. This again, was limited in scope.
- (v) The fifth theory was preferred by Jespersen himself, according to which language developed from 'emotional song-like outpourings of primitive human beings, which were gradually canalized into speech'. (**Henry Alexander**, *The Story of Our Language*, 1962 p.42)

In spite of the limitations, each theory represents some contribution to language development and thus reveals the deficiency of any single-factor approach.

With **Charles Darwin's** revelation in the nineteenth century and subsequent theorizing that combined principles of natural selection with those of genetics, original development of language got embedded in a larger evolutionary picture. E.g., a recent theory, mentioned by **Robin Dunbar**, a British anthropologist (*Globe and Mail*, 26 September, 1992) argued that development of language is originally linked to social bonding and gossip, the banal exchange of social experiences that represents the human equivalent of mutual grooming in Chimpanzees. This has been related to a linkage between the size of the neocortex and the optimal size of the social group. The most proficient supposedly increased their survival chances by being more informed and more manipulative, and this leads to the development of language. Eminent linguist **Charles Hockett** reinforced the theory of language development being inextricably connected with a larger social evolution:

"Man's remote ancestors, then, must have come to live in circumstances where a slightly more flexible system of communication...made just the difference between surviving...and dying out" (**Charles Hockett**, 'The Origin of Speech' in **William Wang**, *Human Communication*, 1982, p. 12).

Hockett provided a list of features typical to human language and its development—

- (a) **Displacement:** The ability to talk about things remote in space and/or time.
- (b) **Productivity:** The capacity to say things never before said or heard which are yet understandable and acceptable by others.
- (c) **Traditional Transmission:** Linguistic convictions are carried on through teaching and learning
- (d) **Pattern Duality:** The enormous store of words is represented by small combinations of a still a smaller stock of distinguishable sounds, themselves meaningless. E.g., the words 'cat' and 'act' are semantically distinct and yet composed of only three of the basic meaningless sounds.

It may be said that there is no single primitive language and the multiplicity of divergent languages in the world today, are in essence, a collective communication system composed of arbitrary symbols which possess a significance within a community. These symbols are independent of immediate context and are connected in rule-governed ways. The existence of rules or grammar form the foundation for an infinite variety of creative use of human language.

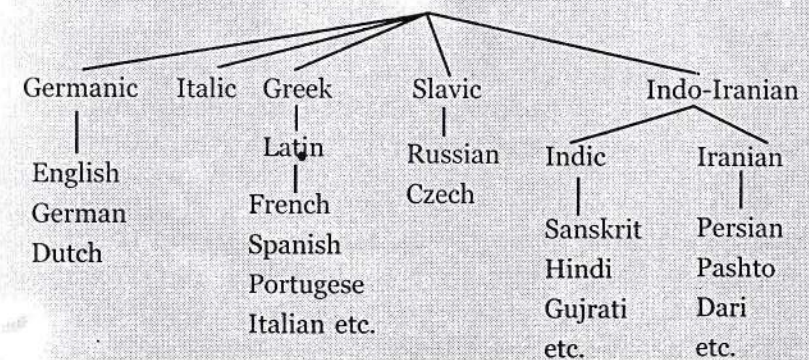
Various linguists like **David Crystal** (1987), **F Voegelin** in *Classification and Index of The World's Languages* (1977), **M Ruhlen** in *A Guide To The World's Languages* (1987) and **B Comrie** in *The World's Major Languages* (1987) have pointed out the existence of about 4500 living languages. These are all arranged in families of relative varieties, though the idea of family trees and lineages is pretty old. In the twelfth century **Giraldus Cambrensis** had noted in his *Descriptio Cambriae* that Welsh, Cornish and Breton had a common source which itself had connections with Latin and Greek. Some of the major language

families and their subgroups with constituting languages are given below:

LANGUAGE FAMILY	IMPORTANT SUBGROUPS	LANGUAGES OF THE FAMILY	ESTIMATED SPEAKERS (MILLIONS)
Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic)	Berber, Cushitic, Semitic	Amharic, Arabic, Hausa, Hebrew, Riff, Somali	230
Altaic	Manchu-Tungus, Mongolian, Turkic	Azerbaijani, Japanese, Kazakh, Korean, Tatar, Turkish, Uzbek	270
Andean-Eqatorial	Arawakan, Tupian, Quechumaran	Aymara, Goajiro, Guarani, Quechua	
Australian Aboriginal	Pama-Nyungan, Tiwi	Warlpiri, Pitjantjatjara	0.05
Austro-Asiatic	Munda, Nicobarese, Mon-Khmer	Khmer, Santali, Vietnamese	60
Austronesian	Eastern Austronesian, Western Austronesian	Malagasy, Malay, Javanese, Maori, Tahitian	200
Caucasian	Abkhazo-Adyghian, Kartvelian, Nakho-Dagestanian	Chechen, Georgian, Circassian	6
Dravidian	—	Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu	14
Indo-European	Celtic, Germanic, Indo-Aryan, Italic	English, Irish, Sanskrit, Spanish, Armenian, Icelandic	2000
Indo-Pacific	—	Chimbu, Enga, Medlpa	3

LANGUAGE FAMILY	IMPORTANT SUBGROUPS	LANGUAGES OF THE FAMILY	ESTIMATED SPEAKERS (MILLIONS)
Niger-Congo (Niger-Kordofanian)	Kwa, Mande, West Atlantic, Benue-Congo	Swahili, Fulani, Bambara, Yoruba, Rwanda	260
Sino-Tibetan	Tibeto-Burman, Miao-Yao	Burmese, Chinese, Tibetan	1050
Tai	Tai, Kam-Sui	Laotian, Thai	50
Uralic	Finno-Ugric, Samoyedic	Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian	23

Modern languages are believed to have descended from ancient languages. A language from which other languages have developed is called a **Proto-language** or a parent language. Languages developing from the Proto-language are called **Sister Languages**. The Proto-language and Sister-Languages together form a Language family. For instance, the ancient language called the Proto-Indo-European language was the parent language of later languages like Greek, Sanskrit and German. The developments of this particular language family is graphically presented below:



Proto-Indo-European

A Proto-language does not exist now but is primarily reconstructed by historical linguists on the basis of written records, inscriptions, relics and coins. However it cannot be reconstructed completely since it is a complex job to trace the similarities between various languages.

ROLE OF LANGUAGE ACROSS CURRICULUM

Language across the curriculum refers to an association of the different forms of language and the various dimensions of language education within the school. The role of language is emphasized in various subjects. Language cannot be learned without a context and at the same time learning in all subjects is dependent on language. Language and content are thus very closely related and content practically is capable of providing authentic context for language learning. On the other hand, effective learning of language helps the students in understanding the content better and express their individual views on the specific content. Language and content are thus integrated in the practice of "Language across Curriculum" for a wholesome teaching learning experience.

The term "Language across Curriculum" practically has two levels of signification. In a narrow sense it refers to the importance of language and training in language through all non-linguistic subjects. However in the broader sense of the term it means a comprehensive model of language education as a basis of a whole school language policy. In the broader sense of the term all languages taught in the school and the language dimension in all other subjects are taken care of. The concept of "Language across Curriculum" evolved primarily due to a growing realization that language education in school does not take place in specific language subjects only but through each and every subject, every school activity and across the entire curriculum.

Development of "Language across Curriculum"

A movement called "Writing across the Curriculum" began in the 1980s and sought to place writing as a central learning tool in classes outside the English class. This movement tried to provide assistance and guidance to all students of different disciplines for inculcating in them the skill of writing that was deemed vital for any curricular activity. Some scholars tend to trace the origin of the practice of Language across Curriculum to this. However, Language across Curriculum as a concept, may be traced to the late seventies or early eighties with the

Bullock Report of UK first granted formal recognition to the concept of linking Language across Curriculum with the language policies of schools in Britain. In the report titled "A Language for Life", it was asserted that—

Each school should have an organized policy for language across the curriculum, establishing every teacher's involvement in language and reading development throughout the years of schooling (p.514)

A decade later the same emphasis was noted in the **Swann Report** titled *Education for All*. It asserted that the practice of Language across Curriculum could help the education system steer clear of confusion and waste of resources:

Unless there is school language and learning policy across the curriculum there will be wastage of effort and often confusion. (p.419)

It was realized at the end of the nineties that reading comprehension is crucial to all learning experiences. There was an urge to promote literacy skills as well. **A M Johns** (1997) points out in his Text book, *Role and Context: Developing Academic Literacies*, that based on the socio-semiotic theory of discourse the focus shifted to promotion of higher order skills, power of making inferences, construction of coherence, relating the knowledge acquired from various subjects to individual life and appropriate self expression.

The practice of Language across Curriculum seemed to be a sound mode of achieving this end and hence was popularized in the European nations like Germany. The results of the first PISA study (2001) revealed that the poor academic performance of fifteen year old learners in Germany was primarily due to poor reading comprehension skills and the situation could be changed if language became the focus of concern in each and every subject in school. Language across Curriculum came to be increasingly related to Cummins' concept of "Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency" or CALP and the soft skills like communication emerged as the most essential component for success in school. This revelation was apparently opposed to the previous notion of factors like socio-economic and cultural influences affecting

the level of academic success in schools or other educational institutions. Language was closely linked to "conceptual literacy", that signified a cognitive, skill-based and experience-based elements responsible for higher order thinking. Interestingly enough, in an attempt to define educational standards to be achieved by the learners, educators identified "communication" as one of the four basic dimensions of competence. The others were subject knowledge, procedural competence and ability to evaluate an issue from various perspectives. Language education thus gradually became a major issue in content teaching and the practice of Language across Curriculum gained a position of central significance.

Basic Assumptions of Language Across Curriculum

- (i) Language develops mainly through its purposeful use
- (ii) Learning often involves talking, writing, shaping and moving, mostly in reaction to various perceptions
- (iii) Learning often occurs through speaking or writing as much as through shaping of verbal modules and movement
- (iv) Use of language is necessary for cognitive development

Role of LAC [Language Across Curriculum] in Education

- (i) One of the cardinal purposes of Language across Curriculum is to support language development in each and every learner, in all domains of language use and in each learning activity of the school.
- (ii) Language across Curriculum aims at management and manipulation of language as a means of effective communication across the disciplines.
- (iii) Language across Curriculum aims at developing linguistic proficiency of each and every learner based on the innate linguistic capacity and potential of the learners themselves and on the existing level of linguistic proficiency of the learners.
- (iv) The practice of Language across Curriculum attempts to develop a clear, precise, explicit, rational language use.

- (v) With changes in the development of modern society and educational policies the type of literacy promoted by modern school curriculum, and ways of learning, Language across Curriculum can no longer be perceived as an exclusive domain of language education or the development of the four basic skills of language. In the age of multimedia, various nonverbal means of representations, commonly called "discontinuous text" are acknowledged as an integral part of the semiotic system used for communication, in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking. Thus, scholars today identify eight modes of human linguistic activities (*Corsen*, 1990). These are—
 - (a) Listening—comprehending oral input
 - (b) Speaking—constructing meaningful utterances
 - (c) Reading—understanding written texts
 - (d) Writing—producing written text or discourse
 - (e) Viewing—attending to visual signs/information
 - (f) Shaping—using visual means of expressions
 - (g) Watching—attending to the movements
 - (h) Moving—using the whole body

In today's world language use practically encompasses all of the eight above mentioned modalities. Language across Curriculum accordingly has evolved to aim at develop linguistic competence of the learners on these lines.

- (vi) Language across Curriculum attempts to link language and learning, and ends at developing the learners' existing mental and linguistic capacities. Language across Curriculum focuses on constructive and potentially autonomous learning. *Corsen* (1990) quotes from a report by Ontario Ministry of Education, 1984 in this regard:

Language plays a central role in learning no matter what the subject area, students assimilate new concepts largely through language, that is, when they listen to and talk, read and write about what they are learning and relate this to what they already know. Through speaking and writing, language is linked to the thinking process and is held to be the external manifestation of human thought. Thus by explanation and expression of personal

interpretations of new learning in the various subject fields, students clarify and increase both their knowledge of the concepts in those fields and their understanding of the ways in which language is used in each. (p.75).

- (vii) In Language across Curriculum all the teachers participate in developing language within their fields of responsibility and contribute to a wholesome school learning policy.
- (viii) Language across Curriculum is a practice supported by findings in cognitive science, linguistics and language pedagogy itself.
- (ix) Language across Curriculum aims at developing language as a tool for effective conceptualizing and linking information.
- (x) Language across Curriculum attempts to bridge the gap between cognitively demanding tasks and their solutions in an increasingly decontextualized manner.
- (xi) Language across Curriculum aims at structuring discourse and realizing discourse functions.
- (xii) It is believed that Language across Curriculum aims at promoting "conceptual literacy".
- (xiii) Language across Curriculum aims at developing a comprehensive understanding of the integral position of language in all spheres of life as well as in all disciplines.

Teachers' Role in Implementing Language across Curriculum

- (i) It is important that the teachers collaborate among themselves. For instance the English teacher may teach the learners how to maintain a Language-log but it should be seen by the other subject teachers that the learners maintain the log while learning the other subjects.
- (ii) The teacher must provide a rich comprehensible input.
- (iii) The teacher must expose the learners to such a version of English language that shows form-function relationship.
- (iv) The teacher must create adequate opportunities for the learners to use authentic language.
- (v) The teacher must provide a reliable model of language use.

- (vi) The teacher must break up his/her presentation into small chunks.
- (vii) The teacher should adjust the pace of "teacher-talk" to adjust to the level of the learners in the content class of other subjects.
- (viii) The teacher must teach in a way that encourages student interaction.
- (ix) The teacher in other subject classes must begin teaching in English with topics that are easy and familiar to the learners to arouse their interest.
- (x) The teacher must repeat the sentences frequently in English.
- (xi) The teacher must rephrase the sentences for the benefit of the learners' comprehension in subject classes.
- (xii) The teacher must use English language flexibly across the curriculum.
- (xiii) The teacher must provide positive reinforcement to the students trying to respond in English.
- (xiv) The teacher must try to develop the learners' listening skills in all subject classes.
- (xv) The teacher must practice interactive teaching in order to facilitate class participation.
- (xvi) The teacher must prompt learners to respond and express in English by prompting cues.
- (xvii) The teacher must repeat and rephrase what learners say in appropriate language.
- (xviii) The teacher must equip learners with effective strategies of reading in every subject area.
- (xix) The teacher must encourage summarization of main points in English after every lesson in all the subjects.
- (xx) The teacher must make use of the back ground knowledge of the learners while initiating a discussion in English in any other subject area.
- (xxi) The teachers must employ the whole-school approach, that is, they must maximize the chance for students to revise and consolidate the language skills taught in the language class through various holistic activities across the curriculum.

- (xxii) Teachers of subjects other than English must also take care of their pronunciation since the learners mostly get exposure to the language in school.

Common Strategies for Implementing Language Across Curriculum

There are various strategies for integrating language with the content through the curriculum. The instructional strategies employed must be able to cater to the needs of all types of learners and must be grouped by support for comprehension, vocabulary, fluency and spelling. The classroom teacher must determine the most effective instructional strategy for her/his students. The provided instructional strategies should be used with diverse fictional and nonfiction texts; should be used before, during and after reading; should be used as pre- and post-assessments, and should be used with students independently, in pairs, in small groups and as a whole class. The teacher should modify and innovate the strategies freely according to the needs of the class. The instructional strategies presented must be introduced with explicit instruction and teacher modeling, and then continued with scaffolding and coaching from the teacher as students apply them to a range of texts. The instructional strategies must be implemented appropriately and with a specific purpose. It is important that teachers embed the strategies into the content they are already using that is aligned with state standards, district curriculum, school mission, and grade-level goals. Some of the most common strategies are discussed below:

(i) The Directed Reading-Thinking Activity or the DRTA (Stauffer, 1969; Readence, Moore, Rickelman)

The DRTA is a discussion format that focuses on making predictions. It requires students to use their background knowledge, make connections to what they know, make predictions about the text, set their own purpose for reading, use the information in the text and then make evaluative judgments. It can be used with nonfiction and fiction texts.

Procedure (begin by explaining and modeling)

1. The teacher divides the reading assignments into meaningful segments and plans the lesson around these segments.

2. In the class introduction, the teacher leads the students in thinking about what they already know about the topic. ("What do you know about ...? What connections can you make?")
3. The teacher then has the students preview the reading segment examining the illustrations, headings and other clues to the content.
4. The teacher asks students to make predictions about what they will learn.
5. Students may write individual predictions, write with a partner or contribute to an oral discussion creating a list of class predictions.
6. Students then read the selection and evaluate their predictions. Were their predictions verified? Were they on the wrong track? What evidence supported the predictions? Contradicted the predictions?
7. Students discuss their predictions and the content of the reading.
8. The teacher and students discuss how they can use this strategy on their own and how it facilitates understanding and critical thinking.
9. The teacher and students repeat the process with the next reading segment that the teacher has identified.
10. The teacher closes the lesson with a review of the content of the reading and a discussion of the prediction strategies students should use as they read any text.

After having done the DRTA several times with the whole class, the teacher can then have students work in small groups and follow the DRTA steps.

(ii) Question-Answer Relationship or QAR (Raphael, 1982; Readence, Moore, Rickelman, 2000)

QAR is a strategy that targets the question "Where is the answer?" by having the classroom teacher and eventually the students create questions that fit into a four-level thinking guide. The level of questions requires students to use explicit and implicit information in the text:

- **First level:** "Right There!" answers. Answers that are directly answered in the text. For example, using the story of Beauty and the Beast, a "Right There" question might be "How many sisters did Belle have?"
- **Second level:** "Think and Search." This requires putting together information from the text and making an inference. Again, with the Beauty and the Beast story, a second-level question might be "How did the beast help Belle?" or "What did Belle do on looking into the mirror?"
- **Third level:** "You and the Author." The answer might be found in the student's background knowledge, but would not make sense unless the student had read the text, e.g., "How did the author make the characters in the story believable? How is the main character like or unlike anyone you know or have read about?"
- **Fourth level:** "On Your Own." Poses a question for which the answer must come from the student's own background knowledge, e.g., "What do you think would have happened if the prince had broken the glass slipper?"

Procedure (begin by explaining and modeling):

1. The teacher makes up a series of QAR questions related to the materials to known to the students and a series of QAR questions related to the next reading assignment.
2. The teacher introduces QAR and explains that there are two kinds of information in a book: explicit and implicit.
3. The teacher explains the levels of questions and where the answers are found and gives examples that are appropriate for the age level and the content. A story like Cinderella that is known by most students usually works well as an example, even in high school classes.
4. The teacher then assigns a reading and the QAR questions he/she has developed for the reading. Students read, answer the QAR questions and discuss their answers.
5. The teacher and students discuss how they can use this strategy on their own and how it facilitates understanding and critical thinking.

6. After using the QAR strategy several times, the students can begin to make up their own QAR questions and in small groups share with their classmates.
7. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students can use this strategy in their own reading and learning.

The ultimate goal of this activity (and most of the activities presented here) is for students to become very proficient in using the activity and eventually use the activity automatically to help themselves comprehend text.

(iii) KWL Chart (Ogle, 1986; Readence, Moore, Rickelman, 2000; Beers, 2003)

The know/want-to-know/learned (KWL) chart guides students' thinking as they begin reading and involves them in each step of the reading process. Students begin by identifying what they already know about the subject of the assigned reading topic, what they want to know about the topic and finally, after they have read the material, what they have learned as a result of reading. The strategy requires students to build on past knowledge and is useful in making connections, setting a purpose for reading, and evaluating one's own learning.

Procedure (begin by explaining and modeling):

1. The teacher shows a blank KWL chart and explains what each column requires.
2. The teacher, using a current reading assignment, demonstrates how to complete the columns and creates a class KWL chart.

K (Know)	W (Want to Know)	L (learned)

- For the **know** column: As students brainstorm background knowledge, they should be encouraged to group or categorize the information they know about the topic. This step helps them get prepared to link what they know with what they read.

- For the **want-to-know** column: Students form questions about the topic in terms of what they want to know. The teacher decides whether students should preview the reading material before they begin to create questions; it depends on the reading materials and students' background knowledge. Since the questions prepare the students to find information and set their purpose for reading, previewing the material at this point often results in more relevant questions. Students should generate more questions as they read.
 - For the **learned** column: This step provides students with opportunities to make direct links among their purpose for reading, the questions they had as they read and the information they found. Here they identify what they have learned. It is a crucial step in helping students identify the important information and summarize the important aspects of the text. During this step, students can be reflective about their process and make plans.
3. The teacher on the next reading assignments can ask students individually or in pairs to identify what they already know and then share with the class, create questions for the want to-know column either individually or in pairs and share with class, and finally after reading, complete the learned column.
 4. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students can use KWL charts in their own reading and learning. Also, a discussion can take place about pertinent variations of the KWL chart's columns.

(iv) Comparison Matrix (Marzano, 2001)

Procedure: Teacher must explain and show how to proceed.

1. The teacher writes the subjects/categories/topics/etc. across the top row of boxes.
2. The teacher writes the attributes/characteristics/details/etc. down the left column of boxes.
3. Use as few or many of rows and columns as necessary; the students should try to recognize the similarities and differences between the provided topics and details.

4. Explain to and model for students what each column/row of the matrix requires.

An example is given below:

English

Character			
Settings			
Theme			
Point of View			

Geography

	West Bengal	Rajasthan	Kerala
Area			
Latitude/longitude			
Climate			
Physical Features			

(v) Response Notebooks (Readence, Moore, Rickelman, 2002; Hinson, 2000)

Writing is a very powerful learning tool. Students benefit greatly from exploring their thinking through writing. They clarify their ideas, identify confusing points, integrate new information with their background knowledge, and deepen their understanding and memory of the reading. Response notebooks provide many opportunities for students to use writing as a tool for learning. Teachers can use response notebooks or journals before students read an assignment, during the reading, and/or after the reading. Response notebook entries can be as simple or complex as the teacher chooses. One effective, efficient, simple way to use a response notebook is to pose an open-ended question before reading, have students respond after reading and then have students share with partners. Open-ended questions that have no single correct answer provide students with many possibilities for extending meaning. Here are just a few examples of possible open-ended questions: Was the title of the book/chapter a good

one? Why or why not? How is this book similar to or different from other books you have read? Is there anything in the reading so far that you do not understand, and if so, what is it? What makes a book a "good" one for you, and is this book in that category? Do you like the author's style of writing? Why or why not? If you could change the ending of the book, would you change it? Why or why not? Response entries may also require students to document their ideas with evidence from the text or react to another student's entries.

Procedure (begun by explaining and modeling)

1. The teacher introduces the response journal and models how to respond to open-ended questions, make connections to background knowledge, share feelings, justify opinions, etc.
2. Students then read and create their own responses in their notebooks or journals.
3. The teacher then asks students to share with the class and/or collects the journals, reads each student's journal entry and gives feedback.
4. The teacher and students discuss how they can use this strategy on their own and how it facilitates understanding and critical thinking.
5. Students throughout the year write regularly in their response notebooks and use their entries for class discussion, personal reflection or the basis for writing more formal pieces.

There are many models for a reader-response notebook. One model asks readers to write specific passages in one column and respond to them in an adjacent column. Students should be encouraged, through modeling, to provide extensive personal responses that include their own questions and reflections.

(vi) Text Response or questions

The teacher or students provides a direct quote from the text that is challenging, interesting and/or confusing. The student responds to the quote by predicting what will happen, what is confusing and why the quote is interesting (or uninteresting). It is a personal response to the passage chosen. To avoid the common occurrence of the one or two short, superficial responses

or a listing of facts only, the teacher needs to model a complete, thoughtful response and discuss his/her thinking process. Students should be encouraged to share quotes and responses in the discussion about the text. Another variation of the response notebook is the dialogue notebook. Students share notebooks and respond to one another in a third column. The dialogue notebook emphasizes the important connection between reading and writing; it is this connection that leads to improved reading comprehension.

Text Response Dialogue: The student chooses a challenging, interesting or confusing passage. He or she writes an initial response to the passage. This response may be only further questions about the passage. Another student reads the passage and the response and offers further insight or perhaps even more confusion. While the students are engaging in a written dialogue with one another, they are constructing meaning and deepening their understanding of the text. Again, it is necessary for the teacher to model this process initially with teacher-selected passages and teacher-prepared responses. The dialectical notebook is another response journal format. It asks students to respond to and make sense of a text. They are asked to write what they find interesting, boring, amusing, terrifying and/or confusing. They can relate what they are reading to other parts of a text, other texts and their own experience. Every response they make must be grounded on a piece of the text, some word, phrase, sentence or paragraph that is the focus of their comment. Types of responses may be (1) their first reaction to the text: what is confusing, annoying, intriguing, and why; (2) what the text reminds them of from their own experience or other texts; and (3) the bias of the writer/narrator and indicators of the bias. The dialectical notebook is designed for the students to use as a learning tool. It is an opportunity to dialogue with authors, to question their perceptions and ideas and to extend knowledge.

(vii) Anticipation Guides (Buehl, 2001)

Background knowledge of the learners is activated and prediction strategies encouraged. An Anticipation Guide is a series of statements that require students to use their background

knowledge and make predictions. Students are asked to read each statement of the Anticipation

Guide before they read the assignment and decide whether they agree or disagree with the statement. After they have completed the reading assignment, they go back to each statement and again decide whether they still agree or disagree, given their new knowledge. Anticipation guides provide connection to prior knowledge, engage students with the topic and encourage them to explore their own thoughts and opinions. Anticipation Guides follow a prescribed format. In this activity, the teacher creates a series of general statements related to the topic the students are going to read about. Typically, the statements are not specific details such as dates, definitions or numbers. Rather each statement is a more general statement that relates to the content but often involves some judgment. For example, a very general statement on an Anticipation Guide about the Civil War might be: "The Civil War was unavoidable" or "The Civil War still influences life in the United States."

Procedure

1. The teacher analyzes the material to be read; determines the major ideas—explicit and implicit.
with which the students will interact; creates short, clear declarative statements that reflect the world in which the students live or know.
2. The teacher then puts these statements into a format(a table give below) that will elicit anticipation or prediction making.
3. Students complete the Anticipation Guide before reading and the teacher leads a discussion and encourages the students to defend their positions with examples from their own background.

This gives students opportunities to share their thoughts with others to increase their exposure to different perspectives.

4. The teacher assigns the reading selection.
5. Students then revisit the statements and evaluate them in light of the information in the text and the author's purpose.

6. The teacher encourages students to reflect on their earlier predictions and feelings about ideas compared to their feelings after they have read the text.
7. The teacher and students discuss how this strategy facilitates understanding and critical thinking.

Before Reading Predications	General Statements	After Reading Support

(viii) Chapter Tour (Buehl, 2001)

Students benefit from learning how to use information in textbooks to construct meaning and improve comprehension. Reading-around-the-text is a pre-reading strategy used to preview text.

The text preview prepares students to understand what they will be reading. This strategy can be adapted to use with any text but works best with text that contains chapter introductions and summaries, chapter questions, pictures, diagrams and other graphics, and bold or colored vocabulary words or concepts.

Procedure

1. To begin, ask students to look at the pictures. Ask: What do the pictures seem to be about? Why do you think the author may have included these in the chapter?
2. Ask students to read the picture captions. Ask: Do the captions provide additional information about the pictures? Do the captions help confirm or change your predictions of what the chapter will be about?
3. Ask students to look at any maps, graphs or charts. Ask: What types of information do the graphics provide? Why did the authors include it in this section? What do the graphics tell me about the types of information that will be in this section?
4. Ask students to look for indications of big ideas: words or headings in bold type, colored words, or words with their

pronunciations given. Ask: Do you already know any of these words? Do these words give any clues about the subject of this section?

5. Ask students to read the first paragraph of the text (introduction) and the last paragraph (conclusion). Ask: What seems to be the major focus of the chapter according to the introduction and summary? What key ideas are mentioned? Based on this information, what do you think you will learn in this chapter? Why do you think so?
6. Tell students that any questions that appear at the end of a text section or chapter are very helpful when preparing to read. Model this stage of the strategy by using the following example:
"At the end of the section, I see the 'Content Check' questions. I know these questions are important because we often discuss them in class. Sometimes similar questions are on a test. The first question asks me about some vocabulary words from the section. What important terms should I know and understand after reading this section?"
7. Ask students to look at the remaining questions and ask them to consider what they will be expected to know after reading the section. Remind students that the text preview strategy is an important pre-reading technique. Encourage them to think about the ideas and information they learned from this strategy as they read.
8. The teacher models this strategy several times with the entire class and discusses how the students can use the strategy in their own reading and learning. The strategy can be adapted or modified to fit the text or the student. For instance, one group may be assigned to focus on the picture cues and captions, another group to focus on the big idea, and so on. Teachers may want to make a poster of the steps to display in the classroom and give students a smaller model that they can keep in their textbook.

(ix) Classification Chart (Marzano, 2001)

1. The teacher writes subjects/categories/topics/etc., across the top row of boxes.

2. Use as few or many of rows and columns as necessary; students try to recognize the similarities and differences between the provided topics and details.
3. Ensure the boxes are large enough to write in.
4. Charts can be provided in a variety of forms (e.g., varied sizes of paper, white boards, technology programs).
5. The teacher should explain to and model for students what each column/row of the matrix requires.

An example of such a chart is given below:

Descriptive Poem	Reflective Poem

This may be done in all the subjects where students need to think critically and fill up the tables in English language.

(x) Visualizing (Keene and Zimmerman, 1997; Boyles, Southern Connecticut State University, 2004)

Good readers create visual images or pictures in their minds as they are reading. Visualizing helps to enhance a student's comprehension and memory of the text. Texts that evoke strong emotions often do so because readers can picture a particular situation.

Procedure

1. The teacher reads a short selection aloud and models how he/she as a mature reader visualizes while reading.
2. The teacher reads another short selection and asks students to visualize as they listen. Discuss with the students what pictures they created in their minds and what words or ideas in the selection helped them create the pictures.
3. The teacher repeats the procedure several times until the students are comfortable with the concept of visualizing.
4. The teacher then asks students to read and visualize while they are reading and uses prompts such as:
 - a. When you were reading the story, did you make any pictures or images in your mind?

- Tell me everything you can about that picture or image.
- b. What do you see in your mind when you read this particular sentence?
 - c. Do the pictures or images help you to understand the story? How?
5. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students should use visualizing in their own reading and learning.

(xi) Metacognitive Procedures like "Think Aloud"
(Hinson, 2000; Wilhelm, 2001)

The think-aloud is a powerful, versatile teaching tool. It is an activity in which the "expert reader" (the teacher) demonstrates for students the thinking that occurs as he/she constructs meaning from a text. The "expert" reader makes visible to the students the thinking, questioning, predicting, reflecting, connecting and clarifying that occurs during reading. A think-aloud allows the student "to see" the reading strategies an "expert" reader uses.

Procedure

Wilhelm (2001) suggests following these steps in planning and using a think-aloud:

1. The teacher chooses a short piece of text.
2. The text should be interesting to students and at their instructional level.
3. The teacher explains how a think-aloud works and identifies the strategies being used.
4. Select one or two of the core reading strategies.
5. Tell students the purposes for reading the text.
6. Tell students to listen for the strategies the teacher is using as he/she thinks aloud.
7. The teacher reads the text aloud and thinks aloud as he/she reads.
8. Read the text slowly and stop frequently to "think-aloud"—reporting on the use of the targeted strategies—"Hmmm...." can be used to signal the shift to a "think-aloud" from reading.

9. Students underline the words and phrases that helped the teacher use a strategy.
10. The teacher and students list the strategies used.
11. The teacher asks students to identify other situations in which they could use these strategies.
12. The teacher reinforces the process with additional demonstrations and follow-up lessons.
13. When students are comfortable with the procedure, they can "help" the teacher as he/she does the think-aloud. The teacher models this process several times and students discuss how they might use the strategy and how it facilitates comprehension. Eventually, students should be able to do think-alouds on their own. A teacher may have students work with a partner or in small groups and practice thinking aloud.

(xii) Semantic Map (Stevens and Brown, 1999; Readence, Moore, Rickelman, 2000)

A semantic map is a visual presentation of a person's knowledge of and experiences with an identified concept. Creating a semantic map activates background knowledge and encourages making predictions about the text to be read.

Procedure

1. The teacher selects a big idea or topic in the passage, writes it on a chart, overhead or board, and puts a circle around it.
2. Students brainstorm subtopics related to the topic. Lines are used to connect these to the main topic.
3. Students then brainstorm specific vocabulary or ideas related to each subtopic. Record these ideas to each subtopic.
4. Students read the text and revise the semantic map to reflect new knowledge or add new circles. There is no limit to the subtopics.
5. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students can use semantic maps in their own reading and learning.

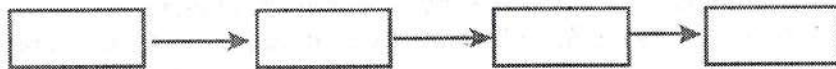
(xiii) Graphic Thinking Organizer (Hinson, 2000; Readence, Moore, Rickelman, 2000; Marzanno, 2001)

Graphic thinking organizers are visual representations of the organization of the ideas. These representations clarify the relationships of ideas and for many students make remembering the ideas easier. Students must have a wide variety of organizers to fit varied learning styles and situations. They make excellent pre-assessment, monitoring and post-assessment tools for teachers. Organizers must fit the text and purpose.

Procedure

1. The teacher chooses an organizer that matches the organizational structure of the material to be read. There are graphic organizers for most organizational patterns.
2. The teacher introduces the organizer and models how to fill in the important information based on the reading assignment.
3. Students then read and complete the organizer. This may be done individually, with a partner, or in small groups.
4. The teacher then discusses with the class how they completed the organizer, what ideas they included, and how this organizer summarizes the important ideas in the reading.
5. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students can use organizers in their own reading and learning.

Presentation of Time order/sequencing of events/flow of events in graphical format:



(xiv) Obstacle Course

1. The teacher organizes information that students will need to review.
2. The teacher plans obstacles that must be overcome by solving problems. This works best when a physical challenge and a mental challenge are put together. If the students are young the physical challenge can be simple;

as they get older the physical challenge should increase. Obstacle courses should have enough stations so that two to three students could be at a station together.

An example for language arts: Station 1-Students must spell a word then hop to the next station. Station 2-Students must write an answer to a question then skip to next station. Station 3-Students must match vocabulary words with meanings. Students jump the note card with the word to the note card with the definition (then replace them when they are done for the next student coming through).

An example for math: Station 1-Students can step only on numbers that are multiples of threes (make steppingstones out of paper, tape or hot spots). Station 2-Students must solve a problem and use the answer to lead them to the next obstacle (like the number of steps). Station 3-Students must divide the area into fractions and can safely travel through that area only ($1/4$ of area is safe for stepping).

3. Students progress through the obstacle course reviewing information. Students should start at different points so that there is no waiting. Students should travel in the same direction through the obstacle course (clockwise). If two to three students are traveling together, they can either work on the same problem together or have separate problems that they can choose to do. Students should replace any items that were disturbed while they were at a station.

(xv) "Walk this way-Talk this way-Look this Way" (American Medical Association, 1990; Gardner, 1999; Meckler, 1985)

Literacy includes the ability to see and interpret messages that are read, seen, and heard from all types of sources. Students will identify sources of media messages that promote dress, behavior, and body type, and analyze the messages—either obvious or cloaked. They will develop their own media message that promotes healthy behaviors—magazine, TV or radio ad, bulletin board message, webpage, billboard, pamphlet, or flier—making a clear statement to persuade others to make health—

enhancing decisions. This activity provides a strategy for teaching/reinforcing visual arts and literacy skills while identifying, accessing, evaluating and applying health skills and concepts at the same time. Students are exposed to an onslaught of media messages every day, from television, radio/iPod, magazine and Internet. Advertisers promote products by making certain appearances and body types appear cool and acceptable. By interpreting media and applying messages to themselves, adolescents and teens develop self-concepts that are positive or negative, self-acceptable or unacceptable in comparison to these images. Adolescents and teens are increasingly uncomfortable with their body images. The media set unrealistic standards for the way people should look, dress and act. Individuality and a healthy body are more important than current fashions. In this activity, students will explore messages in the media and advocate more healthy and realistic role models.

Procedure

1. Invite students to check out the cover and advertisements of any magazine they read. Ask the students to discuss whether the images are really what normal people look like, if this is what people are supposed to look like, and if it is realistic to look like the people in the pictures.
2. Challenge students to explore the media's effects on body image.
3. Challenge students to create an advertisement targeted to people their own age that advocates a healthy body image based on individual differences while promoting healthy lifestyles and behaviors. Key concepts to incorporate into this activity include body types, components of body image, and elements of fitness. Let students know they will be assessed on their ability to show concepts and skills that advocate for healthy role models, healthy body and healthy behaviors.

(xvi) Concept Definition Map (Schwartz and Raphael, 1985; Buehl, 2001)

A word map is a diagram of a word's meaning that includes what it is, what characterizes it and what are examples of it. The

purpose of a word map is to build personal meanings by connecting the new information with prior knowledge. It is a simple strategy that works well with content vocabulary. This is applied to content of any subject.

Procedure

1. The teacher selects or has students select a word to be explored and places the word in the center of the word map.
2. The teacher asks students to determine a definition that best describes the word and write it in an appending box.
3. Next the students provide some words that are synonyms.
4. The students then provide some specific examples of the word.
5. The teacher and students discuss the word map and relate it to the reading assignment.
6. Students read the text, revisit the map, and make modifications or additions.
7. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students can use word maps in their own reading and learning of concepts from any subject.

Words	Synonyms	Definition	Examples

(xvii) Context Clues for Determining Word Meanings

Context clues can sometimes be very helpful in facilitating students' inferring of unfamiliar word meanings. It should be noted that the focus here is on using context to figure out what words mean, not on using context to read words.

Procedure

1. The teacher explains to students the eight types of context clues and gives examples of each.

Eight types of context clues:

- Definition—uses a definition that often connects the unknown word to a known word

- Example-Illustration—uses an example or illustration to describe the word
 - Compare-Contrast—uses a comparison or contrast to define the word
 - Logic—uses a connection such as a simile to the unknown word
 - Root Words and Affixes—uses meaningful roots and affixes to determine meaning
 - Grammar—provides syntactical cues that allow the reader to hypothesize meaning
 - Cause and Effect—uses a cause and effect example that allows the reader to hypothesize the meaning
 - Mood and Tone—uses a description of mood related to the word that allows the readers to determine the meaning (Vacca and Vacca, 1999)
2. The teacher uses a read-aloud and think-aloud to demonstrate how to use one or more of the clues to determine the meaning of a difficult or unfamiliar word in the text. The think-aloud highlights the most effective clue based on the context of the sentence. The teacher should model how readers use several of the clues to figure out the meanings of unknown words.
 3. If the context does not provide enough information, the teacher demonstrates other strategies for figuring out the meaning of the word—such as making an educated guess, using a dictionary, talking to a friend, etc.
 4. The teacher and students discuss how to use these context clues as they read and how they help the students understand the text.

(xviii) List-Group-Label (Readence, Moore, Rickelman, 2000)

Activating prior knowledge about a topic helps in the development of a clearer understanding about concepts to be learned. In the List-Group-Label activity students begin with a key word and then proceed to categorize and organize around these categories their background knowledge and eventually their new knowledge from the text.

Procedure

1. The teacher writes a cue vocabulary word on the board or overhead.
2. Students brainstorm other words related to the vocabulary word while the teacher writes down all ideas.
3. The teacher leads a discussion about whether any words or concepts should be eliminated and, if so, why.
4. The teacher divides the class into groups of three or four. The groups cluster the words and give each cluster a descriptive term.
5. The groups share their clusters and give reasons for their choices. There are no wrong answers if clusters and labels can be justified.
6. Students then read the text. When finished, the teacher asks the students to revisit their clusters and change, add to or modify their clusters.
7. The teacher and students share their clusters and discuss their rationales.
8. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students can use list-group-label in their own reading and learning.

(xix) Possible Sentences

In the possible sentences activity students are given the new vocabulary terms from a reading assignment and asked to create sentences that they believe are reasonable, possible uses of the words. This activity encourages students to use their background knowledge, draw connections between the known and unknown, and make predictions about the content of the reading assignment.

Procedure

1. The teacher chooses six to eight words from the text that are key concepts for the topic being studied and lists them on the board or overhead.
2. The teacher then chooses another four to six words from the text that may be more familiar to the students and list them on the board or overhead.

3. The students (individuals or groups) develop sentences using at least two of the words in each sentence. The teacher writes all contributed sentences on the board.
4. After reading, the students revisit the original sentences to confirm, extend or revise as needed. They add any new information to the sentences and then can use the revised sentences as the basis for creating summaries.
5. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students can use possible sentences in their own reading and learning.

(xx) Semantic Feature Analysis

The semantic feature analysis activity requires students to make predictions about attributes related to specific vocabulary words or concepts, to set a purpose for reading or researching, and to confirm predictions.

Procedure

1. The teacher selects a topic, some words or categories that relate to the topic or theme and lists the words in the left-hand column of the semantic feature analysis chart.
2. The teacher then chooses attributes that relate to one or more of the words and lists those across the top row of the chart.
3. Students study the words and attribute and make predictions about which attributes relate to each word by placing a "+" if it is a characteristic, a "-" if it is not, and a "?" if they are not sure.
4. The teacher and students discuss their predictions and students explain why they chose specific characteristics.
5. Students then read and modify their charts as they find additional information.
6. After completing the reading, the students share completed charts in small groups and then discuss as a class.
7. The teacher closes this activity with a discussion of how students can use semantic feature analysis charts in their own reading and learning of content from any subject like History, English, Political Science etc.

(xxi) Vocabulary with Analogy with Word Walls (McLaughlin and Allen, 2002)

The vocabulary-by-analogy helps students use morphemes (examples: *non-*, *-cracy*) to figure out the meaning of unknown words and make connections between words they know and new words. It targets common root words, prefixes and suffixes.

Procedure

1. The teacher explains the meanings of common roots, prefixes and suffixes, and provides examples of each from the content vocabulary. (e.g., *democracy*, *triangle*, *bisect*)
2. The teacher and students create a word wall of these examples. Students may also create individual, personal word charts.
3. The teacher models for students, using a think-aloud, how to use these parts of words to figure out the meaning of unfamiliar words.
4. The teacher provides opportunities for students to practice figuring out new vocabulary by analogy in context. Prompt students with verbal cues if necessary. Refer them to use the class word wall as a resource.
5. The teacher encourages students to use this strategy to figure out the meaning of new words they encounter while reading.

(xxii) Readers' Theater

Readers Theater is another technique for improving students' reading fluency. It involves having students "perform" plays or narrative stories that are practiced over a period of time (usually several days). These performances do not necessarily have to involve props, costumes or a stage; they can be as informal (or as formal) as desired. If a narrative story is used, one that has a number of characters and dialogue is best. The Readers Theater fluency technique is typically used at the lower end of the 4-12 grade range, although it could easily be employed with older students. Readers Theater can also be adapted to certain content areas, especially social studies and history, if content-relevant dramatic material is selected (see, e.g., Morris, 2001). As in the repeated-readings technique, the reading material should be at students' instructional to independent reading levels.

Procedure

1. The teacher selects an appropriate narrative or play and prepares rehearsal copies. In each copy, individual characters' roles are highlighted. If a narrative is used instead of a play, students will also need to be assigned as narrators (i.e., their tasks will be to read parts of the narrative that do not involve dialogue). The teacher can divide students into groups and give each group the same play/narrative, or alternatively, the groups can be assigned different plays/narratives.
2. The teacher practices reading parts of each "script" aloud with students for effective modeling, with particular attention to the ways that oral expression affects meaning (e.g., how different characters' feelings may be conveyed through differences in intonation).
3. Students practice their scripts in groups with the teacher circulating among groups to provide feedback and coaching. The teacher also ensures that the students have good comprehension of their scripts. During group practice, members of the groups should alternate roles so that all group members have a chance to try out different roles.
4. After the groups have had adequate time to practice their scripts (typically several class sessions), students choose (or the teacher assigns) roles. Students take home copies of their scripts to practice reading (but not memorizing) their roles at home.
5. Students "perform" their scripts (i.e., read them expressively) in front of an audience, which may simply involve other class members, or which may include different classrooms, teachers and/or parents.

(xxiii) Spelling Self-correction

This activity helps students recognize and self-correct their own spelling errors. It can be used with students at any age who have at least a basic level of spelling skill (e.g., the ability to spell most words phonetically) and in any content area where students' spelling is a concern.

Procedure

1. The teacher begins by explaining to students why recognizing and being able to correct one's own spelling errors is important. She/he further explains that three main types of mistakes account for most spelling errors.
2. One type of error involves misspelling a word because you pronounce it differently from the standard way of pronouncing it (e.g., *git* for *get* or *ax* for *ask*). To catch this error, you can try asking the teacher or other students to pronounce a word. Listen carefully to see if they pronounce the word the way you do.
3. A second type of error is misspelling a word because, even though you included the correct letters, you did not write them in the correct sequence (e.g., *gouren* for *govern*, or *claps* for *clasp*). To catch this mistake, carefully read over what you have written and try to say each word as you have spelled it. Look for words where you may have inadvertently reversed letters.
4. The third and most common error involves misspelling a word because, even though you spelled it the way it sounds, you picked the wrong spelling of a sound. In English many sounds can be spelled more than one way. Examples of these kinds of errors include *graff* for *graph* or *candel* for *candle*. You can catch these types of errors by being aware of multiple ways to spell the same sound and by using resources such as dictionaries.
5. Using a recent writing sample, have students exchange samples with a partner and look for each other's misspelled words, circling them. Have students try to classify the words according to the type of spelling error.
6. Students then check the spelling of the words in a dictionary or other resource and write the correct spelling.
7. Encourage students to use their knowledge about the three types of errors in editing their written work, as well as to make use of classroom resources such as dictionaries, a proofreading partner, spell-checkers, and the teacher.

(xxiv) Clues to Spellings from Word Relationships

One reason why English spelling is difficult is that in long words, vowels in unaccented syllables often take a schwa sound (a brief, unstressed short u or short i sound). For example, it is impossible to "hear" that the second vowel in *definition* is spelled with an i or that the second vowel in *colonist* is spelled with an o; these are both schwa sounds that could be spelled in multiple ways (e.g., *definition* is an acceptable phonetic rendition of *definition*). However, multisyllabic English words often have stable bases or roots that provide clues to the spelling of related words. The following activity is intended to convey this concept to students as a way to help them spell unfamiliar long words.

Procedure

1. The teacher asks the students to write the following words: *definition, colonist, human, composition, inspiration, perfect, democratic, competition, hostile, invitation*. She/he then asks the students to circle the second vowel in each word. She/he notes that, in each word, these vowel sounds are especially difficult to spell because they have an unstressed (schwa) sound - you can't "hear" the correct vowel the way you often can hear it in shorter words.
2. Using the first word (*definition*) as an example, the teacher illustrates how knowledge of related words can serve as a clue to spelling. The word *define* is related to *definition*, and in *define*, you can clearly hear the i sound. If necessary, students should correct their spellings of *definition*.
3. Using the second word (*colonist*) as an example, the teacher also illustrates that the most helpful related word is not necessarily the root word or a shorter word. *Colony* is not helpful in spelling the second vowel of *colonist*, because *colony* also has a schwa vowel in the same position. However, the related word *colonial* provides the clue that the second vowel sound is represented by an o. If necessary, students should correct their spellings of *colonist*.
4. Individually or in teams, students should consider the remainder of the words on their lists. They should be directed to write all related words they can think of, find the related word that provides the clue to the spelling of

the original word on the list, and correct the spelling of the original word if necessary (examples of helpful related words are listed below). They can also be asked to highlight or underline the part of each word that is stable in spelling (e.g., *human, humanity, humanly, inhuman, superhuman*). While the students are working, the teacher circulates among them and provides assistance as needed.

5. The teacher summarizes the spelling strategy for students or elicits the strategy from them: "If you are not sure how to spell a vowel sound in a long word, try to think of a word related in meaning." Helpful related words for the words in the list: *human, humanity; composition, compose; inspiration, inspire; perfect, perfection; democratic, democracy; competition, compete; hostile, hostility; invitation, invite*.

(xxv) Guided Discovery

The teacher of a subject other than English may use this technique to enhance English speaking or writing in relation to their subject area and at the same time engage the learners in a type of discovery learning. This naturally contributes to greater retention of facts and concepts among the students. For instance, the teacher may write a question like "What are the causes for the downfall of the Mughal Empire?" on the blackboard with a key word "downfall" underlined. He/she can urge the learners to find out the meaning of this new word on their own and then write or orally provide the appropriate answer. The learners may be further given a task of finding out more about the "downfall" of other dynasties in Indian history with the newly acquired knowledge of the word and its application. It also engages the learners in semantic analysis.

(xxvi) Glossary

The teachers of subjects other than English may prepare a list of words that would be needed for the topic they would teach in class. The students may contribute to the glossary by self study. They may be urged to prepare glossaries on their own. This is beneficial because the learners can critically reflect upon what is needed for understanding the concept taught in the class and

prepare a glossary on the basis of that. It enables the learners to learn independently and engage in independent exercises based on language.

(xxvii) Vocabulary Log

Vocabulary log is a very effective technique of promoting the use of language across the curriculum. The following steps may be followed in order to create a vocabulary log:

1. A word or phrase is highlighted in a passage of a subject other than English. The sentence containing the word or phrase is copied to show the learners how that word or phrase is used.
2. The parts of speech should be written. A dictionary may be used if necessary.
3. The definition of the word or the conceptual implications of the phrase must be written down. In case there are more than one definitions or implications, the most suitable one must be chosen, depending on the use of the particular word or phrase in the passage.
4. The students are then urged to make their own sentences with the word or phrase so that they may get the feel of the actual use of the word/phrase.
5. Computers may be used to create a centralized vocabulary log which can be constantly updated.
6. The vocabulary log so created may gradually become a tailored digital dictionary for the whole school.

The teachers must work in collaboration for the effective implementation of the vocabulary log. The English teacher may teach the student how to create the vocabulary log, but the other subject teachers must encourage the learners to use it and enhance it.

Language cannot be effectively learnt without a context while learning in all subjects is dependent upon language. In view of the above, language and content are closely interrelated. In fact, content subjects provide a context for language while effective language development facilitates the learning of content subjects. It is therefore necessary to integrate language and content.

Benefits

- (i) Use of language across the curriculum motivates the learners
- (ii) The learners need not adjust themselves to a new medium of instruction in the language class, but acquires the language easily through study of other interesting content areas in the language across the curriculum approach.
- (iii) Interdisciplinary/cross-curricular teaching provides the conditions under which effective learning occurs. Students learn more when they use the language arts skills to explore what they are learning, write about what they are learning, and interact with their classmates, teachers, and members of the community (Thaiss, 1986).
- (iv) Language across the curriculum provides a reliable basis of comprehension on which the learners can erect comprehensive understanding of the various aspects of language use in relation to the other subjects in the curriculum.
- (v) Helps the learners in acquiring new subject specific terminology in English.
- (vi) Generates new and authentic contexts for the use of language.
- (vii) Breaks down subject barriers to promote higher order thinking skills necessary for a wholesome learning experience.
- (viii) Promotes basic skills like Reading comprehension and verbal and written communication in all subject areas through a systematic practice of Language across the curriculum.

Problems

Corson (1990) proffers a comprehensive list of difficulties associated with implementation of Language across Curriculum. They are briefly mentioned below:

- (i) Teachers are not always prepared to welcome such a practice.
- (ii) Teachers lack confidence in integrating language with different content areas.

- (iii) There is considerable resistance from other subject teachers who are not competent enough to teach in English or even monitor the use of language in their subject classes.
- (iv) The subject teachers feel that they are reduced to the role of language teachers in their respective classes though that is not the objective of Language across Curriculum.
- (v) Most teachers do not have a clear idea about the practice of Language across Curriculum.
- (vi) There is no clear conceptualization in many educational institutions about what it means to transact language lessons across the curriculum.
- (vii) Supporting learning of other subject matter through language work calls for administrative support but due to lack of understanding of the practice, there is still lack of adequate support and encouragement in many institutions.
- (viii) Individual teachers refuse to take up responsibility for effective implementation of language lessons across the curriculum.
- (ix) Teachers lack time to collaborate properly.
- (x) Most subject teachers consider it an extra load and are reluctant to take up the challenge though they may be appreciative of the philosophy behind such a practice.
- (xi) There is a structural weakness in the educational institutes in that no one feels confident or qualified in subject-specific language skills in conceptualizing Language across Curriculum. For instance, a Science, History or Geography teacher of a Bengali medium school in west Bengal or a Hindi medium school in any other state of India may not possess adequate qualifications or competency to conceptualize English Language across Curriculum.
- (xii) The practising teachers do not have the necessary exposure to issues of academic language use and integration of English with other content areas. They are frequently also not proficient in use of English.
- (xiii) Most of the teachers lack adequate knowledge and competence of defining specific goals in conceptual terms and so rely heavily on available text books for transaction

of the lesson. Practices like Language across Curriculum that calls for planning beyond the subject-specific content poses a challenge to them.

THEORIES OF LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

NOAM CHOMSKY

Noam Chomsky was born in 1928 in Philadelphia, PA. He was an eminent linguist and political activist. He has composed and published many literary works that have been dispersed throughout the world and have touched all four corners. He has worked to further the study and understanding of linguistics from both the biological and psychological perspective. Despite his linguistic endeavors, Chomsky has made the time to work for furthering peace, justice and fighting oppression and ignorance throughout the world. He has spoken against political intellectuals who have physically or even psychologically forced other countries to adopt their doctrines, even when it meant speaking up against his nature country. Such was the case during the Vietnam War, when Chomsky opposed US military involvement within the Vietnam borders. Chomsky's interest in linguistics can be traced back to his undergraduate days at the University of Pennsylvania. The professor that oversaw this blooming interest was Zellig S. Harris. It was through this professor's suggestion that Chomsky should try to diagram a systematic structure of some language. So Chomsky turned his attention to doing just that with the Hebrew language and the initial creation of his undergraduate thesis in 1949. Which he then went on to rewrite and finish in 1951 as *Morphophonemics of Modern Hebrew*. In this paper, he tried to explain the dispersal of phonetic forms in Hebrew. Chomsky kept reworking this idea until its final publication as *The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory*. At first, his book was denied publication time and time again. It was finally accepted and started many linguist down the path that Chomsky had started to carve. Despite his work as a linguist, Chomsky is also a renowned intellectual, author, political activists, civil libertarian, and anarchist. After his undergraduate studies, Chomsky moved on to Harvard University as a Junior Fellow in the Harvard University Society

of fellows. This was during the early fifties and the young Chomsky had created a structural theory of linguistics that caused quite a stir. After Harvard, Chomsky went on to teach linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In his view, to truly study language is to study a part of human nature, manifested in the human mind. What does he mean by this? To begin, one has to understand what Chomsky thinks the nature of human languages actually is, and why it is so interesting. One of the fundamental aspects of human language, according to Chomsky, is its creative nature. The last sentence (and, in fact, this one) have probably never been produced before in the history of the world. The same is true for much of what we say every day. So, we do not seem to learn or to speak language by purely imitating other people. How are we able to judge whether a sentence sounds okay? Can we literally have a list of sentences in our mind against which we check each new sentence we hear? Chomsky argues not, since our brains are finite but English is potentially infinite (consider the sentences "I like the number one", "I like the number one and I like the number two", "I like the number one and I like the number two and I like the number three," etc.). Can we process each new sentence by analogy with ones that we've heard before? Chomsky argues that this is not possible either, since, he claims, analogies are too loose to explain our understanding of complex sentences. For instance, if we remove the last two words of the simple sentence "Abby is baking vegan muffins" we get a sentence that means she's baking something (maybe muffins, maybe not). But if (by analogy) we remove the same words from the complex sentence "Abby is too tasteful to pour gravy on vegan muffins" we get "Abby is too tasteful to pour gravy on," which should (by the analogy) mean she doesn't pour gravy on something, but instead means that no one should pour gravy on her. In contrast to these alternate theories, Chomsky argues that we can make these judgements because we possess an abstract system of unconscious knowledge about our language. This system of knowledge includes, for starters, knowledge about sentence structure and word order (we know that "Bites the dog man" is not the way to express the meaning that the dog is biting a man). It also includes knowledge about meaning (we know that

when we speak of a brown house, it is the outside of the house that is brown, not the inside), and knowledge about sounds (we can tell when someone is speaking with an accent not our own). Chomsky argues that this knowledge of language is separate from other types of knowledge that we have; that we don't just use general-purpose strategies (like analogy) to make the judgements that we do. To possess this kind of knowledge, says Chomsky, is what it means to "know English" (or any other language). How do we come by this knowledge of language; how do we learn our native language? It's not likely that parents explicitly teach kids these rules in the cradle. And, because of both the abstractness of the rules and the complexity of the samples of languages that even infants hear, Chomsky doesn't think that general smarts can do the job either. (Children with otherwise severe learning difficulties often learn language easily.) Instead, he argues that something specifically about human language must be innate—that is, available to us by virtue of being human, specified somehow in our genetic makeup. Chomsky is not saying that humans are born with English or Vietnamese or any other language 'hardwired-in'. These innate properties must be properties available to all human languages. According to one theory, these properties are composed of principles and parameters—what is called 'universal grammar'—principles being universal to all human languages, with cross-language variation accounted for by parameters each of which can be set in any of a small number of ways, like a light switch that can be turned on or off. Learning a language, in this view, means setting parameter values; setting the switches in a particular way. So how do Chomsky's theories of knowledge of language and how we come to know it relate to the study of human nature? As one might guess, he rejects the view of the human mind as a blank slate at birth, filled in by experience. Rather, Chomsky suggests that components of the mind, including language and other systems of knowledge, are largely innately determined. Experience (of one's culture, language, etc.) does not fill a blank slate, but instead interacts with innate properties to form 'competence' in these different systems of knowledge. All these components interact with each other, or are linked in unknown ways to form the object of vast complexity that is the human

mind. Chomsky's theory of language and mind has been influential on scholars in many different fields—cognitive psychology, philosophy, some branches of mathematics. Even in the U.S. where his theories have perhaps been the most influential, there are many competing models of language and the mind. While some who object to Chomsky's arguments seem to misunderstand his theories, naturally many have genuine disagreements with some of his assumptions. But most, perhaps, would recognize some of his general contributions to the modern study of the mind. Chomsky has shown that the study of the mind cannot limit itself strictly to the examination of behaviour. The concept of an unconscious 'knowledge state' is not unscientific, as some other modern theorists of mind have assumed. Instead, such concepts are essential in order to account for the complexity and creativity exhibited by the normal human mind.

Universal Generative Grammar

Noam Chomsky determined that there is a universal grammar which may be said to be the genetic birth right of human beings. According to Chomsky, human beings are born with a basic template for language that any specific language can fit into. Chomsky cites the past development of language among the infants as an example. The infants, mostly dissociated from the outer world, developing in a protective home environment, learn to use language in a variety of ways and this proves that human beings do not need specific grammatical lessons for language development. They are capable of using language meaningfully and in different ways by dint of their innate and inborn capabilities. According to Chomsky people are not genetically programmed for any specific language and a Chinese baby born and brought up in England will naturally apply his or her inborn linguistic template to learn English and not to learn Chinese. Chomsky also argued that the capacity for organising words into relationships with each other is inherent and the ordinary use of language is creative, innovative and more than merely a response to a stimulus as the behaviourist model suggested.

Chomsky's basic assumptions and theories may be summarized in the following way:

- (i) The speaker of any language should be the source of all linguistic study
- (ii) A fundamental distinction should be made between competence and performance. Competence, according to Chomsky is the native speaker's knowledge of his language, the system of rules he has mastered, and his ability to produce and understand a vast number of new sentences. Competence is the study of the system of rules, while performance is the study of actual sentences themselves and a study of the actual use of language in real-life situation. So it may be said that a speaker's knowledge of the structure of a language is his linguistic competence and the way in which he uses it, is his linguistic performance.

Competence is an underlying mental system and it underlies human speech, linguistic ability to analyse language, ability to detect ambiguities, ignore mistakes, understand new sentences and produce entirely new sentences. Competence may be said to be a set of principles or a kind of code, while Performance is an act of encoding and decoding. Chomsky, in his *Selected Readings*, explains—"For anyone concerned with intellectual processes, or with any question that goes beyond mere date arranging, it is the question of competence that is fundamental. Obviously one can find out about competence only by studying performance; but this study must be carried out in devious and clever ways, if any serious result is to be obtained." (p.131).

Thus the abstract, internal grammar which enables a speaker to utter and understand an infinite number of potential utterances is a speaker's competence, which is free from the inreference of memory span, characteristic errors or lapses of attention. In *Selected Readings*, Chomsky clarifies that—

" The speaker has represented in his brain a grammar that gives an ideal account of the structure of the sentences

of his language, but, when actually faced with the task of speaking or understanding many other factors, acts upon his underlying linguistic competence to produce actual performance. He may be confused or have several things in mind, or change his plan in midstream. Since this is obviously the condition of most actual linguistic performance, a direct record—an actual corpus—is almost useless as it stands, for linguistic analysis of any but the most superficial kind." (p.130-131).

Chomsky's competence/performance dichotomy comes close to Saussure's *langue/parole*, yet the main difference is that Saussure stressed the sociological implications of *langue* while Chomsky stresses the psychological implications of competence.

- (iii) Linguistic theory should be mentalistic. Chomsky regards linguistics as a sub-field of psychology. He outlines his views in his book *Language and Mind* where he asserts that the study of human mind is imperative for the study of human language. Language is seen to be influencing and getting influenced by memory, motivation, attention, recall and perception.
- (iv) Grammar refers to a finite grammar which generates an infinite number of sentences.
- (v) The grammar of a language is not a classification of some examples, nor an inventory of units. The cognitive processes that go on in the mind of speaker and the listener, are important. Relationships must be established between the sentence and parts of the sentence.
- (vi) A grammatical theory should state linguistic goals clearly and should have observational, descriptive and explanatory adequacy. It should also establish linguistic universals. Traditional grammar included observations, rules and regulations about language, whereas Chomsky's grammar has a method and a goal. It is unified, coherent, and constituent system related to many other systems.
- (vii) There are linguistic universals and linguist should ascertain the universals and the essential properties of language.

- (viii) There is a universal grammar of all natural languages and all languages must be described in terms of these common principles.
- (ix) Human beings are born with an innate capacity to learn language and man is unique among all animals in possession of speech. Successive generations seem to acquire it without any special training. In this sense language exists as an inherent capability and human speech is nothing but the external manifestation of this innate capacity.
- (x) The sentence, rather than sound, is a natural and proper place to begin work on grammar.
- (xi) Language is a relationship between sound and meaning.
- (xii) Linguistics, psychology and philosophy are related.

FERDINAND DE SAUSSURE

The credit for bringing a revolution in the field of linguistics goes to the Swiss scholar Ferdinand de Saussure. He is the founder of modern linguistics, the father of **Structural Linguistics** which came to be called **Descriptive Linguistics** also. At the age of twenty, while still a student at Leipzig, he left his linguistic imprint by publishing his monumental treatise on the Proto-Indo-European vocalic system. He studied under the neogrammarians Orthoff and Leiskien, yet refuted their atomistic approach to linguistics. He attempted to frame a coherent theory of linguistic science. In his work, he was influenced by Brugmann, naturalistic philologist Schleicher, Geo-linguist Gillen, Whitney and the Kazaan school of linguistics etc.

Saussure knew many languages—Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Swiss, French, Old German etc. At Paris, where he taught Sanskrit for ten years from 1881 to 1891 and served as secretary of the Linguistic Society of Paris, his influence on the development of linguistics was decisive. Later on he accepted the Chair of Linguistics at the University of Geneva where he taught linguistics between 1906 and 1911.

His *Course de linguistique generale*, (hereafter the *Course*) was published in 1916, three years after his death, from his lecture notes by his two students—**Charles Bally** (1865-1947)

and Albert Sechehaye (1870-1946). His main work is the *Course*. It is this book that marks the beginning of modern linguistics and tries to study language synchronically for its own sake.

Saussure introduced the following notions in linguistics:

- (1) Synchrony and Diachrony
- (2) Langage, Langue and Parole
- (3) Linguistic Sign
- (4) Linguistic Value/Associative Value
- (5) Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic

Synchrony and Diachrony

Synchrony is a study of language in a given time while **Diachrony** is a study of language through time. Synchronic Linguistics is also called Descriptive Linguistics and studies a language at one period of time. It investigates the way people communicate in a given speech community at a given point of time. Diachronic Linguistics is also called Historical Linguistics or Temporal Linguistics and it studies the development of languages through time. For instance Diachronic study would deal with French and Italian evolving from Latin, or, the way in which Hindi developed from Sanskrit. Diachronic Studies would also investigate language changes. According to Saussure,

"Synchronic linguistics will be concerned with the logical and psychological relations that bind together co-existing terms and form a system in the collective mind of the speakers. Diachronic linguistics on the contrary, will study relations that bind together successive terms not perceived by the collective mind but substituted for each other without forming a system" (*Course in General Linguistics*, 1959).

Synchronic Linguistics deals with systems while Diachronic Linguistics deals with units. Saussure clearly distinguished between the two and considered the former more important. He argued that—

"The first thing that strikes us when we study the facts of language is that their succession in time does not exist in so far as the speaker is concerned. He is confronted with a state. That is why the linguist who wishes to understand a state must discard all knowledge of everything that produced it and ignore diachrony."

Thus the condition or situation in which a person uses language for a given purpose is more important than how that language evolved over the years.

Langage, Langue and Parole

Saussure made a sharp distinction between three main terms, namely, **le langage**, **le langue** and **le parole**. He argued that human speech as a whole or **le langage** was composed of two aspects that he called Langue or the language system and **le parole** or the act of speaking.

Linguists believe that there is no exact English equivalent of **le langage** which practically embraces the faculty of language in all its various forms and manifestations. It is the faculty of human speech present in all normal human beings by heredity but needs environmental stimuli for adequate and proper development. It is the human capacity to talk to each other. It is a comprehensive whole covering several areas simultaneously like physical, psychological, and physiological. It belongs to the individual and the society. Saussure argued in his book *Course in General Linguistics* that **le langage** cannot be classified into any particular category of human facts and one cannot discover its unity. **Le langage** is a universal behaviour trait.

Le Langue, according to Saussure, is the "collective fact" or the totality of a language, deducible from an examination of the memories of all the language users. It has been defined as the "sum of word-images in the minds of individuals [which] is not to be confused with human speech (language) of which it is only a definite part, though certainly an essential one." It is both a social product of the faculty of speech and a collection of necessary conventions that have been adopted by a social body to permit individuals to exercise it. Langue therefore may be said to be a corporate, social phenomenon and homogenous in nature. Langage on the contrary was heterogeneous. **Le langue** is a system of linguistic signs which are not abstract but real entities, amenable to be reduced to conventional written symbols. One may say that **Le langue** is a sumtotal of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. As explained by *Hjelmslev*, The term **langue**, as used by Saussure, included three distinct concepts. They are—

- (i) The **language scheme** or the pure language form defined independently of its social realization and physical manifestations
- (ii) The **language norm** or the material form defined by its social realization but independent of particular manifestations
- (iii) The **language custom** or a set of customs accepted by a particular society and defined by observable manifestations.

Langue is related to Parole which implies the actual usage by the individuals. Parole is what a community actually manifests in its everyday speech. It is the concrete act of speaking by an individual, a controlled or controllable psycho-physical activity.

Le Parole is a set of all utterances that have actually been produced as opposed to langue that refers to the set of all possible grammatical sentences in the language. Parole has been defined by linguists as a personal, dynamic, social activity which exists at a particular time and place and in a particular situation, while langue has been explained as existing apart from any particular manifestation in speech. Parole is what one utters and is heard while langue constitute the underlying structures of that uttered speech. **Stephen Ullman** (1962) in his book *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* tabulated the main differences between langue and parole in the following manner:

Langue	Parole
Code	Encoding of message
Potential	Actualized
Social	Individual
Fixed	Free
Slow-moving	Ephemeral
Psychological	Psycho-physical

Saussure's Theory of Linguistic Sign

Saussure mentions, "Some people regard language, when reduced to its elements, as a naming-process only - a list of words, each corresponding to the things that it names" (Saussure 1959 : 65). This conception assumes that "ready-made ideas exist before

words..., it does not tell us whether a name is vocal or psychological in nature..., finally, it lets us assume that the linking of a name and a thing is a very simple operation - an assumption that is anything but true." It is this assumption that makes him regard language as "a system of sign in which the only essential thing is the union of meanings and sound of images and in which both parts of the sign are psychological".

Saussure's sign is a two-sided psychological entity whose components are concept and sound image. In other words a 'sign' is a union of **signified** (concept) and **signifier** (sound-image). To speak more neatly, a sign is a wedding union of content and expression. The linguistic sign to Saussure is the basic unit of communication; a unit within the language of the community. Being a relationship, and part of a **langue**, it is thus a mental construct, a 'concrete entity'. Concepts, according to him, could not exist prior to words.

The linguistic sign has two primordial characteristics - **arbitrariness** and **immunity**. For example, the signified (the concept of a dog) has different signifiers (sound-images) in different languages—'dog' in English, 'kutta' in Hindi, 'kukur' in Bengali etc.

Though the signs are the concrete entities of linguistics, yet they exist "only through the associating of the signifier with the signified...considered independently. Concepts like 'house', 'white', 'see' etc. belong to psychology. They became linguistic entities only when associated with sound images; in language, a concept is a quality of its phonic substance just as a particular slice of sound is a quality of concept" (Saussure 1959: 102-3). Linguistics then works in the borderline where the elements of sound and thought combine; their combination produces a form, not a substance.

Saussure's Theory of Associative Value

Saussure attributed to each linguistic sign a 'value' which is determined by its relationship within the total vocabulary of a language. For example, in French only one word **mouton** signifies two concepts—one that of the four legged animal sheep and the order that of the cooked meat. But English has two different signs for these two: **sheep** and **mutton**. Hence the

French word, **mouton**, though having the same signification as English **sheep**, has a different value. It can signify two concepts, whereas the English word signifies only one concept.

The value of each word, according to Saussure, is determined by its opposition to other words. Values in writing function only through reciprocal composition within a fixed system which consists of a set of number of letters. It is this interdependence among the values of words which transform them all into a uniform language system, and that which pertains to the content of words, pertains to their form as well. "It is not sound in themselves which give words their meanings, but phonetic differences enabling us to distinguish a given word from all others—for it is with these phonetic differences that meaning is connected."

Saussure applied his principle of values not only to the conceptual but also the material aspects of language. Just as the conceptual value of the sign is determined by its relation to all the other signs in the language, that is, by its environment, so are the sounds characterized, not, as one might think, by their own positive quality but simply by the fact that they are distinct. Language, according to Saussure, is simply the functioning of linguistic oppositions; these oppositions yield a pattern of relationships the study of which constitutes linguistics.

Each one of the units of a system is thus defined by **relations** which it maintains with the other units and by the oppositions into which it enters. Thus the idea that the data of a language have value in themselves and are objective "facts", absolute entities susceptible of being considered in isolation, was abandoned. In reality, linguistic entities can be determined only within the system that organizes and governs them, and in terms, of each other. They have no value except as elements in a structure. It is first the system which has to be isolated and described. Thus a theory of language as a system of signs and as arrangement of units in a hierarchy was worked out by Saussure, replacing the positivist notion of the linguistic **fact** by that of **relationship**.

Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic

According to Saussure, the structure of language can be segmented into two types of relationships, namely—

- (i) The Syntagmatic
- (ii) The Paradigmatic

Combinations of words that are supported by a linearity are syntagms and thus syntagmatic relationships is a chain like relationship. Such a relationship is restricted by a certain order. Saussure explained that "In the syntagm a term acquires its value because it stands in opposition to everything that precedes or follows it, or to both."

The paradigmatic relationships are contrastive or choice based relationships. Words that have something in common, are associated in the memory, resulting in groups marked by diverse relations. For instance, a word like 'learning' may unconsciously call to one's mind other words like 'study', 'knowledge', 'discipline' etc. all these words are related in one way or the other. Such a relationship is called associative or paradigmatic relationship. They are not supported by any linearity and are stored in the human brain. They constitute a part of the inner storehouse that makes up language of each speaker. Saussure (1959) explained that—

"Whereas a syntagm immediately suggests an order of succession and fits number of elements, terms in associative family occur neither in fixed numbers nor in a definite order. If we associate painful, delightful, fruitful etc. we are unable to predict the number of words that the memory will suggest or the order in which they will appear. A particular word is like the centre of a constellation; it is the point of convergence of an indefinite number of co-ordinated terms."

Paradigmatic relationships operates in phonemes, words, morphemes and is said to be vertical in nature.

Saussure's Contribution

Saussure's contribution in the field of linguistics is of great significance. His name is revered and respected along with the names of Panini, Bloomfield and Chomsky. He revolutionized linguistics, made it descriptive and structural, gave it a

methodology and objectivity and brought it out of the rut it had fallen in. He is, indeed, one of the greatest theoreticians of the new era of linguistics. It was he who first of all emphasized repeatedly the importance of viewing language as a living phenomenon (as against the historical view) of studying speech (as opposed to written texts), of analysing the underlying system of a language in order to demonstrate an integral structure (in place of isolated phonetic tendencies and occasional grammatical comparisons), and in placing language firmly in its social milieu (as opposed to seeing it solely as a set of physical features). The tradition of study which has grown up around Saussure, has been to extract various theoretical dichotomies from his work and to concentrate on the clarification of these.

Saussure's great service to the study of language lies in a series of rigorous distinctions and definitions which he made concentrating the nature of language. Though a historical linguist in the beginning, he detached himself from the tradition of linguistics as a purely historical study.

Following Saussure, linguists discovered that language forms a system that it is a systematic arrangement of parts, and that it is made up of formal elements put together in variable combinations, according to certain principles of structures. It was the Saussurean emphasis on syntagmatic relationship in structure which was taken as the keynote of a number of theories of language thereafter, and which underlines many other linguistic approaches to language today, though their terminology sometimes differs considerably from that found in Saussure. His *Course* established language on the plane of universal terminology. The Saussurean distinction between *langue* and *parole* was the first germ of what has developed into a new branch of linguistics, phonology, the theory of the distinctive functions of phonemes and of the structure of their relationships. When they found it, **N Trubetzkoy** and **R Jakobson** expressly recognized Saussure (as well as Baudouin de Courtnay) as their precursor. Even Chomsky's notion of competence and performance owes a great deal to Saussure's notion of *langue* and *parole*.

Influence of Saussure

The structuralism trend which emerged in 1928, and which was soon to assume major importance, owes its origin to Saussure. Bloomfield gave a very laudatory review of the *Course*, and said that Saussure "has given us the theoretical basis for a science of human speech". A. Meillet and M. Grammont were profoundly influenced by him. Meillet regretted Saussure's untimely passing away without finishing the work he had begun, and said: "After more than thirty years, the ideas expressed by Ferdinand de Saussure in his early work have not exhausted their vitality" (quoted by Beneveniste). Louis Hjelmslev's 'glossematics' is often reminiscent of Saussure's system.

Influenced partly by Saussure and partly by Lady Welby's campaign to improve language, Ogden and Richards published a survey of opinions about meaning, called *The Meaning of Meaning* in 1923.

Saussure's studies of values were later expanded into techniques for determining not only the limit that set off a given signification, but were equally helpful in structuring the entire vocabulary into semantic units. His proposals have been found useful in present day information theory too. Linguistic-field theory was also influenced by Saussure. The Linguistic Circle of Geneva produced a considerable amount of work, particularly on the more 'social' aspects of Saussure's thinking. Other 'schools' based on the linguistic circles of Copenhagen and Prague in particular went in different directions, but owed much to Saussure's original ideas. British linguistics was also influenced by Saussurean notions, although less directly. And it is largely on account of Saussure that the idea of **structuralism** achieved the status which was to make it the major linguistic theme of the next thirty years. As mentioned by **Waterman**, "Saussure's influence upon subsequent linguistic theory has understandably been of major importance. Indeed, in the Western world at any rate, all hues of structuralism have come under his influence."

Saussure's cardinal principle is his **notion of double entity**. It is the core of his doctrines. It is from this principal notion that all other notions and distinction of the *Course* and other works of linguistics emerge. Saussure succinctly considers human

speech always in terms of double entity, formed of two parts of which the one has no value without the other. Everything in the language can be defined in double terms and bears the imprint and seal of an opposing duality:

- (i) the articulatory and the acoustical duality;
- (ii) the duality of sound and sense;
- (iii) the duality of the individual and the society;
- (iv) the duality of langue and parole;
- (v) the duality of the material and the immaterial;
- (vi) the duality of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic;
- (vii) the duality of sameness and opposition;
- (viii) the duality of the synchronic and the diachronic; etc. etc.

Lastly the following two statements from Benveniste will reflect Saussure's contribution:

A forerunner in doctrines which in the past fifty years have transformed the theory of language, he has opened up unforgettable vistas on the highest and the most mysterious faculty of man. At the same time, in placing on the horizon of science and philosophy the notion or "sign" as a bilateral unit, he has contributed to the advent of formal thought in the sciences of society and culture and to the founding of a general semiology.

And again: There is no linguist today who does not owe him something. There is not a single general theory which does not mention his name.

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD

Influenced by Saussure, Leonard Bloomfield, in his notable work *Language* (1933), endeavoured, through the creation of his own version of structuralism, to "lay down a rigorous framework for the description of languages" (Aitchison, 1974: 33). According to Brown (2000: 8), Bloomfield stated that "only the 'publically observable responses' could be subject to investigation. The linguist's task, according to the structuralist, was to describe human languages and to identify the structural characteristics of those languages'. Thus, Bloomfield's focus was on parole or speech: the observable or "outward manifestation of language". He, along with other structural or descriptive linguists of the

1940s and 1950s, "chose largely to ignore langue and to study parole" (Brown, 2000: 10). As noted by Aitchison (1974):

"Bloomfield considered that linguistics should deal objectively and systematically with observable data. So he was more interested in the forms of a language than in meaning. The study of meaning was not amenable to rigorous methods of analysis and was therefore, he concluded, 'the weak point in language study, and will remain so until human knowledge advances very far beyond its present state" (Aitchison, 1974: 33).

In this section, we introduce the central notions and concepts of Bloomfield's theory. A list of the most important concepts of the theory is provided below:

1. Bloomfield introduces the **notion of utterance** as one central element of his theory. Utterances are produced by acts of speech. The following quotes illustrate Bloomfield's position: An act of speech is an utterance (1926: 154). A speech-utterance is what mathematicians call a continuum; it can be viewed as consisting of any desired number of successive parts (1933: 76). Example: We imagine a speaker. By making an act of speech, she makes an utterance. So, any kind of act of speech brings out an utterance.

2. A **speech community** is a group of people who interact by means of speech (1933: 42). The totality of utterances that can be made in a speech community is the language of that speech community (1926: 155). This is necessary if we want to distinguish one language from another. As simple examples, we can think of the group of speakers of English and the group of speakers of German.

3. Bloomfield's fundamental assumption of linguistics:

In order to make sense of Bloomfield's fundamental thesis of **aliqueness of utterances**, which he needs to distinguish groups of speakers (or speech communities), the following quote will be helpful:

To recognize the distinctive features of a language, we must leave the ground of pure phonetics and act as though science had progressed far enough to identify all the situations and responses that make up the meaning of speech-forms. In the

case of our own language, we trust to our everyday knowledge to tell us whether speech-forms are "the same" or "different". Thus, we find that the word 'man' spoken on various pitch-schemes is in English still "the same" word, with one and the same meaning, but that 'man' and 'men' ...are "different" words, with different meanings. In the case of a strange language we have to learn such things by trial and error, or to obtain the meanings from someone that knows the language ...the study of significant speech-sounds is phonology or practical phonetics. Phonology involves the consideration of meanings. The meanings of speech-forms could be scientifically defined only if all branches of science, including, especially, psychology and physiology, were close to perfection. Until that time, phonology and, with it, all the semantic phase of language study, rests upon an assumption, the fundamental assumption of linguistics: we must assume that in every speech-community some utterances are alike in form and meaning (1933: 77-8).

One group of speaker from another one is distinguished on the basis of this assumption. Speech-forms are classified on the basis of this too. Out of these speech forms, the linguist classifies the whole grammar of a language.

4. Bloomfield's theory of semantics is behaviouristic. The following quote illustrates Bloomfield's **behaviourist conception of meaning**:

Psychology, in particular, gives us this series: to certain stimuli A a person reacts by speaking; his speech B in turn stimulates his hearers to certain reactions C. By a social habit which every person acquires in infancy from his elders, A-B-C are closely correlated. Within this correlation, the stimuli A which cause an act of speech and the reactions C which result from it, are very closely linked, because every person acts indifferently as speaker or as hearer. We are free, therefore, without further discussion, to speak of vocal features or sounds B of stimulus-reaction features A-C of speech (1926: 154). Example: We imagine a situation A where a person receives a stimuli, say, she feels hungry. Then, she might utter something like: "I am hungry!". The actual utterance is the situation B, to speak with Bloomfield. This utterance, then, will stimulate

others to certain reactions, linguistic or non-linguistic, this is Bloomfield's C.

5. **Notion of Form and Morpheme:** The notion of form is central for Bloomfield. Linguistic forms are different kinds of units of language, like morphemes. The smallest units which combine sound (or 'vocal features') and meaning (or 'stimulus-reaction features') are called Morphemes. Bloomfield argued - "Thus a form is a recurrent vocal feature which has meaning ... Meaningful unit of linguistic signalling, smallest or complex is a linguistic form; the meaning of a linguistic form is a linguistic meaning" (1933: 264). Forms are abstract, theoretical concepts. They are non-empirical, as opposed to utterances, with which the linguist is confronted at the beginning of his work. Any word is a form. Also the components of words, in their minimal occurrence, the morphemes, are forms. **A minimum form is a morpheme...thus a morpheme is a recurrent (meaningful) form which cannot in turn be analyzed into smaller recurrent (meaningful) forms.** Bloomfield defines morpheme as "...a minimum form is a morpheme. Hence any unanalyzable word or formative is a morpheme ..." (1926: 155-156). Parts of bigger linguistic constructions like words are morphemes, e.g. English morphemes as '-ness', '-hood', or '-ing'.

7. **Free and bound forms:** A form which may be an utterance is free. A form which is not free is bound (1926: 155). A minimum free form, for example, is any word, like 'house'. 'Free' aims to suggest that it can stand alone and does not necessarily have to occur within a bigger linguistic construction. All that can be uttered with meaning is a free form, then. As opposed to this, a bound form would be a morpheme, like '-ness'. This morpheme, uttered alone, is not an utterance in Bloomfield's sense, it has no meaning. Morphemes, on the other hand, are understood as bound forms. They always occur "bound", or connected with other words, like in 'happi-ness'.

8. **Word:** Bloomfield says: "A minimum free form is a word. A word is thus a form which may be uttered alone (with meaning) but cannot be analyzed into parts that may (all of them) be uttered alone (with meaning)" (1926: 156). It is important to

note that the emphasis lies on what can be uttered 'alone' are words. We can think of any word, like 'hello', 'stop', etc.

9. Phrase: Phrases are used in grammar to distinguish the substructural parts of sentences. Today, it is standard to distinguish between noun-phrases like 'the dog' or verbal phrases like 'bites', amongst other types of phrases. As textual evidence, Bloomfield says: A non-minimum free form is a phrase (1926: 156). Phrases can stand alone, like words.

10. Syntactic constructions: (The notion of construction is part of syntactic theory in Bloomfield.) Different non-minimum forms may be alike or partly alike as to the order of the constituent forms and as to stimulus-reaction features corresponding to this order. The order may be successive, simultaneous (stress and pitch with other phonemes), substitutive (French *au* for *a le*, and so on). Such recurrent use of order are constructions ...The number of constructions in a language is a small sub-multiple of the number of forms. Each of the ordered units in a construction is a position. Each position in a construction can be filled only by certain forms (1926: 157-8). Syntactic constructions, then, are constructions in which none of the immediate constituents is a bound form (1933: 184).

11. Sentence: The notion of sentence is explained as follows by Bloomfield: (A maximum construction in any utterance is a sentence (1926: 158).) Interestingly, he speaks of a maximum construction, letting us note that there is no construction which can be 'bigger' than a sentence. This goes along with our intuitions, for in everyday use of language, what we understand to be the largest linguistic constructions are usually sentences.

12. Phoneme: The notion of phoneme is also of central importance in Bloomfield's theory. The phonemes are related to the linguistic forms and to the morphemes and are necessary to constitute the field of phonology within the whole discipline of linguistics. For Bloomfield a minimum same of vocal feature is a phoneme or distinctive sound. The number of different phonemes in a language is a small sub-multiple of the number of forms. Every form is made up wholly of phonemes (1926: 157) ...we can find forms which partially resemble pin, by altering any one of three parts of the word. We can alter first one ad

then a second of the three parts and still have a partial resemblance ...pin-tin-tan ...and if we alter all three parts, no resemblance is left, as in pin-tintan-tack. Further experiment fails to reveal any more replaceable parts in the word pin: we conclude that the distinctive features of this word are the three indivisible units. Each of these units occurs also in other combinations, but cannot be further analyzed by partial resemblances: each of the three is a minimum unit of distinctive sound-feature, a phoneme (1933: 79).

He called the semantic properties of morphemes '**sememes**', those of grammatical forms '**episememes**', etc. (Bloomfield, 1933: 162, 166). Bloomfield contended that whereas the phonological properties of morphemes are analyzable into parts (namely **phonemes**), sememes are unanalyzable: "There is nothing in the structure of morphemes like wolf, fox, and dog to tell us the relation between their meanings; this is a problem for the zoölogist." (162)

MULTILINGUALISM

"Quot linguas calles, tot homines vales" (One is worth as many people as languages known)

Emperor Charles V

"Notitia linguarum est prima porta sapientiae" (Knowledge of languages is the doorway to wisdom)

Roger Bacon (1214-94, Opus Tertium)

Multilingualism is a powerful phenomenon, which evolves from the need to communicate across speech communities. **Multilingualism is the ability to speak in more than one language and is a global phenomenon.** There are many important *lingua francas* which helps in cross-group understanding and often represent the language of a dominant society. *Lingua francas* like French, Arabic and English have been very significant, but they had failed to eliminate more local forms of language. It may be said that the *lingua francas* coexist with the more local forms in a multilingual world.

A close observation of the wide variety of existing languages and the degree of their usage, justifies the evolution and existence

of multilingualism. Development of multilingualism may be easily attributed to various factors like—

- (i) immigration
- (ii) territorial expansion—even in the case of imperialist and colonial expansion
- (iii) political union among different linguistic groups

Imperialist or colonial expansions often transports languages and brings them into contact with others through military and economic pressure with the help of only a handful of soldiers, merchants and bureaucrats. For instance, only a few thousand colonizers ruling the Indian subcontinent brought about an expanded base for English language among the teeming millions of India. Again, in the case of political union among different linguistic groups, a broadened linguistic ability is found to be necessary for unity among diverse groups which had so long existed in isolation. For instance, Switzerland unites four official language groups, namely, the German, Italian, French and Romansch. Again Belgium is a country of French and Flemish speakers, while Canada has English and French 'charter' groups. Besides these, the world today has federations based upon more arbitrary and involuntary amalgamations. Examples may be found in the colonial boundary-marking and creation of new countries in Africa and Asia.

Apart from the reasons discussed above multilingual competence is also developed through cultural and educational motivations. In most cases multilingualism evolves through contact and necessity. Even in countries where only one or two languages have legal recognition or official status, the societies may be linguistically so complex that multilingualism emerges as a common phenomenon. For instance, in Nigeria English is recognized officially but 80 million people speak about 400 languages. Linguists show that different social levels and different domains are associated with different varieties of language and thus multilingual competence may not imply equal degree of refinement in the use of all the languages. Development of multilingual competence is thus somewhat need based and language use usually extends only as required and multiple forms of language intertwine for multiple purposes. This phenomenon

is known as **code-switching**. Code-switching is a process by which individuals change languages frequently, even within one single sentence. The changes are not random and each switching signifies something. Thus it may be said that multilingualism involves deeper psychological implications when it comes to the different uses of the various languages known by an individual.

Educational institutions, especially schools are powerful and visible instruments of the state and thus officially sanctioned linguistic practices are usually reflected in its curriculum and policies. Interactions among parents, teachers, children and multiple speech communities in the educational institutes reflect wider social currents and policies of cultural-linguistic pluralism.

Multilingualism is the act of using multiple **languages**, either by an individual speaker or by a community of speakers. Multilingual speakers outnumber **monolingual** speakers in the world's population. Multilingualism is becoming a social phenomenon governed by the needs of globalization and cultural openness. Owing to the ease of access to information facilitated by the Internet, individuals' exposure to multiple languages is becoming increasingly frequent thereby promoting a need to acquire additional languages.

A multilingual person, in a broad definition, is one who can communicate in more than one language, be it actively (through speaking, writing, or signing) or passively (through listening, reading, or perceiving). More specifically, the terms *bilingual* and *trilingual* are used to describe comparable situations in which two or three languages are involved. A multilingual person is generally referred to as a polyglot., the Greek word "Poly" meaning "many", and the Greek word "glot" meaning "language". Multilingual speakers have acquired and maintained at least one language during childhood, the so-called first language (L1). The first language (sometimes also referred to as the mother tongue) is acquired without formal education, by mechanisms heavily disputed. Children acquiring two languages in this way are called simultaneous bilinguals. Even in the case of simultaneous bilinguals one language usually dominates over the other.

X Cognitive Aspect of Multilingualism

There are sophisticated mechanisms to prevent cross talk in brains where more than one language is stored. The executive control system might be implicated to prevent one language from interfering with another in multilinguals. The executive control system is responsible for processes that are sometimes referred to as executive functions, and among others includes supervisory attention system, or cognitive control. Despite the fact that most research on the executive control system pertains to nonverbal tasks, there is some evidence that the system might be involved in resolving and ordering the conflict generated by the competing languages stored in the multilingual's brain. During speech production there is a constant need to channel attention to the appropriate word associated with the concept, congruent with the language being used. The word must be placed in the appropriate phonological and morphological context. Multilinguals constantly utilize the general executive control system to resolve interference/conflicts among the known languages, enhancing the system's functional performance, even on nonverbal tasks. In studies, multilingual subjects of all ages, showed overall enhanced executive control abilities. This may indicate that the multilingual experience leads to a transfer of skill from the verbal to the nonverbal. There is no one specific domain of language modulation in the general executive control system, as far as studies reveal. Studies show that the speed with which multilingual subjects perform tasks, with-and-without mediation required to resolve language-use conflict, is better in bilingual than monolingual subjects.

The multilingual Language Processing Device (LPD) consists of two (or more) Constantly Available Interacting Systems (CAIS) and has a Common Underlying Conceptual Base (CUCB). The CUCB is a container of mental representations that comprise knowledge and concepts that are either language or culture neutral (i.e., universal or useable through both channels) or language and culture specific. This suggestion concurs with the new wave compound model proposed by *Paradis* (1995, 1997). He claimed that multilinguals have a compound system consisting of two parts: two or more lexicons that store word forms, phonological and morphosyntactic properties,

lexicosemantic specifications, and constraints; and a single store for multimodal mental representations that are acquired through experience in discourse. Consequently, these representations are linguistically and culturally grounded. *Monti-Belkaoui & Belkaoui* (1983) also noted that when concepts involve different or unique cultural, social, or environmental processes or phenomena the underlying dimensional structures differ in ways that reflect these processes. *Pavlenko* (1996) emphasized the importance of direct experience with the concept in its own cultural environment. She suggested that cultural exposure is crucial in the development of concepts. The full acquisition and proper use of a concept requires the learner to know not only its lexical-semantic counterpart and the associated declarative knowledge but also the multimodal mental representation and culturally based behavioral scripts and schemas that are acquired through genuine communication. Learners need direct experience with concepts in the target language because the conceptual system of each language operates differently.

Locke (1690), for instance, was convinced that lexical variation reflects cultural differences among different speech communities. He argued that if we look a little more nearly into this matter, and exactly compare different languages, we shall find that, though they have words which in translations and dictionaries are supposed to answer one another, yet there is scarce one ten amongst the names of complex ideas, especially of mixed modes, that stands for the same precise idea which the word does that in dictionaries it is rendered by. (p. 49) *Wilhelm von Humboldt* (1903- 1936) expressed similar ideas, saying that "thinking is not merely dependent on language in general but, up to a certain degree, on each specific language" (p. 2). He considered different languages as bearers of different cognitive perspectives and different world views. Language has also been found to be dependent on culture. The multilingual CUCB contains concepts that are language specific because they represent a unique part of the culture associated with that language (*Kecskes*, 1998). *Osgood et al.* found that connotations associated with certain words are quite similar across languages but a number of words have special emotional significance that varies in different languages. One difficulty of multilingual

development is that each language has its own metaphorical and figurative system that are not compatible with the metaphorical system of another language: for instance, Americans "make money," Russians "work for money" ("зарабатывают"), Hungarians "look for money" ("pénzt keres"). Thus we see that CUCB is the result of the multilingual conceptual development and consequently is not language independent. Concepts, knowledge, and skills get into the CUCB through multiple linguistic channels and very often keep their language and culture-specific features. "Beyond-threshold-level competence" in all the languages ensures a relatively free use of the content of the CUCB through all these linguistic channels.

Vygotsky's (1962) approach insisted that thought and word are inseparable because they are two sides of one thing and when taken separately neither of them possesses the properties of the whole. According to **Levelt** (1989), the conceptualizer has two levels, the macrolevel and the microlevel. This approach can be used to accommodate language assignment in the multilingual speaker. **De Bot** (1993) argued that the macrolevel, where intention originates, is language independent, whereas the microlevel, where thought is shaped, is language specific. Bringing together Vygotsky's, Levelt's, and De Bot's ideas it may be said that it is the microlevel of the conceptualizer where the interaction of thought and words takes place. When thought is being formed there must already be an interaction between the chunks of message and the words it will be embodied in. This interaction finalizes the shape of the verbal message. Vygotsky quotes **O. Mandelstam**, "I have forgotten the word I intended to say, and my thought, unembodied, returns to the realm of shadows" (cited by **Vygotsky**, 1962, p. 119). Conceptualization and verbal formulation are united through thought and word, which are amalgamated through word meaning. The relation between thought and word is a process, "a continual movement back and forth from thought to word and from word to thought. Thought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them" (**Vygotsky**, 1962, p. 125). Because thought and word are not cut from one pattern, there are more differences than likenesses between them. Speakers cannot put thoughts on words directly like ready-made

units because, as **Vygotsky** said, "the structure of speech does not simply mirror the structure of thought" (p. 126). As a result of the thought-word interaction, thought usually undergoes several changes as it turns into speech. The same can be said about the word. Word meaning changes depending on the neighboring words in the utterance and as required by the context in which it appears. The result of this process is the sense of the word that is gained from the context.

Language teachers can tap into their students' familiarity with multiple languages to advance learning and accomplish what may be referred to as "bringing one language to another." Engaging in and reflecting on activities that draw on multilingual experience is beneficial to students, their teachers, and to anyone who wants to add a new dimension to language teaching and learning. Multilingualism may be adapted for students of different ages, levels, and language contexts. The goal is to connect the acquisition of English with the students' previous language knowledge and make this multilingual awareness a part of oral discussions, written assignments, and projects in the classroom.

Multilingualism and subsequent language learning

The world has been rendered a global village today with international trade, commerce and technological enhancement have produced a whole new generation of multilinguals all over the world. Multilingualism, which is defined as speaking two or more languages, is a growing worldwide phenomenon. Due to increased mobility and closely linked economies, many countries currently have significant multilingual populations in their workforces and educational systems. The increasing demands of international commerce alone have engendered a large amount of interest and attention to multilingual education and training programs. In this time of unprecedented contact among different language groups and cultures, speaking two or more languages can make a difference in where one lives and may determine educational and career choices. English, as a major language of international business, is spoken as a second or third language in many countries around the world. In fact, English "can be seen as a factor in the creation of multilingualism today" (**Jessner** 2006, 2)

Research evidence suggests that acquiring more than one language creates different kinds of connections in the brain, which gives multilingual individuals an advantage in some respects compared with monolingual individuals. An important article by **Lambert** (1985) cites a number of studies about the enhanced *cognitive flexibility* that balanced bilinguals experience, which makes them better able to engage in problem solving and adapt to new ideas.

Despite the potential benefits of multilingualism, students who are learning additional languages in school do not always recognize the importance of already speaking more than one language. For example, multilinguals already know a great deal about language, often unconsciously, including grammatical knowledge, such as how different languages handle verb conjugation, and sociocultural knowledge, such as understanding that what is considered polite in one language may be rude in another. In addition, those who speak more than one language are also generally more aware of sociolinguistic variables and functions than those who speak one language, and they are adept at switching between different regional varieties, registers, and formal and informal language styles. This knowledge, especially when it is brought to a conscious level, is known as language awareness and metalinguistic awareness, and is a special advantage of multilingualism (**Cook** 1995; **Jessner** 2006; **Svalberg** 2007). Metalinguistic awareness, in particular, refers to knowing about and being able to talk about how language is structured and how it functions. Ongoing discussions among language researchers and teachers concern the identification and explanation of exactly how language awareness originates and varies among learners. In a review of language awareness as a field of research and practice, **Svalberg** (2007) emphasizes the need to actively engage language awareness because it is not "a purely intellectual awareness and is not passive" (p.302). **Garcia** (2008) makes the point that *multilingual language awareness* is a necessity for teachers of multilingual students. Besides knowing about languages, subject matter, and teaching methodology, instructors should have an understanding of the political struggles and social circumstances of students' schools and communities. Unfortunately, students (and even teachers) may enter the English classroom thinking that the languages

students already speak inhibit or otherwise stand in the way of learning English. In addition, when studying English second language, multilingual students will not always make the connection between their previous language learning-which may have been acquired at an early age-and their current language learning. These same students may be discouraged by the fact that they have had less exposure to foreign languages compared to ones with which they are already familiar. Preconceived notions about the comparative value of different languages will also affect student learning and use of these languages. A goal of EFL teachers, therefore, is to counteract these notions and encourage their multilingual students to reflect and draw on their rich store of language information and skills in order to facilitate the learning of English.

Using Multilingualism as a Resource in the Class

Multilingualism may be used as a valuable resource for enhanced teaching learning in a second language classroom. The learners may be helped to gain a basic foundation in the subject and further develop their spoken and written English. While most of the students of countries which consist of non-native speakers of English, are mostly eager to improve their content and language skills, they rarely use English outside the classroom. Students of countries like India and South East Asian countries are also expected to repeat the knowledge they receive from textbooks or teachers and not necessarily reveal much of their own personal experiences. The teacher may innovate tasks to use multilingualism as a resource based on the psychological principle that the learners love to talk about their own varied social experiences and that the students generally respond well to writing about their own social reality. They do not find it as difficult as other kinds of academic tasks. For Kumaravadivelu (2001), this type of teaching contributes to a "*pedagogy of particularity*"-in other words, a way of teaching that is sensitive to local conditions. For many students, being asked about their own languages, backgrounds, and learning in the following assignment may prove to be a novel and welcome experience.

The learners may be urged to write in English about their own multilingualism and explain how it related to the linguistic

realities of their socio-cultural context. Four instructions may be given to guide their writing:

1. List the languages and dialects that you speak.
2. Describe how well you speak them.
3. Specify in which domains/situations you use these languages.
4. Give examples of how your speech style changes when speaking about different topics in varying contexts (for example, at home vs. at school), and with different speakers (for example, with peers vs. with teachers). This task would compel students to reflect upon and analyze their use of the languages that they spoke, including Bengali including its multiple variations, English, Hindi, other local languages (if any) in their individual repertoires. Such tasks would integrate with class objectives because the kinds of facts and feelings that students would think about bring sociolinguistics alive for them. Students would be able to actively reflect on concepts such as *lingua franca*, *prestige language*, and *national language*, among others. Students would be expected to use academic English in their writing, including terminology specific to sociolinguistics, in order to develop their overall understanding in the context of their own multilingualism. They may be urged to work in groups to read, respond to, and correct each other's work before handing in the assignment. Such an assignment would help them to understand the writing process better. The students may respond in form of many perceptive observations about the national language and the local and regional varieties, as well as other foreign languages in which they have some degree of fluency. Some students are nervous to speak English in front of their friends or the teacher, while others experience loss of language ability that occurs through non-use and may only be revived if the learners get opportunities to actively use their various languages in order to retain and further develop them. Such exercises allows the learners to integrate English composition to their previous linguistic repertoire. A similar lesson might be used at the beginning of a class to diagnose proficiency in different language skills or to determine the degree of students' language awareness. For

example, specific questions about vocabulary in the students' different languages would provide useful information about English proficiency and indicate the English language skills that need the most attention. Teachers could also extend such activities to see what students know about English language variation in different countries (Takagaki 2005). This will lead students to understand that they already have a lot of information about different languages and equip them to be effective language learners now and in the future.

Additional language awareness lessons Linguistic awareness activities are also appropriate for primary, middle, and high school English second language students, and there are many ways to draw on their linguistic, cultural, and sociolinguistic knowledge in order to enhance English second language instruction. Following are some activities that can be used or adapted for use with multilingual students at various ages and levels of proficiency. These ideas are a starting point for teachers to draw on their students' multilingual abilities in the English second language classroom. Lessons for older students who are more fluent in English can be conducted entirely or nearly entirely in English. The use of the native languages, when appropriate, should be primarily for helping students become aware of language and language learning skills they already possess and for comparison with English language structures and functions.

Various other activities may be used to utilize multilingualism as a resource in the classroom. Some such activities have been cited by scholars like *Joyce Milambiling*, University of Central Iowa (2011). The teacher may show the class an English language video or read an excerpt from a short story or nonfiction piece about a multilingual community somewhere in the world where English is used alongside at least one other language (e.g., a Latino community in the south-western United States, or an Indian community in London). The video or text should be at an appropriate level commensurate with the age and abilities of the learners. The students may work in groups of three or four and use the following questions to brainstorm about the ways different languages are used in their own communities:

1. What languages are used in your country?
2. Who speaks which languages to whom?
3. Where are you likely to hear one language or another?
4. What media do you watch or listen to in which English is used?

The teacher uses a word web graphic organizer that has a topic word or sentence written in a center circle with related words written in circles that radiate out from the center. The teacher should model the activity with the class by writing, "What languages are used in your country?" in the center circle of the word web and by writing down the student answers in the surrounding circles (e.g., English, Bengali, Hindi etc.). Next, the student groups may be urged to fill in their own graphic organizer using the other questions. Students then must work individually and compile the information on their word webs to compose a first draft of a paragraph in English. The teacher should provide the students with a list of words and phrases to use while they are drafting their paragraphs (e.g., "in the market," "with friends," "in my family" for question 3). The teacher may circulate and give feedback to students, offering suggestions that will benefit the entire class. Students revise their paragraphs either in class or as homework. Depending on the level of the class and the extent of their experience with writing, the teacher can assess the activity based on cohesion, coherence, and accuracy. The final paragraphs are displayed on a wall in handwritten form or, if technology permits, the teacher or students scan the paragraphs into a computer and post them on a website. Once the final versions of the paragraphs are finished, students may discuss their compositions in English, either in groups or as a whole class. Some questions to lead the discussions include:

- Did all students write about the same languages and uses of these languages?
- What were some differences in the responses? How many people use English and how is English used in their community?

This activity works best in a setting where multiple languages are used on a daily basis. However, if one language is used predominantly in the community, the teacher can instruct students to include any foreign languages taught in school on their word webs and in their paragraphs. They can also write

about situations where the formal and informal varieties of the language they speak are used (e.g., Do they speak the same to their parents as they do with their friends? If not, how does your language differ from situation to situation?). Students may create an outline of a language situation based on collaboration with peers. Students can apply information from an outline to the writing of a paragraph. Different accounts of language use in the community are compared and discussed. Students may revise first drafts based on teacher feedback and create a finished product. This activity works best in a setting where multiple languages are used on a daily basis. However, if one language is used predominantly in the community, the teacher can instruct students to include any foreign languages taught in school on their word webs and in their paragraphs. They can also write about situations where the formal and informal varieties of the language they speak are used (e.g., Do they speak the same to their parents as they do with their friends? If not, how does your language differ from situation to situation?). Students may create an outline of a language situation based on collaboration with peers. Students can apply information from an outline to the writing of a paragraph. Different accounts of language use in the community are compared and discussed. Students may revise first drafts based on teacher feedback and create a finished product.

Other secondary school level activities based on Grammar may also be designed using multilingualism as a resource in the English class. Such an activity requires knowledge of the parts of speech and therefore, students should have intermediate proficiency in English. The teacher asks the whole class to name the parts of speech and their function in a sentence (e.g., nouns, pronouns, verbs, prepositions, etc.) and lists the responses on the board. The teacher may move around the room and point to different objects, such as a window, the floor, and a chair, and ask the students to name them in English. The teacher then may point out that the objects are all nouns. The teacher can write or display the following sentences on the board:

- The child saw the balloon.
- Pritha saw the balloon.

- Tommy is one of Pritha's dogs.
- Pritha fed Tommy.
- Dogs are playful.

The teacher then would check comprehension by asking questions such as, what the children do on seeing dogs, what kind of an animal a dog is, what it means to be playful and so on. The teacher may then ask the students to find out which words in the sentences are nouns. After the class identifies all the nouns, the students may work together in groups of three to answer the three questions below in a specific amount of time. One person in the group writes the answers, one keeps track of time, and the third reports the answers to the class.

1. Where do you find nouns in English sentences? (At the beginning, middle, or end of a sentence? By themselves or together with something else?)
2. How is this different from where nouns are found in sentences in your own language or other languages you know?
3. Why do some of the nouns in these sentences begin with an uppercase letter and others with a lowercase letter?

Students can then discuss their answers as a whole class, which gives them the experience of identifying structural aspects of an English sentence and making comparisons between English and their first language, even if the structures are very similar. The teacher sums up what they learned at the end of the lesson, highlighting the difference between proper nouns and common nouns along with examples of each. Students may then be given an exercise to complete as homework, which consists of underlining all of the nouns in five sentences. There would be several mistakes in some of the lower- and uppercase letters of the nouns and the learners would have to rewrite each sentence, making corrections so that the words begin with the correct upper or lowercase letter.

Again, the teacher may show the class an English language video or hands out an excerpt from a short story or nonfiction piece about a multilingual community somewhere in the world where English is used alongside at least one other language (e.g., a Latino community in the south-western United States or an

Indian community in London.) The video or text should be at an appropriate level. The students may be made to form small groups of no more than four students and discuss their impressions of the video or reading selection in English. Possible questions for discussion may include:

1. How common do you think it is to be part of two cultures or speak more than one language?
2. In which parts of the world are people more likely to use several different languages?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of speaking more than one language?

The teacher may ask the whole class to report what was discussed in their groups. After a brief discussion, the teacher could tell students that they would be interviewing someone they know in their family or community who speaks more than one language. If at all possible, one of the languages this person speaks should be English. Each group would be responsible for writing two questions for the interview. They may be encouraged to write creative questions that do not just ask for facts, but rather for feelings and opinions. As each group reports their questions, the teacher would write them on the board. Next, the class may discuss the wording of the questions and the teacher would compile a final set of questions for the survey. Each student may use the same set of questions for their interviews. Each student may take a copy of the final survey questions and use them to conduct an interview with one person, such as a relative, a neighbor, or a teacher. The interview can be conducted in person, by phone, or via e-mail. If conducted by person or phone, the student must take notes, as these will be handed in along with the finished product. Students may use the survey results to write a short essay consisting of a predetermined number of paragraphs. The essay should describe the interviewee and summarize the responses to the questions. To prepare for this writing assignment and see what the end product should look like, students may read a sample essay, preferably written and modelled by the teacher. Students may be encouraged to write multiple drafts, but the teacher will read only the final version.

Many foreign language classrooms contain multilingual students who want to add English to the languages they already speak. However, since these students are not always able to realize their strengths as multilinguals and "bring one language to another," they often need guidance to develop their language awareness and find ways to apply their linguistic and pragmatic knowledge to the learning of the new language. The English second language teacher's indispensable role is to underscore and actively make use of the abilities that multilingual students already possess. The activities discussed above are only a few ways to build language awareness, and can be adjusted for the students' age, their level of proficiency, and even the number of languages being compared or discussed at one time. Such activities can be used at the beginning, middle, or end of the term or year to help teachers better connect with students' lives and experiences and enrich their methods and techniques. The common thread that runs throughout this teaching approach is that the study of English is combined with an awareness of and an appreciation for the other languages in students' lives. In this way, learners can see how languages are similar and how they are different, and how they themselves are successful speakers and writers of language in a broad sense.

Advantages of Multilingualism

The advantages that multilinguals exhibit over monolinguals are not restricted to linguistic knowledge only, but extend outside the area of language. The substantial long-lived cognitive, social, personal, academic, and professional benefits of enrichment bilingual contexts have been well documented. Children and older persons learning foreign languages have been demonstrated to—

- (i) have a keener awareness and sharper perception of language. Foreign language learning "enhances children's understanding of how language itself works and their ability to manipulate language in the service of thinking and problem solving" (Cummins 1981);
- (ii) be more capable of separating meaning from form;
- (iii) learn more rapidly in their native language (L1), e.g. to read, as well as display improved performance in other basic L1 skills, regardless of race, gender, or academic level;

- (iv) be more efficient communicators in the L1;
- (v) be consistently better able to deal with distractions, which may help offset age-related declines in mental dexterity;
- (vi) develop a markedly better language proficiency in, sensitivity to, and understanding of their mother tongue;
- (vii) develop a greater vocabulary size over age, including that in their L1;
- (viii) have a better ear for listening and sharper memories;
- (ix) be better language learners in institutionalized learning contexts because of more developed language-learning capacities owing to the more complex linguistic knowledge and higher language awareness;
- (x) have increased ability to apply more reading strategies effectively due to their greater experience in language learning and reading in two-or more-different languages;
- (xi) develop not only better verbal, but also spatial abilities;
- (xii) parcel up and categorize meanings in different ways;
- (xiii) display generally greater cognitive flexibility, better problem solving and higher-order thinking skills;
- (xiv) "a person who speaks multiple languages has a stereoscopic vision of the world from two or more perspectives, enabling them to be more flexible in their thinking, learn reading more easily. Multilinguals, therefore, are not restricted to a single world-view, but also have a better understanding that other outlooks are possible. Indeed, this has always been seen as one of the main educational advantages of language teaching" (Cook 2001);
- (xv) multilinguals can expand their personal horizons and—being simultaneously insiders and outsiders—see their own culture from a new perspective not available to monoglots, enabling the comparison, contrast, and understanding of cultural concepts;
- (xvi) be better problem-solvers gaining multiple perspectives on issues at hand;
- (xvii) have improved critical thinking abilities;

- (xviii) better understand and appreciate people of other countries, thereby lessening racism, xenophobia, and intolerance, as the learning of a new language usually brings with it a revelation of a new culture;
- (xix) learn further languages more quickly and efficiently than their hitherto monolingual peers;
- (xx) to say nothing of the social and employment advantages of being bilingual—offering the student the ability to communicate with people s/he would otherwise not have the chance to interact with, and increasing job opportunities in many careers.

Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, in their document on Language Education, clearly states that—

Language being the most important medium of communication and education, its development occupies an important place in the National Policy on Education and Programme of Action. Therefore, promotion and development of Hindi and other 21 languages listed in the schedule VIII of the Constitution including Sanskrit and Urdu has received due attention. In fulfilling the constitutional responsibility, the Department of Higher Education is assisted by autonomous organization and subordinate offices.

Multilingualism and Language Policy

The Language Policy of India relating to the use of languages in administration, education, judiciary, legislature, mass communication, etc., is pluralistic in its scope. It is both language-development oriented and language-survival oriented. The policy is intended to encourage the citizens to use their mother tongue in certain delineated levels and domains through some gradual processes, but the stated goal of the policy is to help all languages to develop into fit vehicles of communication at their designated areas of use, irrespective of their nature or status like major, minor, or tribal languages. The policy can accommodate and ever-evolving, through mutual adjustment, consensus, and judicial processes. Political awareness or consciousness relating to the maintenance of native languages

has been very high, both among the political leadership and among the ordinary people who speak these languages. Evolving and monitoring implementation of language policy is a major endeavor of the Language Bureau of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. This is done by the Bureau through language institutions setup for the purpose under its aegis: Central Hindi Directorate, Centre for Scientific and Technical Terminology, Central Hindi Institute, Central Institute of Indian Languages, National Council for Promotion of Sindhi Language, National Council for Promotion of Urdu Language, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan (RSKS), Maharishi Sandipani Rashtriya Vedavidya Pratishthan (MSRVVP) and Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages. This was seen as a necessity in nation-building.

Due to their co-existence from time immemorial, the plural societies with people of multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual background belonging to different socio-economic strata, give birth to natural communication policies to suit their realities with a genuine understanding of inter-woven relations. The language of administration is not an exception. A nation is historically evolved, hence it is essential to know about the languages that the rulers of a country used for administration of their region. Many Indian rulers ruled territories in which different languages were used for communication by their subjects. Often the language of the king and the language of those whom he ruled were different. Historically in India, the language of the people and the language or languages used to govern them used to correspond with each other. In India, though there are instances after instances wherein only one language was the Official Language, it is very difficult to find a point of time where only one language was used as the sole language of administration in a specific region. It seems that the official language was used for the purposes of rules and other interrelated activities. And these were used within the set up of the Government to a large extent. However, the languages of the people were used for all the necessary communicative purposes, and plurality was honored. There is a distinction between the 'Official Language' and 'Language(s) used in Administration'. To illustrate this point, an example can be cited

here. Though the Official Language Act of Andhra Pradesh, 1966 recognizes Telugu as the Official Language for use in its territory, it also permits the use of English, Urdu, Kannada, Tamil and Oriya in certain specified situations and regions for administrative activities. Hence, these latter ones are the Languages Used in Administration in Andhra Pradesh though only Telugu is the Official Language. Like this, each state and the union territory, including the Union Government, have honored the linguistic plurality by accommodating interests of the speakers of other languages as well, even after declaring one or two languages as the official languages of the concerned state. After the promulgation of the Official Language Acts the following 16 languages are the official languages in different states and union territories : Assamese, Bengali, English Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Konkani, Malayalam, Nepali, Manipuri, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu became Official Languages in various states and union territories of the country.

The Constitution of India makes provision for '... free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.' But the Constitution has no explicit statements regarding the language(s) to be taught in education or the language(s) through which education has to be imparted (except in the case of linguistic minorities). This may have been a tactical compromise or declaration on the part of the Constitution makers, because every one could sense the great linguistic complexity of free and democratic India.

The National Policy on Education of 1968 spoke about the regional languages and the Three Language Formula. The 1986 Policy reiterated the earlier stand. The States Reorganization Commission had asked the Union Government to elucidate a policy outline for education in mother tongue at the Secondary stage. The All India Council for Education recommended the adoption of the Three Language Formula (TLF) in September 1956. The endorsement for this formula came from various directions. It was adopted by the Chief Ministers' conference. The National Policy on Education 1968 recommended the inclusion of the Three Language Formula which includes the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the Southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi

speaking states, and of Hindi along with the regional language and English in the non Hindi-speaking states at the Secondary stage. This was reiterated in the Education Policy 1986 and was adopted as the Programme of Action by the Parliament in 1992.

These are major attempts to arrive at a language policy for education. Since education is in the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, the language policy formulation for education and its implementation is left to the State governments under the Constitutional safeguards and broad guidelines cited above.

The "National Curriculum Framework for School Education: A Discussion Document" released on January 1, 2000, while reviewing the Three Language Formula, states,

In a number of states/organizations/ boards, however, the spirit of the formula has not been followed and the mother tongue of the people has been denied the status of the first language ... because of the changed socio-economic scenario, the difference between the second and the third languages has dwindled. Thus, in reality, there may be two-second languages for all purposes and functions. Some states follow only a two-language formula whereas in some others classical languages like Sanskrit and Arabic are being studied in lieu of a modern Indian language. Some boards/institutions permit even European languages like French and German in place of Hindi. In this scenario, the three-language formula exists only in our curriculum documents and other policy statements.

According to this document the three languages are: (i) the home language/the regional language, (ii) English, and (iii) Hindi in non-Hindi speaking states and any other modern Indian language in Hindi speaking states.

With all these provisions for education in multiple languages and mother tongues, the Sixth All India Education Survey informs that 41 languages are taught as school languages, and 19 of them are used as media of instruction at different levels.

2

UNDERSTANDING THE LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

HOME LANGUAGE AND SCHOOL LANGUAGE

"Educational organizers in English-speaking countries have tended to assume that the languages of school and home are the same, but this is not necessarily so, especially in areas of high immigration and those in which everyday usage differs from the standard."

(*P Christophersen*, "Home Language." *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, 1992)

If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his own language, it goes to his heart.

Nelson Mandela

A link between language and national identity was also made in the (more recent) Australian curriculum statement . . . , [which] emphasizes respect for children's home language varieties, and this balancing act between respecting home language and providing access to a standard variety has also characterized practice and policy elsewhere. In 1975, the Bullock Report . . . argued that teachers should accept the child's home language variety but that 'standard forms' should also be taught:

The aim is not to alienate the child from a form of language with which he has grown up and which serves him efficiently in the speech community in his neighbourhood. It is to enlarge his repertoire so that he can use language effectively in other speech situations and use standard forms when they are needed.

(*Department of Education and Science*, 1975, p. 143)

Virtually all educationalists and policy makers recognize the importance of children's home language."

(*N Mercer and J Swann*, *Learning English: Development and Diversity*. Routledge, 1996)

School is traditionally a strong arm of culture and it has always put a great emphasis on language. On one hand school has tried to refine and develop communicative skills with the language or languages of its constituency and on the other hand it has been a seat of second language and foreign language acquisition. In the former case, there has been a marked emphasis upon grammatical accuracy and rigidity in pronunciation and stress. There is a clear distinction between the **standard** and **non-standard** variety of language used in educational institutions. The standard variety is called the **school language** and the non-standard variety is called the **home language**. This distinction, however, rests entirely upon social preferences and dictates. It is evident that there is a strong undercurrent of power dynamics in granting a more powerful position to social stereotypes, linguistic preferences and prejudices. Such prejudices turn **different** languages into **deficient languages**. Since the relation between the school and society is very close and the school in fact, is called a microcosm of society, it is seen that this power dynamics is reflected in the classroom praxis as well.

Certain dialects and non-standard languages are declared deficient. Certain groups of children, especially children from lower economic classes and ethnic minority groups, use languages that are different from the standard variety taught in schools. These children are treated as linguistically disadvantaged and in urgent need of remedial or compensatory teaching. The aim is mainly to replace their allegedly flawed mother tongue variety with a "correct" form. It is true that in most parts of the world today there is a policy of repertoire expansion, or an effort to add standard fluency to mother tongue, but most teachers are not well equipped for the task and "replacement" of the home language with school language still remains the standard practice in most parts of the world.

General linguistic problems like poor standard vocabulary, poor grammar, mispronunciation, lack of strong and clear articulation of ideas, use of slang, use of non-standard regional dialect and accents are associated with deprived or non-standard socio-cultural environments that supposedly hamstring the linguistic and cognitive capabilities. There is a common tendency of **rejecting** normally occurring **multilingual or multi-dialectical competence**. Unfortunately in an ill-informed manner, teachers continue to categorize users of home language and exacerbating socio-linguistic difficulties. **Dr Rigoberta Menchú** Nobel Peace Laureate UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for *Culture of Peace*, aptly points out in the Foreword to UNESCO document titled Language and Education: the Missing Link—

Most of the world's countries contain different linguistic and cultural groups. Unfortunately, few education systems welcome these languages and cultures, attempting to promote one or two languages deemed important for unity and economic growth. As well as cutting many children off from their culture, this means that many children spend their time in school struggling to understand instead of building new knowledge. Many fail to learn either the school language or the language of their parents...Language is the channel through which people's cultures are transmitted. Only by ensuring its use and development at all levels can the tragedy of the disappearance of languages, which ultimately means the impoverishment of humanity, be prevented. Now more than ever, unity in diversity is vital for human development and justice. Reflecting this in our schools is vital. All those working to improve the quality and reach of education now have an opportunity to recognise the vital role that children's language plays in learning, and to put genuine investment and commitment into good quality multilingual education.

It has long been acknowledged that educational outcomes may be negatively affected if there is a difference between the languages which children speak at home and the languages used in the educational system. Empirical studies for both developed and developing countries show that pupils who have another home language than the language of instruction experience higher drop out rates (Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2009, **UNESCO**).

Because educational systems often presuppose the possession of linguistic competence, there is a great deal of inefficiency in the 'pedagogic transmission' if, in fact, students do not understand what their teachers try to learn them (Lewis, 2006). **Van Dyken** (1990) argues that millions of African children find their first days at school bewildering as they not only have to adjust to the strange environment of school, but also to a teacher who does not speak their language. Children who speak a language at home that is different from that used in school often encounter discrimination and learning challenges. According to **Erickson** (1987), differences in ways of speaking and listening between pupils and teachers can lead to systematic and recurrent miscommunications in the classroom. **Benson** (2002) argues that instruction in one's home language increases self-esteem in at least two ways. First, teachers can get more immediate and comprehensible feedback about what students know and what they are learning, so they can make more realistic evaluations of their pupils' performances. Second, children are allowed to express their full range of knowledge and experience in a language in which they are competent (**Dutcher**, 2004). In this respect, the UNESCO report mentions **Brock-Utne** (2006) who observed in Tanzania that if one wants to develop pupils who think creatively and critically, while combining old and new knowledge, the learning going on in the classroom should be in the home language. Another advantage of using home languages in schools is that it preserves minority languages and folk traditions (Woldemikael, 2003; Dutcher, 2004). In Eritrea, for instance, the government introduced a national educational policy based on the use of home languages as the medium of instruction in all public schools, in order to foster national unity, identity, and development while respecting cultural diversity.

POWER DYNAMICS OF STANDARD LANGUAGE VS. HOME LANGUAGE

Currently there are probably more than 6,000 spoken languages in the world but by 2000 there were 'only' approximately 140 standardized languages (ISO, 2001). So there is a significant imbalance and a direct conflict between the many oral and the rather few written languages, not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of power (**Skutnabb-Kangas**, 2002).

If we focus on the power aspect, the term 'standard' may at first glance lend an aura of authority to the concept of language learning. A nation's normative fixing of its official language may seem to be natural due to important historical shifts, such as the transition from predominantly oral cultures to literate ones (Ong, 1982), the spread of standard typographies, and the establishment of nation-states with a need for a governing language. Thus, on the one hand there are technical and practical reasons for standard languages. On the other hand there are political and ideological factors that support much stronger and deeper tendencies towards the maintenance of diversity.

A standardized written language is a prime mechanism for and a symbol of nationalism, a very powerful influence in the 19th century, especially in Europe. This led to an extensive and patriotic use of the nation's 'own' adjective for the language and for the school subject in question. Languages were known by the name of the respective countries—'Italian' in Italy, 'German' in Germany, and so on. The standard language forms were seen as representing the authentic voice and spirit of the people.

Historic, political and socio-cultural reasons gave rise to "Standard" languages of various types—

- (a) **Regional languages:** Sometimes regional languages were also accepted as standard, like Castilian from the central region in Spain.
- (b) **Language of other countries:** Sometimes language from other countries were also accepted as standard at times, like 'imported' and moderated written Danish in Norway and English in Singapore. For a majority of these cases the standard languages have been imported through colonization, and function either as national language, such as English in Australia, or as a lingua franca, such as English in Singapore. In such cases these languages may, in the long run, develop independently of the language of origin, establishing new versions of, for instance, French, English or Arabic.
- (c) **Class based:** Standard Language could also be class based, as in England.

However there was one consistent assumption. Curricular documents implied that the standard national language was 'pure', homogeneous and universally acceptable, ignoring the fact that there was often huge diversity. (Johnsen & Kütchukov, 1999). The authority or power connected to the term 'standard' is problematic, since it veils tacit processes of harmonization and homogenization; in fact, a language is never a clear-cut and easily definable entity, especially at a national level. Nevertheless, the use of the term brings to the surface the existence of 'nonstandard' versions of spoken languages and dialects, although it does not express the kind or degree of normativity and oppression that standardizing as a process can represent. A provocative distinction was favoured by some sociolinguists—'A language is a dialect with an army and a navy'—a saying seemingly first formulated in 1945 by the linguist *Max Weinreich*. Today the educational system, is practically acting as the army and the navy, with a power politics that suppresses and marginalizes many home languages with the socio-political-ideological dominance of a handful of "Standard" languages taught in seats of formal education.

Early and Recent Standardizations and Education

In general, written languages in so-called great nation-cultures, such as French, English and Arabic, have undergone early codification. Over the centuries oral forms have continued to develop and created a gap or even a conflict between the spoken and written varieties of the languages, so that slowly the written forms have become the norm for the oral but the oral forms have failed to become the standard for the written variety. The written forms have become the standard, and in many countries the upper and the middle class have used Standard Language Education to achieve standardization of their spoken language as well. But as a result, millions of young learners have to spend time learning to deal with the differences, a problem causing major educational debate.

As far as oral standardization is concerned, in the new National Curriculum in England and Wales (in effect since the year 2000) it is required, under the heading 'Standard English', that 'Pupils should be introduced to some of the main features

of spoken standard English and be taught to use them' (www.nc.uk.net/servlets/NCP). The new English curriculum demands early conformity to both oral and written Standard norms. In Norway, on the contrary, since the 1880s a special law has protected children's local dialect from being imposed on by oral standardization carried by the teacher. However, although this right is embodied in the law, it is only implicitly present in the curriculum. **Corson** (1997), having discussed research on non-standard varieties, and addressing the question of transmission of standard varieties, claims rather pessimistically:

Since teachers and teachers-in-training are forced by the archaic structures of most forms of formal education to follow conservative patterns of professional behaviour, it is difficult to see widespread future change occurring rapidly. This is especially so since schools will always tend to accept that their role is to pass on the cultural heritage, including the standard version of the culture's language. (**Corson**, 1997:238)

The last line clearly shows the power dynamics inherent in formal education that takes upon itself the responsibility of official propagation of a homogenous "standard" version of language sanctioned by the dominant cultural trend or a political and cultural hegemony. It seems inevitable that something that is defined as 'standard' will tend to overlook diversity. Hence **Gogolin** (2002) rightly claims that the ideology embedded in monolingual European nationalism has the refusal of diversity as its basic condition. Gogolin even says, 'in fact the negative connotations of diversity are the result of strategies used in the process of nation building itself' (**Gogolin**, 2002:125). Every nation, including multilingual ones like India, reveal this hidden power dynamics in choice of standard forms of language taught through schools and colleges and interestingly enough it does reflect what Gogolin tried to point out in terms of national strategies. Without going into controversies one might consider the current status of the North Eastern states like Mizoram and the dominance and attitude of common people belonging to the national or standard language group in the light of recent events like strifes between the two in the capital or even southern India.

India as an Example

The reorganization of the states of the Indian Union on a linguistic basis followed from the appointment of the States Reorganization Commission in late 1953. On the basis of the commission's report, several new unilingual states were formed in 1956. The main motivation for this redistribution of state territories was the reduction of the number of linguistic minorities by bringing together people who speak a common language. However, it is interesting to note here that still no state in India has fewer than 12 mother tongues; in fact, the number of mother tongues ranges from 12 to 410. The premise on which the states were reorganized as political and administrative units was the wish to reduce conflict among the major minority language speakers of India, and to induce a common spirit of nationalism among its people.

However the educational policies and practices in India reflects the hierarchy of status among the languages. At the top are the two official federal government languages, Hindi and English, followed by the official state languages. Then at the third level are placed languages that have no official government function at the federal or state level, but are spoken by more than 1 million people. Finally there are small group and tribal languages that not only are not recognized at any official level, but have scant hope of receiving anything but indifference and hostility from official sources (**Fasold**, 1990). Thus in practice the policies actually gave a new dimension to conflict and provoked tensions among different minority speech communities who before the reorganization had enjoyed an almost peaceful coexistence. The resultant provocation of the multilingual masses made them rebel by forming language movements against the imposition of a homogeneity that seemed to derive from the needs of a centralized market economy. Keeping in mind India's high linguistic diversity coupled with a comparatively low rate of development of indigenous languages, and the established use of a colonial language inherited from the past, issues concerning language policy and its implementation have been a subject of great debate and controversy, resulting in a constant tussle between politicians, educationists and language planners both at union and state levels. At the same time, these dual

authority structures mean that even the question of 'official language' has been marked by a continuing conflict in legislation, indecision and delay in executive action, as well as a lack of purposeful specificity in implementation. This enormously hampers language policies in education. Although many of the languages share affinity in varying degrees, their interrelationships in recent times have been characterized by a constant rivalry for recognition at various levels, both political and social. The situation has been aggravated from time to time by the fact that English adds another dimension to the language conflict. According to *Das Gupta* (1970), the framing of the Indian constitution so that there is one official language for the entire nation, provoked intense language rivalry among various language groups. When Hindi was chosen as the official language, *Das Gupta* adds that 'from the very beginning of the spread of modern education in India the nationally oriented intellectuals have been groping for a means of communication among the various regions and language communities' (1970:39).

Underlying language policy in any particular state in India remains always the wider principles of national policy, which have called for the following measures:

- strengthening the constitutional safeguards for linguistic minorities;
- promoting the regional languages mentioned in Schedule VIII of the constitution to official status;
- integrating India through two pan-Indian languages: Hindi (as a primary official language) and English (as an associate official language).

These measures led the national language policy makers to evolve the Three Language Formula, which stipulates the following language subjects for teaching at the school stage:

- the regional language and the mother tongue when the latter is different from the regional language;
- Hindi or, in Hindi-speaking areas, another Indian language;
- English or any other modern European language.

The three languages are not taught simultaneously throughout the school years. Although there is no uniform implementation of the Three Languages policy in educational institutions throughout the country, the first language is usually taught from the primary stage of education, the second language from the middle stage and the third language at the middle stage for a maximum of three years.

Indian education has made huge strides since the 1920s, when the modern Indian languages became the media of instruction in schools. This was an objective that had taken seven decades to implement, following famous Wood's dispatch of 1854, in which the introduction of 'vernaculars' as education media was forcefully proposed (*Naik and Nurullah*, 1974). The honour of having compiled the first school textbooks in Indian languages goes to missionaries (1813-33) (*Naik and Nurullah*, 1974). The Education Commission emphasized the vital role of mother tongue education for the massive revival of national life and the development of indigenous languages. It believed that the goals of industrialization and modernization could be achieved only through a wider dissemination of science and scientific material through these indigenous languages, stimulating in this way a steady flow of creativity vital for national development. A report published by the **Union Ministry of Human Resource Development** recommended among other things that, "The question of medium of instruction, particularly in early life, will not be fully resolved as long as our dominant and externally connected sections of society continue to give more importance to elementary grades in a foreign language, than to intimate connections with the vernacular knowledge which our children gain during every week of their growing up, before they go to school." (Government of India, 1993).

However, the problem still remains of which form of the home language or mother tongue is to be used. First, different home languages in a speech community in India have arrived at different developmental stages in their writing systems, literary traditions and extent of standardization for use in formal domains. Second, the internal differentiation within a single home language may pose problems of linguistic description and

development of an acceptable standard, and therefore make the application of the principle of home language education very difficult. *Krishnamurti* (1988) is in favour of encouraging the bilingual style of instruction in schools and colleges without any bar on **code switching** (using various forms of language—both standard and non-standard), and advocates linguistic tolerance of regional variation in pronunciation, morphology and lexicon as well. However, there is a tendency in Indian languages to spread the net of tradition-inspired value systems of small elites over all domains in the entire speech community. Instead of allowing this process to proceed in a natural way, there seem to be a counter-productive sense of urgency to push forward an arbitrary standard through education and language planning programmes. *Khubchandani* (1988) makes a valid point when he adds:

One of the greatest obstacles to the speedy expansion of mass literacy in the country is the tyranny of urban standards imposed through text books. In standardizing languages for plural societies such as ours...what we need today is the inculcation of an entirely different set of values which can be built on the resources of tolerance and even the promotion of variation in a wide range of speech settings: this has been a significant characteristic of the Indian communication ethos through the ages.

Some Suggestions

For saving extinction or suppression of home languages by dominance of politically carved standard versions, there must be a constitutional provision to recognize all the minority languages with 100,000 or more speakers as languages for mother tongue / home language education. This should first of all apply to speakers who are concentrated in geographically contiguous areas. Besides, education being a concurrent subject, the central government should take upon itself the responsibility for the development of the education of the 'stateless' linguistic minorities (whose languages are not the dominant regional languages or the official languages of states or union territories). The provision for teaching 14 first languages, each spoken by a few thousand people in Nagaland, is a pointer to the fact that

where an infrastructure exists, people prefer to have education through their mother tongue. Also, newspapers are printed in minority languages even though these are not institutionally taught. The special Directive 350a introduced into the constitution (Government of India, 1950) in 1956 can have a schedule attached to it giving the list of 'minority languages' / 'home languages', which can be declared as languages for 'mother tongue education' The directive reads:

"It shall be the endeavour of every state and of every local authority within the state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups, and the president may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities."

A modern Indian language could be introduced as a third language on a compulsory basis in the Hindi-speaking states, preferably choosing from the literary Dravidian languages or the other modern Indo-Aryan languages.

- Incentives can be created by providing free schooling and scholarships to those who opt for the study of these languages.
- Central government employees posted to non-Hindi states may be given two advance increments if they have studied the language of the state as the third compulsory language of the school.
- Educational tours may be financed by state governments for students learning the compulsory third language with distinction, so that they can spend the summer vacation in a state where their third language is the dominant home language.
- Translation of scientific and creative writings from non-Hindi languages into Hindi by native Hindi scholars may be suitably rewarded.

State governments, business houses, railways, industrial undertakings and nationalized banks may be persuaded to transact business in the home languages/dominant regional languages of the states in which they are located.

DIALECTS

Language is a social-cultural-geographical phenomenon. There is a deep relationship between language and society. Man acquires and uses language in his social environment. The geographical area, the culture and society in which a language is spoken or used, are important. The context and situation in which a language is used, the speakers and the listeners, the purpose and the linguistic components are equally important.

Sociolinguistics studies the variety of language usage in cultures, speech communities, societies, dialects and styles. A dialect is a regional, temporal or social linguistic variation within a single language. It differs in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary from the standard language. So it may be said that a dialect is a variation of language, sufficiently different from the standard variety, to be considered a separate entity within a given language, but not different enough to be classified as a separate language. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a variant constitutes a dialectical subdivision or a different language, since often it may be blurred by political boundaries.

Regional dialects, that is, local, geographical or territorial dialects are spoken by the people of a particular geographical area within a speech community. For instance, Cockney is spoken in parts of London and there are various dialects of Bengali language. However due to increase in education and mobility in tandem with a homogenizing tendency of modern language education, dialects are receding fast. According to *Pie & Frank Gaynor* (1954)—

"Dialect is a specific form of a given language, spoken in a certain locality or geographic area, showing sufficient differences from the standard of literary form of that language, as to pronunciation, grammatical construction and idiomatic use of words, to be considered a distinct entity, yet not sufficiently distinct from other dialects of the language to be regarded as a different language."

A variety of language used at a particular stage in its historical development are called **Temporal Dialects**. For instance, Prakrit and Pali are used in ancient India.

A variety of language that is spoken by members of a particular group or strata of a speech community, is known as **Social Dialect** or **Class Dialect**.

Varieties of language become dialects because of political or cultural reasons. Some examples of Indian Hindi dialects are Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Brijvasha etc. According to *Sapir*, "There is no real difference between a dialect and a language." Again, according to *Grierson*, "In the course of the survey, it has sometimes been difficult to decide whether a given form of speech is to be looked upon as an independent language or as a dialect of some other definite form of speech. In practice, it has been found that it is sometimes impossible to find the question in a manner which will gain universal acceptance. The two words 'language' and 'dialect' are in this respect like 'mountain' and 'hill'. One has no hesitation in saying that the Everest is mountain and Hoborn Hill a hill, but between these two the dividing line cannot be accurately drawn."

Within each dialect area one notices linguistic variations according to education and social standing. Uneducated speech is often equated with regional dialect and educated dialect is found to transcend regional limitations.

An Isogloss indicates a dialect boundary

A situation or place where we find two or more dialects in regular use in a given community is what *Fergusson* calls a **Diglossia**. Fergusson observed that in diglossic communities there is a tendency of giving a higher status to one of the dialects in use and to reserve that dialect for certain functions in society like the government, law, religion etc. This is often known as the prestige dialect or the standard dialect. The lower forms of dialects, in such a situation, is used for colloquial speech.

A **Pigdin** is a dialect that evolves through a mixing of elements from different natural languages and its use is usually restricted to certain groups. It is mostly used by tradesmen or sailors.

When Pigdin becomes a lingua franca it is called a **Creole** and may acquire standardised grammar, vocabulary and sound system. Well known examples are Creoles of the islands of Mauritius and Haiti.